



G E O R G E R.

G E O R G E the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas Our Trusty and Well-beloved *William Innys, William Meadows, John Walthoe, Thomas Cox, John and Paul Knapton, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne, Thomas Longman and Thomas Shewell, Henry Whitridge, Richard Hett, Charles Hitch, Thomas Astley, Stephen Austen, Charles Davis, Richard Manby and Henry Shute Cox, Jacob and Richard Tonson, John Rivington, and Mary Cooper*, Citizens and Booksellers of *London*, have, by their Petition, humbly represented unto Us, that they have for several Years past been at great Pains, and a very large Expence, in procuring and furnishing Books, and other Materials, to Gentlemen of Learning and Character, who have employed their utmost Attention and Diligence in compiling a very useful and extensive Work, intituled,

B I O G R A P H I A B R I T A N N I C A :

Or, The LIVES of the most Eminent PERSONS who have flourished in GREAT BRITAIN. and IRELAND, from the earliest Ages down to the present Times.

Which as it will not only prove of the highest Service to the learned World, but, as the Petitioners humbly conceive, is particularly calculated to extend and support the Reputation of the British People, by preserving the Memories of the most ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS of all Ranks, and transmitting to Posterity the just Characters of

STATESMEN, PRELATES, PATRIOTS; LAWYERS, DIVINES,

and whoever else have been eminent among us, for Wisdom, Learning, Valour, and other laudable Accomplishments. The Undertakers therefore being desirous of securing to themselves the Fruit of so much Labour, and so great an Expence, as must necessarily attend the Publication of this beneficial Work, without any other Person interfering in their just Property, which they cannot procure without Our Royal Licence and Protection, for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Cases of the like Nature. We, taking the Premises into Our Princely Consideration, and being graciously inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of

Publick USE and BENEFIT,

are pleased to condescend to their Request; and do, by these Presents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided) grant to the said *William Innys, &c.* their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns,

Our Royal PRIVILEGE and LICENCE,

for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Distribute, any Copy thereof, reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of them the said *William Innys, &c.* their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, by Writing under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the Contrary at their Peril. Whereof the Commissioners, and other Officers of Our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of *Stationers of London*, and all other Officers and Ministers whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that strict Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.

Given at Our Court at *Kenfington*, the
26th Day of *September*, 1744, in the
Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

C A R T E R E T.

Biographia Britannica :

OR, THE

L I V E S

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times:

Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript,

And digested in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

D I C T I O N A R Y.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. INNYS, W. MEADOWS, J. WALTHOE, T. COX, A. WARD, J. and P. KNAPTON, T. OSBORNE, S. BIRT, D. BROWNE, T. LONGMAN and T. SHEWELL, H. WHITRIDGE, R. HETT, C. HITCH, T. ASTLEY, S. AUSTEN, C. DAVIS, R. MANBY and H. S. COX, C. BATHURST, J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER, J. ROBINSON, J. HINTON, J. and J. RIVINGTON, and M. COOPER.

M DCC XLVII.

Biography of the...

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D I C T I O N A R Y

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P R E F A C E.

THE advantages which learning has received, from the invention of Printing, are doubtless very great; but by extending the dominion of knowledge so much beyond it's former limits, there was a necessity introduced of compiling such general collections, as are now frequent under the names of BIBLIOTHEC'S, LEXICONS, DICTIONARIES, &c. We do not mean for the bare interpretation of words, for such were always common; but for the explanation of things, of which, indeed, there want not some examples among the *Antients*, but none that bear a very near resemblance, to those in use among the *Moderns*. For the state of literature in different ages, makes different methods, and different instruments, requisite for it's attainment; in contriving of which, able men become great benefactors to the Republick of Letters.

By degrees, however, the number of books of this sort have increased to such a height, as to be in danger of losing their utility; which evil was no sooner perceived, than some active and industrious men endeavoured to correct it, by applying the same remedy, in respect to these collections, which their authors, pretended to have used, with regard to the multitude of books written on the subjects their collections referred to. Thus, instead of *Geographical, Poetical, or Historical* Dictionaries, separately; they studied to give us all these in ONE. A great and useful design indeed, but much easier conceived than executed; and the bare attempting to execute it, brought in a new kind of writing on this subject: for besides *Historical*, which is become a very extensive term, we very soon found, that, in the opinion of the learned, *Critical Dictionaries* were also necessary.

We have already of each, and of all these kinds in our language, either originals or translations, and yet we presume to hope the favour of the publick, in regard to a new work of this sort, which we now present to the world, as in some measure more perfect than any hitherto published, the seeming boldness of which expression will be taken off, if the reader considers, it is the only reasonable motive that could induce *us* to undertake, or *him* to approve, it. But as, in so discerning an age as this, we cannot expect to be believed upon a bare assertion, we shall, in this Preface, give a succinct account of the origin, improvements, and censures of Historical Dictionaries, in order to shew on what grounds we judged this work to be necessary. We shall next explain the nature of this design, and thereby render it evident, that it differs from, and comprehends more, than any of this kind extant: And lastly, we will take the liberty of pointing out some of the uses to which it may be applied, and from whence it will appear highly requisite and useful to the study of British History.

I. The first Historical Dictionary, or rather the first attempt in that way, was the work of our learned and industrious countryman NICHOLAS LLOYD (*a*), Fellow of Wadham-college in Oxford, who spent thirty years in compiling it. Some indeed consider GESNER'S work (*b*) in this light, and consequently the abridgments of it; and others the Dictionary of CHARLES STEPHENS, from the materials collected by ROBERT STEPHENS his father (*c*). But whoever considers and compares the work of Mr LLOYD with these, will see it is a very different thing, and built upon a much broader foundation. To say the truth, if we regard the author's intention, we shall find this a very perfect and excellent work, and when we call it an attempt, we mean no more, than that the author confined his views to a part only, of what has been since considered as the subject of an Historical Dictionary; and not at all as an insinuation of his not coming up to what he promised, for it had been happy, as well for the publick as for themselves, if those who extended his plan had succeeded as well.

(a) The title of his book was, *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum, Gentium, Hominum, Deorum, Gentilium, Regionum, Insularum, Locorum, Civitatum, &c. ad Sacras & Profanas Historias Poetarumque fabulas intelligentas necessaria, Notitia, quo decet ordine, Complectens & Illustrans, &c.* Oxon. fol. 1670.

It was printed again with great additions at London, 1686, folio.

(b) The title of Gesner's book was, *Bibliotheca Universalis, sive Catalogus omnium Scripturum locupletissimus, &c.* Tiguri 1545, in folio. Abridged by Lycosthenes, Simler, and Frisius.

(c) Published in 1596, in 4to, afterwards in 1621, 1628, 1633.

We stand indebted for the scheme of an *Historical Dictionary*, in it's utmost extent, to a French Ecclesiastick, LEWIS MORERI, who formed it before he was twenty-five years of age, and executed it before he was thirty (*d*). The publick has certainly great obligations to him on this account, and though he has been censured severely for *daring* beyond his *strength*, yet his name will live as long as his book, which is still in great vigour, and perhaps after all, he has been blamed with very little reason. As soon as he had taken Orders he was sent to Lyons, with directions to preach on the points controverted between Papists and Protestants, and finding this required an extensive knowledge of Civil and Ecclesiastical History, he composed for his private use a Common-Place Book, which at the instance of his friends he ranged in alphabetick order, and sent it abroad in one volume in folio, in 1674, with the title of *An Historical Dictionary, or a Miscellany of Sacred and Prophan Learning*.

(*d*) See the Preface to the Basle edition of 1731.

(*e*) P. Nicéron Memoires pour servir a la Histoire des Hommes Illustres, Tom. XXVII. p. 308.

It will immediately occur to the candid and ingenuous reader, that there was nothing of vanity or self-conceit in this proceeding, the method he took was very agreeable to his purpose, and when converted into a Dictionary, if it proved defective, he was amongst the first who discovered and became sensible of it's defects. He thought himself obliged also to remove them, and his application to this was so assiduous, that it brought him into a kind of decay, which wore him away gradually, so that he died while his book was printing a second time (*e*), with the addition of another volume, which however appeared in 1681, by the care of the Sieur Perayre, who was Under-Secretary to M. Pomponne, Minister of State, with whom Moreri had also lived some time as his Chaplain, but quitted his house, that he might attend more closely to his Dictionary.

If we were to judge universally of the value of works by the number of impressions, there are very few that would stand in a rank superior to this of Moreri, as may be discerned by the following account of it's editions. I. At Lyons, 1674, in folio. II. At Paris, (though begun at Lyons) by the Sieur Perayre, and dedicated by him to the King, in two volumes, 1681. III. At Paris, printed exactly from the second, 1683, in two volumes. IV. At Paris, 1687, in two volumes. V. At Lyons, 1688, in two volumes, with some additional articles. VI. At Amsterdam, 1691, by the celebrated M. le Clerc, in four volumes, taking in the Supplement printed at Paris as a third volume, in 1689. VII. At Amsterdam, nearly a copy of the former, 1694, in four volumes. VIII. At Amsterdam, without any considerable alterations, 1698. IX. At Paris, by the care of M. Vaultier, 1699, in four volumes. X. At Amsterdam, by the care of M. le Clerc, 1702, in four volumes. XI. At Paris, by M. Vaultier, with large augmentations, 1704, in four volumes. XII. At Paris, by the same editor, 1707, in four volumes. XIII. At Paris, by the care of M. du Pin, 1712, in five volumes. In 1714, they printed a Supplement in one large volume at Paris, and in 1716, by the care of M. Bernard, at Amsterdam, a Supplement in two volumes, folio. XIV. At Paris, 1718, in five volumes. XV. At Paris, by the care of several eminent persons, 1724, in six volumes. XVI. At Basle in Switzerland, 1731, in six volumes. XVII. At Paris, 1732, in six volumes. XVIII. At Amsterdam, 1740, in eight volumes.

This was translated into English in 1694, but very indifferently, it was sent abroad again by Mr Jeremy Collier, and to this there have been several Supplements added. It has been also translated into German more than once, and into Low-Dutch, but whether the Slavonian version, which was intended by the late Czar Peter I, who employed several learned persons therein, was ever finished, is uncertain, nor can we assert, whether the Italian translation, for which Proposals were published in 1728, ever appeared or not. We may judge, however, from hence, how well the learned world in general was pleased with the design of this work, how little soever some criticks might be satisfied with the execution. The form was the object of censure, not the matter; and it was this general approbation, excited so many learned persons to contribute their endeavours to carry it to the highest degree of perfection, an honour that would never have been bestowed, but upon what was highly valuable in it's nature.

(*f*) *Mélanges de Histoire & de Littérature par Vigneul-Marville*, Paris, 1725. Vol. I. p 365.

Yet this vast success, instead of defending the Historical Dictionary from, seems to have drawn upon it the resentment of the criticks. The name of the *Dictionnaire Bourgeois*, or the *Dictionary of the Vulgar* (*f*), was given at once by way of character and contempt. M. Menage is said to have declared, *he would never read it because it abounded with faults, and if he once got them into his head he should*

should not easily get them out again (g). He was a man of good sense and great learning, and therefore this decision of his has been greatly applauded; but might not one ask without offence, How he came to know there were abundance of faults in the book without reading it? or whether he could have acquired a tenth part of his learning, if he had constantly adhered to this rule, and read no books that were said to have faults in them. M. le Clerc (b) was a fairer judge, he asserted that there were a great many faults in MORERI'S Dictionary, he owned that it was impossible it should be otherwise, he pointed out the principle sources of those errors, and afterwards, according to those rules, he corrected the book.

(g) Menagiana, p. 27. 28. Tom. I. Amsterdam, 1713.

(b) Parrhasiana, Vol. I. p. 396, & seq.

But when the judgments of the learned and unlearned had been sufficiently exercised upon this subject, a great genius undertook to examine it, and promised to place it in it's true light, by compiling a Dictionary of faults, in which all the mistakes in MORERI'S great work should be corrected as well as exposed. The publick however thought, and that very justly, it was much too mean an employment for Mr Bayle, to compose a kind of table of the errata in MORERI'S Dictionary, and therefore expressed a desire, that he would rather give them something of that kind which was entirely his own. He acquiesced in this decision, and in 1697, published his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, which was received with general approbation by the best judges. In the execution of this work, he judged it requisite to give a plain, clear, succinct detail of facts in the text, and to illustrate this by a body of notes, which might serve by way of commentary, and give the reader satisfaction in those points, that in the text were but barely mentioned, and yet deserved a particular discussion.

This method of Bayle's was indubitably a great advantage, and this advantage in the hands of a man of extensive learning, lively imagination, and happy expression, appeared with all it's lustre. Our language was soon enriched with this treasure, and though the version had no very high reputation, yet the excellence of the original gave it such weight, that in a short time the price became excessive, and we have since seen the greatest eagerness in it's favour expressed by the publick, when that work was again translated. By this we may learn with certainty, that the method and expression of Mr Bayle were as much calculated to instruct and to please, as the design of MORERI, and that, by joining these, an author might hope to render an *Historical and Critical Dictionary* perfect; provided such a plan was laid down, as there was a reasonable prospect of filling up from authentick materials. This was the rock that MORERI and most of his editors split upon. They were for augmenting the number of their articles at all events, though the publick complained that many of their articles already were too short, void of authorities, uninteresting, and from these faults, altogether insipid and unpleasant: whereas Mr Bayle, confining himself to such articles only as he knew were either in themselves, or could be made by him, entertaining to every reader, left it in the power of none to charge him with haste, want of judgment, or inaccuracy.

It is not at all difficult, from the consideration of these particulars, to discern the causes, why notwithstanding all the pains taken about these noble and valuable works, they are both incomplete, and, which is worse, are like to remain so; every new edition of MORERI, with an increase of articles bringing an augmentation of errors, which, as M. LE CLERC long ago very judiciously observed, is an evil not to be cured, but by the joint labours of learned and industrious men in several countries, supported by a royal purse. The Dutch booksellers, after the decease of Mr Bayle, had a project for augmenting his performance, by procuring from the learned in different parts of Europe, select articles for that purpose, but it does not appear they have met with success, or if they had, we have reason to believe, it would have turned rather to their profit than the advantage of the publick, by swelling the bulk of that work, and leaving it still incomplete, which, though satisfactory enough to them, would scarce please any body else.

But after all, may not some method be found, without having recourse to these direct Supplements to MORERI or BAYLE, of compassing by degrees, what, by the universal voice of the learned world, is declared to be so much wanting? Is it not both very possible and very practicable, to compile, in the method of Mr BAYLE, in the several countries of Europe, complete Bodies of the *Personal Histories* of the great and eminent persons that have flourished in them? Would not such DICTIONARIES as these be, from the nature of this plan, in a great measure exempt from those inconveniences, which made both M. LE CLERC, and

and Mr BAYLE, despair of seeing any thing of this kind perfect? Would not the BRITISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, GERMAN, and DUTCH BIOGRAPHIES, compose a body of this sort of History, abundantly more correct, and infinitely more useful, than any thing that hitherto has, or is hereafter likely to appear, under the form of SUPPLEMENTS to this or that DICTIONARY, undertaken either by one or more learned men in the same country, where they must be under insuperable difficulties, both as to the procuring and judging of their materials? And will not some honour arise, some proportion of glory be due to the country, where this design, so useful to learning in general, as well as so beneficial to that country itself, shall be first set on foot?

II. It was with this view, that the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA was undertaken; it was in order to collect into one Body, without any restriction of time or place, profession or condition, the memoirs of such of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deserve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a most useful service to the publick, a kind of general MONUMENT erected to the most deserving of all ages, an expression of gratitude due to their services, and the most probable means of exciting, in succeeding times, a spirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues. This was the first and great motive to the attempting such a collection, towards which, indeed, we saw there were considerable materials ready prepared, though no sign of any such building's being ever traced, or that there had ever been a thought, either as to the expediency or possibility of erecting such a structure; a BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR, sacred to the piety, learning, valour, publick-spirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our ancestors, and ready also for the reception of the WORTHIES of our OWN TIME, and the HEROES of POSTERITY.

We very soon saw and were apprized of the difficulty of our task, and of the skill as well as labour necessary towards performing it with any degree of elegance and exactness. We saw that multitudes of Lives were already written, in different manners and from different motives, which varied widely as to almost all the facts that are common to them, and which would not admit of any reconciliation. We saw that general characters, high-flown panegyrics, or outrageous satires, had very frequently appeared under the appellation of Lives, without any regular series of facts, with little or no respect to dates, and digested rather according to the whim and fancy of the writer, than in obedience to the laws which reason, and the practice of the best authors have established, in reference to this kind of writing. We saw that most general Collections were too short, and that many particular Lives were too prolix, that some were trifling, others tedious, and very many so carelessly and incorrectly written, as to be of very little, if of any, service, towards such a work as we proposed.

But instead of dismay, the consideration of these obstacles made us the more resolute, we were far from being insensible of the pains we were to take, but at the same time, the necessity of undertaking them grew more and more apparent; we foresaw that patience and industry were requisite to secure success in such a design; but we saw too, that if this work was long delayed, neither patience nor industry would be able to accomplish it. In this situation, the first thing to be considered was METHOD, and in respect to this we were determined to that of BAYLE, not from a blind and superstitious regard to the veneration the learned world have for his memory, and the high esteem they profess for his excellent performance in this way, but because it appeared to us the most natural, easy, and comprehensive, the best adapted to our purpose, and the most likely to give our readers satisfaction, and not at all the worse for his having invented, used, and thereby recommended it to the approbation of the learned.

The next thing that claimed our attention was the materials ready prepared, that is to say, the Collections already in the hands of the publick. Of the true value of which, it was necessary to form a right idea, to select from them whatever was conducive to our design, and carefully to avoid their errors, at the same time that we preserved their excellencies. We were thoroughly satisfied, that if we failed in these particulars, the publick would not hesitate at doing them justice at our expence, and therefore we were extremely nice in our scrutiny, and, as the general remarks we made on this subject, in the advertisement prefixed to this volume, have been very well received by the ablest judges, we flatter ourselves, that what we now offer more at large upon the same head, will not be disagreeable, as it leads to shew,

as well the uses and value of each of these Collections, as the reasonableness, and even the necessity of embodying, as we have done, the substance of these separate Collections, with many new Lives, which entered into none of them, in the performance now offered to the world.

We must begin (though the work was never published, and there are but very few MS copies extant) with the Catalogue composed by JOHN BOSTON (i), a Benedictine Monk of the famous monastery of St Edmond's-Bury in Suffolk, in the reign of Henry IV (not Henry VI, as by the mistake of the Printer it stands in the learned Dr Gale's (k) Preface) who visited all the abbeys in England, examined their libraries, made an Alphabetical Catalogue of the books they contained, noted the first lines, gave a succinct account of the authors, and a short censure of their writings, grounded on other mens judgments as well as his own, and very accurately marked in what libraries they were to be met with (l). He it was who gave the first example of that method, which succeeding writers pursued; but if we may venture to judge from another work of his, not altogether unlike this in its kind (m), he was a more exact, and more considerate author, than most who have followed him, and therefore we have the more reason to complain, that so useful and curious a treatise is still withheld from the Publick.

Upon his plan, the celebrated JOHN LELAND, one of the most able, and, beyond comparison, the most industrious of our Antiquaries, composed his admirable *Commentaries of British Writers*, in four books, which of all the numerous, I had almost said numberless works, which for his country's honour he undertook, was by him left most perfect. As it now appears, we do not discern the distinction of books mentioned by various writers, but undoubtedly it is the same work they mention, and one of the most valuable extant (n). In it our author gives us a Literary History of Britain, from the times of the Druids, to the close of the XVth century, with his censure of the authors, and short catalogues, written with much learning, and no less modesty. He was Library-Keeper to King Henry VIII, and had from him a licence to examine the libraries of all religious houses in England, for which purpose he took many long and weary journeys, purely to collect matter for this, and several other pieces relating to our History and Antiquities, which, had he lived to finish, he would have left little for others. But alas! he was first prevented by a phrensy, and before he was perfectly restored to his senses, was taken off by death, April 18, 1552 (o), to the irreparable loss of his country, and of the learned world.

JOHN BALE, a native of Suffolk, and some time Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, was the next who undertook a work of this nature; the first edition, printed most part of it at Ipswich, he published in 1549 (p), some years before Leland died, whose work he mentions in his Preface, and tells his readers that it was earnestly expected, but it does not appear he had then seen it, and from some other of his writings, it is evident he had not (q). But in his exile on account of religion, he had leisure to review and augment this work, which came out at Basil, A. D. 1557, and again, A. D. 1559, in folio, and therein he acknowledges his having borrowed largely from Leland. It would have done great honour to his book, if he had either copied his author exactly, or had imitated his manner, and spoken of the authors he mentions with like decency and temper. But from being a bigotted Papist, he became as violent a Protestant, and with great bitterness reflects upon most of those from whom he differed in opinion, and suffers his passions to transport him frequently, not only beyond the bounds of modesty, but truth. He goes above fifty years lower than Leland, and takes in a great many more authors, even within the compass of time common to them both; but he is not either so good a judge, or so exact a writer as the former. He is very apt to multiply books, and frequently converts the chapters of a book, into distinct treatises. He had many great helps and opportunities towards compleating his performance, and kept a very extensive correspondence for that purpose, which enabled him to add abundance of Scots and Irish Lives. He had in his own possession a large treasure of MSS. relating to our History, and it must be owned, there are many things in his book that are not to be found elsewhere; but then he is hardly to be relied on, especially where there is the least room to suspect he might be prejudiced, for there, as we shall in many instances shew, he had little or no command of himself, but allowed more to his temper than authorities; for he very seldom produces any voucher for what he says, though sometimes he could hardly expect to be believed without it. The very bad usage he met with from Papists,

(i) The title of this treatise was, *Catalogus Scripturum Ecclesiæ.*

(k) In *Præfat. ad XV. Script.*

(l) *Bal. de Script. p. 541. Pits. p. 593.*

(m) His *Speculum Cœnobitarum*, published by Anthony Hall, at the end of the second Volume of Triver's *Annals.*

(n) *Commentarii de Scripturibus Britannicis, Auctore J. Leland, Londinate. Oxon. 1709, 8vo. 2 Vol.*

(o) *Bal. de Script. p. 672.*

(p) This first edition in 4to, bears *Wesil* in the title-page, but that, and some additions, were only printed there, for the book was printed the year before at Ipswich, by John Overton.

(q) In his additions to the second edition of a poem of Leland's published by him.

(as the reader may see at large in his article) in some measure may excuse the man, but cannot at all operate in giving his book credit.

The next author of this sort in point of time is JOHN PITS, in every respect the opposite of JOHN BALE beforementioned (*r*). He was a Hampshire man, descended from parents in no great circumstances, his mother being sister to the famous Dr SANDERS, bred while a boy at Winchester school, removed from thence to Oxford, where, after studying two years, he imbibed Popish opinions, fled over to Flanders, resumed his studies at Douay, travelled from thence to Rome, and after receiving Priest's orders there, went to France, but troubles arising there, he withdrew into Lorraine, thence he went to Ingoldstadt in Bavaria, where he received his Doctor's degree, after this he returned a second time into Lorraine, and soon after left it, to go in quality of Confessor to the court of the Duchess of Cleves, and, upon her decease, he returned a third time into Lorraine, where he obtained a deanery, in possession of which he died about 1616 (*s*). It is evident from this account of his life, that he could not be very well qualified for the work he undertook, and indeed he has executed it very indifferently. He commends LELAND's performance highly, which, except as it is involved in BALE's book, he never saw, in the judgment of friends and foes (*t*). He abuses BALE plentifully, whose work with all it's imperfections he copies, and has added to them a multitude of faults of his own making. He brings down his account to 1614, when he finished his book, which however was not published till 1619, after the author's death, and one reason, we are told, for making it publick, was to bring BALE's book into disuse, by supplying the Romanists with another work of the same nature; and very probably, the preserving the memories of the exiles of that Church, might be another motive to the rendering it publick, which, for it's merits in other respects, it could scarce have deserved.

We have a very comprehensive Catalogue of the Scots writers, drawn up by THOMAS DEMPSTER of Mureik (*u*), an itinerant Professor of the *Belles Lettres*, who, after visiting different parts of Europe, and undertaking the instruction of youth at Paris and other places, retired at last into Italy, where he composed his *Ecclesiastical History of the Scots Nation*, which however is really no more than a hasty Catalogue of Authors, a very superficial account of their lives, and a very imperfect and incorrect detail of their writings. He was undoubtedly very zealous for the honour of his country, which prompted him to give a place in his Catalogue, to many that had no title thereto from their writings; he also made no scruple of borrowing great men from other countries, to make his Collection the more illustrious; thus, St ALBAN, Venerable BEDE, and Pope ADRIAN IV, were all *Scots* (*w*), if we trust to his book. It is this vain humour of his, that has contributed more than any thing else to sink the credit of his performance, which, in other respects, is little inferior to BALE's, and much superior to PITS's, for DEMPSTER was truly a man of learning, and, with regard to the Lives of his contemporaries, it seems to be a faithful, though not a judicious, Collection. He was a furious Papist, lived an exile for his religion, and therefore we may be sure, bestows no very good character on Protestant authors. Yet his love for his country somewhat qualifies this, and perhaps his book might have been more perfect, if he had lived to put the last hand to it, or if it had been so much as published by one of his countrymen; but it had not this good fortune, it was printed at Bononia in 1627, about two years after DEMPSTER's death, by one very affectionate to his memory, but an indifferent editor for all that.

The learned in *Ireland* have been more fortunate in an Historian, than either those of England or Scotland, for Sir JAMES WARE (*x*), a man of solid abilities, extensive knowledge, and indefatigable industry, one who had taken vast pains in other respects, in preserving and putting into order their History, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as also their Antiquities, resolved to extend his care likewise to their writers, of whom he published a very accurate account in 1639, divided into *two* parts, the *first* containing the natives, the *second* such learned persons as though born in other countries, were benefited and passed their days in that island. This work has no imperfections, but such as were unavoidable at the time in which it was composed, and the worthy author spared no labour to correct most of these in a second edition, which he was actually preparing for the press at the time of his decease, in 1666. The world, however, has not been deprived of the great improvements made by him on this subject, the contents of which appear to advantage, in the third volume of the *English* translation of his Works, very lately published,

(*r*) His title-page represents this Work as a first volume only, but nothing farther was ever published.

(*s*) De Illustr. Angliæ Scriporibus, p. 816, 817.

(*t*) See Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 156.

(*u*) His title is *Historia Ecclesiastica Geniis Scotorum*, 4to.

(*w*) Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. p. 23, 69, 34.

(*x*) De Scripturibus Hibernicæ, lib. ii. Prior continet Scriptores in Hiberniâ natos; Posterior Scriptores alios, qui in Hiberniâ Munera aliqua obierunt, Dublinii 639, 4to.

published (y), and which altogether, fully justify the compliment paid him by Bishop NICHOLSON, who styles him the CAMDEN of Ireland (z). Had the works hitherto mentioned (LELAND's excepted) been penned like this, they would have been far more useful, and we should have been better able to have relied upon them, which now we cannot do, where any other materials lie within our reach. But had these books been ever so well executed, it is evident they could have supplied us only with the Memoirs of Men of Letters, so that how useful soever they might have been in that respect, they could not be said to bear any proportion to the advantages proposed from a book of this kind, which not only comprehends the substance of all these performances, and continues their subjects, upon a more extensive plan, down to our own times, but also takes in many other heads equally curious and useful, and much more agreeable and entertaining. But to proceed at present with the view of our materials.

(y) This History of the Irish Writers makes the entire third volume of the Translation of Sir James Ware's Writings, by Walter Harris, Esq; who has continued the History to the present time.

(z) Irish Historical Library, p. 20.

We have no Collection, which, from its title and plan, promises so much as FULLER's, who undertook to give us the *Worthies of England*, but he is far from performing this; his Lives are in effect no more than short characters, interspersed now and then with remarkable stories, which are not always to be depended upon, and there is very little new in him: BALE, FOX, and STOWE, are his principal authors, from whom he takes plentifully in this, as well as in his *Church History*. There are others who have passed harsher sentences than this on his labours; but our business is not to decry those who have gone before us, but barely to represent how far they are, or are not, helpful towards the filling up this design. Dr FULLER's foundation was broad, but the superstructure is not answerable; we may say the same of his *Church History*, and of his *ABEL Redivivus*, all of them proving him to be a fanciful, rather than a faithful, writer, very little concerned about dates or circumstances, and, if one might be indulged for once in his manner of speaking, rather desirous of making his readers merry than wise. It may be alledged however, that this was the humour of those times, and that he erred with numbers, which, though an indifferent, is yet some excuse.

As the taste for this kind of knowledge improved, some abler, and more accurate writers began to appear; among whom we may reckon the *Oxford Antiquary* ANTHONY WOOD, who, after penning with great care and industry the *History and Antiquities* of that famous *Univerfity*, undertook to give us the *Writers* also, for two centuries before, and the *Prelates* likewise who had been bred at *Oxford* within the same space. Some have censured this work in very coarse terms, and without question it is far enough from being perfect; the spleen of the author discovers itself frequently, the composition is by no means elegant, and there is an unusual bluntness and asperity in the language. Yet, with all these defects, it is out of comparison more useful and instructive than any thing that had appeared before. Authorities are here cited, which are absolutely wanting in FULLER and LLOYD, (another writer of *Worthies*) and though, from the Transcriber or Printer's faults, there are many mistakes, yet here are dates, and the Lives are ranged in an easy and intelligible method; so that we may truly affirm, one half of the learned men of this part of the island, have their names, the capital particulars of their lives, and a tolerable catalogue of their writings preserved, for that period to which his Collections relate. It was once hoped, we should have seen like attention shewn towards the learned men educated at *Cambridge*, and had the work been executed as it was designed, by the late reverend and excellent Mr BAKER, it must have been a masterly performance; since, with all the care and industry of WOOD, he had a fine genius, a piercing understanding, and wrote a most correct style, equally removed from the starched setness of a sententious writer, and from that luxuriancy of language that produces long and languid periods. But besides all these, he had still greater qualities, such as calmness of mind, candour of heart, and a most unsuspected integrity. We may justly therefore regret the loss of such a work, from such a man, but as his Collections are still preserved, we may yet hope to see their contents by some lucky accident or other. In the mean time Mr WARD's Lives of the *Professors* in *Gresham-College*, may serve as a specimen, how such Collections ought to be formed, so as to stand out of the reach of censure.

We might extend these remarks much farther, but that in some respects it would be a needless, in others an unpleasant task. The Lives of our POETS have been often, but never well, written; LANGBAIN is too concise, and his

follower

follower, who pretends to have improved him, has much mistaken his talent, and done very little honour to those he has attempted to celebrate. We have very few memoirs of PHYSICIANS, though scarce any nation has produced better; and as to DIVINES, the greatest part of their memoirs are rather funeral orations or panegyrics than narratives. Yet some single Lives we have, of a moderate compass, admirably well written; as for instance, WALTON's Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON, SPRAT's inimitable Life of COWLEY, and the Life of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE by an intimate friend. Some great men have also left excellent materials, for representing their own actions in a fair and true light, such as the great Lord-Treasurer CECIL, the famous Chancellor CLARENDON, and the celebrated Earl of STRAFFORD, whose Letters do the highest honour to his memory, and shew him as much above the praises of his friends, as the malice of his enemies.

Upon the whole it is very apparent, that hitherto there has nothing appeared of the same nature with our design. Some plans have been *too narrow*, as shutting out all Lives of action except by accident; others *too extended*, by taking in the remarkable persons of other nations as well as our own; so that we have built upon no body's foundation, and are at liberty to make the most we can of the scheme we have chosen. In the next place we readily confess, and have spent some time in giving evidence against ourselves, that there is no want of materials, and that the blame must fall upon us, if they are not well put together. But granting we should be so fortunate as to succeed, it may very well be demanded, of what singular use and advantage will this work be? What will it afford beyond our former helps? Why should we add this to the many Dictionaries already published? To which we answer, that it will be of general advantage, that it will contribute vastly to facilitate the attainment of the most useful kind of knowledge, and that to make this more plainly appear, will deserve some farther observations.

III. It is very evident from this view of the work, that the title of it will be exactly fulfilled, that is to say, it will be a compleat *Body of British Biography*, and contain a much larger, and more methodical Collection of *Personal History*, than hitherto has ever appeared. In it the reader will find, not only our most famous Divines, and most eminent Scholars, with a clear and rational account of their works, but also the memoirs of our ablest Statesmen, our great Captains, our most illustrious Sea-men, and our worthiest Patriots. In short, all who have rendered themselves remarkable in publick posts, or deserve to be remembered for their private virtues, and these too in all ages, from the earliest accounts our Histories contain, down to the present times, so that it will equally serve, to give us just notions of the merit of our remotest ancestors, and of their posterity. It will be of use also to succeeding times, for this Body of Lives being once in the hands of the Publick, improvements will be continually made, and every man of genius, every person endowed with a generous and liberal spirit, will become more steady and more assiduous, as well as more eager in pursuit of knowledge and virtue, when he is sensible that his labours will not be buried in oblivion, but that whatever he gloriously achieves will be faithfully recorded.

But the bare setting down of facts and dates, though in itself highly useful; and of great importance to History, is but half the merit of this work. For at the same time that the text is so full as copious, and, by the exactness of the authorities, much more correct than the articles of MORERI, the notes make a perpetual commentary, in the manner of BAYLE, in which all doubtful points are examined, disagreeing relations compared, and the truth, from thence, set in a clear light. By this means, abundance of historical passages that are scattered in works upon other subjects, in prefaces to books, or in loose pamphlets, are secured from being overlooked, and brought into their proper places, of which many instances might be given, if their number did not, in some measure, render it unnecessary. Thus, in the Life of Archbishop ABBOT, the reader will find many facts that relate to him, taken from authors very difficult to be met with, and extracts from some that are scarce to be had at all, by which all our General Historians are corrected, and the whole of that Prelate's life and administration, is fairly and fully set forth to publick view. In the article of Pope ADRIAN IV, our own and foreign writers are compared, and thereby several circumstances rectified, as to which our Ecclesiastical Historians were very widely mistaken. The article of ALLEYN the Player is very curious, and contains a multitude of circumstances, that, if they had not been drawn together for the use of this work, would never have appeared. Besides, in several articles there have been

inserted papers from the closets of the curious, that hitherto had not seen the light; as in the article of Dr ANTHONY, the process of his *Aurum Potabile* at large, which was formerly reputed a medicine of great value; and, in the article of BALES the Writing-Master, there is the famous Lineal Cypher, invented by the Marquis of Worcester, which though mentioned by him in a work lately reprinted, yet the secret itself was first made publick here.

We may from hence perceive, that it enables us to see the most material points in our History, in all the several lights in which they have been placed by different authors, accompanied frequently with observations and remarks, that serve to explain and illustrate them, so as to clear up truth more effectually, than it was possible to do by any other method. As for instance; ARDEN's treason, of which our Historians speak so variously and so doubtfully, is, under his article, shewn to have been a state artifice of a great Minister, to whom this gentleman had given offence. The case of Archbishop ABBOT's killing the Keeper, is shewn in a different light from that in which it has been represented, either by friends or enemies, and it is plainly demonstrated, that it had nothing to do with his last suspension, though mentioned as the pretence for it, by some of our best Historians. The character of Lord-Chancellor BACON is vindicated from many calumnies, and his corruption as fairly stated from the best authorities. Many other instances might be given, even in the compass of this volume, but these are abundantly sufficient to prove the truth of this assertion, and to let the reader see, that never any work was better calculated to render our History perfectly intelligible, to throw light even on the obscurest passages, and to set matters of fact, as well as the characters of particular persons, in that point of view in which they ought to be considered, independent of the prejudices of times, and the prepossessions of many of our Historical Writers, who, from their being misled by passion, or for want of proper lights, have either fallen short of, or exceeded the truth.

By this means, the work before us becomes both a Supplement and a Key, not only to our General Histories, but to particular Memoirs, so that by comparing the characters of great men, as drawn by particular pens, with their articles in this *Biographical Dictionary*, we see how far they are consistent with, or repugnant to, truth. By it also we are enabled, where characters are omitted, to supply them, and to find distinct and particular relations of remarkable facts, which are barely mentioned, or but slightly described in other books; by it also we are enabled to recover or rectify dates, which are either omitted or mistaken, if they have any relation to considerable persons, as almost all memorable actions have; and whereas most Histories drop even the greatest men when no longer concerned in great affairs, we can here follow them in their retreats, and see how their private life agreed or disagreed, with the maxims owned by them in their more active scenes of life. We can also trace, by this means, the beginnings of their greatness, and learn the steps by which they rose to those high posts and employments, which gave them place in History, and be thereby enabled to apprehend more fully, and understand more clearly, what is said of them. We may add to this, that we have an opportunity likewise of seeing the families from which they rose, or which are descended from them, so that we are able to connect our Antient with our Modern History, and from thence discover an infinite number of curious and useful circumstances, which otherwise might escape our notice.

If, instead of considering it in this general manner, and in respect to the bulk of our History, we examine it more closely, and reflect on the relation it bears to the particular branches of that study, we shall find it of no less utility. For example, as to Ecclesiastical History; Bishop GODWIN has given us a very succinct detail of the succession of our Prelates in their respective Sees, and his work has been very accurately continued down to the present time. Yet even with respect to the most eminent men, these accounts are very short, and in all other Catalogues they are still shorter and less correct, so that frequently they raise our curiosity without satisfying it. But here we can immediately turn to the Lives of most of these Prelates, and take a view of their most considerable actions both before and after they were honoured with the mitre. We may say the same thing with respect to the Law, of which we have a like series of successions, but nothing more, whereas, in this work, almost all our Chancellors, our most distinguished Judges, and many other eminent men of that honourable and learned profession, have their memories preserved, and their principal actions recorded. We may affirm the like of our Ministers of State, the Generals of our armies, and

our Sea-officers, to which we may add, those Orators who have distinguished themselves in either House of Parliament, where liberty of speech, as it is an excellence in our Constitution, contributes also to render this work particularly valuable, by introducing into *British Biography*, characters that will scarce be found in any foreign work of the same kind.

With respect to Men of Letters, we have been as careful as it was possible, and though we have not, as in some other Collections, preferred them to men who have passed their days in action, yet we have made it our study to represent their characters fairly and fully, and to gratify the reader with correct catalogues of their works. This we have done with respect to polite as well as grave writers, and have endeavoured to retrieve, as far as lay in our power, the memoirs of Philosophers, Physicians, Mathematicians, Chemists, &c. that have not been hitherto taken notice of in this manner. We have likewise given a succinct account of any disputes or controversies in which they were engaged, and where any opportunity offered, we have not failed to mention the substance of scarce treatises, and, where the subject required it, extracts from them, referring, at the same time, to the books, where farther satisfaction might be had on those heads. Where works have been published without a name, or where authors have thought fit to make use of disguised or fictitious appellations, we have given what light we could, and have supported what we say by proper authorities, agreeable to the design of making this a Critical as well as an Historical Dictionary. And with the same view we have sometimes corrected the mistakes of other writers, with as little prejudice as was possible to their reputation, being thoroughly sensible, that in many cases those mistakes were involuntary, and, at the time they wrote, perhaps not to be avoided.

As to the Lives of the remarkable persons that have flourished in Scotland and Ireland, it may not be amiss to observe, that due care has been taken to establish a correspondence with the learned in both those countries, which we hope will sufficiently appear in the articles included in this work. We have also been very diligent in comparing, where it was practicable, historical facts with records, which is the only means of recovering and ascertaining dates. We have likewise consulted those large collections of letters and papers published for fifty years past, and have also had recourse to several Collections that are not yet printed, by which means a multitude of useful and curious particulars have been brought to light, and very large chasms, in Collections of this kind formerly made, have been filled up, to a degree even beyond our expectations. The mention of this, leads us to make our acknowledgments to such as have favoured us with these communications, and whose names are mentioned in the course of this work where it is requisite, and where we were permitted to use that freedom. We likewise presume to desire the continuance of these favours, and that gentlemen will be pleased to be as early in their informations as possible, that they may come time enough to be useful.

The memoirs of such of our countrymen, as, either on account of their good or ill fortune, have spent the greatest part of their days in foreign parts, have been collected with all the care and circumspection possible, and no diligence has been wanting, to procure the best intelligence that could be had in such cases; and we hope it will appear, that many errors committed by foreign writers, in respect to such persons especially, have been rectified. With the view of doing the greater justice in this particular, we have consulted, as the reader will perceive by frequent citations from them, most of the Histories of Popes, Cardinals, and Religious Orders, published abroad; as well as the memoirs of foreigners who have resided in England, and such as have inserted particular parts of our History in their works, not to mention the several foreign Dictionaries, in which, for the most part, English Lives are remarkably defective, and persons of the same name are frequently confounded, which shews how much preferable our Plan is to one that might appear more general, but which, at the same time, must subject us unavoidably to the like mistakes. These observations arise naturally from the subject, and are most of them requisite to do justice to our readers and to ourselves, and to make it appear that a work of this importance, has been conducted throughout with mature deliberation, and that, being apprized of the many and great difficulties that lay in our way, we have not failed to use all the industry, and to employ all the skill that was in our power, to overcome and surmount them, not that we have the vanity to suppose we have been always successful, but there is

reason to hope for some indulgence from the publick, when men have spared no pains or assiduity in it's service, which is all the excuse we have or desire to plead.

There are many other points relative to the several heads into which we have divided this Preface, that might have been examined, and would have contributed to prove the necessity as well as utility of a work like this, but we chose rather to leave these to the reflection of the learned and judicious peruser, than to expatiate too much on a subject, which we hope is already sufficiently clear. For the principal motives to an undertaking right in itself, being once placed in a true light, such as are well acquainted with the subject which they concern, easily enter into all their branches, and often penetrate farther than those who laid them down, and we are willing to leave this in the reader's power, rather than fatigue him with a multitude of observations and remarks, which, however just, however pertinent in themselves, become tedious and troublesome when carried beyond their proper bounds. This we thought necessary to mention, that those, who, in perusing this discourse, or the book to which it belongs, perceive many more advantages than are here pointed out, may not conceive they were wholly unknown or unattended to by us, but may rather be satisfied that we passed them by, to leave no room for the disagreeable imputation, of having exhausted a subject all lovers of British History are so well versed in, that with the greatest ease they are capable of reaching it's utmost recesses, without the assistance of a guide. Something, on the appearance of a Collection like this, after so many which at first sight seem of the same nature, it was absolutely requisite to say, in justice to ourselves and to the publick, which is enough to account for our prefixing this Preface, and the fear of displeasing our judges by saying too much, and detaining them too long, is the proper apology for not extending it farther, and will, in the eyes of equitable Criticks, excuse us for not inserting many things, that might otherwise be thought considerable omissions. In an age less learned, a longer Preface would have been not only tolerable but agreeable, but in this, when almost every reader enters into the method as well as matter of the books that come before him, it is enough to touch the principal heads of enquiry, and it would be too much to dwell on them for any time.

One thing however we must be permitted to mention before we can conclude, and that is, the care taken to bring all remarkable articles into our BIOGRAPHY at once, and under the same alphabet, so that the memorable facts throughout our whole History, the disputable points relating to Chronology, the circumstances attending every event of importance, as well as the characters and actions of the persons principally concerned in them, may be all readily found and represented to the reader, supported by proper evidence, and explained, by the comparison of what has been advanced concerning them by different writers. To have left out articles of note, would have been unpardonable in an HISTORICAL, and to have treated such articles superficially, unworthy a CRITICAL DICTIONARY; the fulfilling our Plan, after we were satisfied of it's being approved by the PUBLICK, became our indispensable duty, and to that we have constantly attended in the choice, and in the manner of treating our articles. If, therefore, they appear more numerous than might be expected, or the doing them justice requires a little more room than at first might be conceived requisite, let it be considered, how far the reputation of our country, the honour of our ancestors, the respect due to the memories of great men, and the vast importance of setting worthy examples before the eyes of posterity, are concerned. When we reflect seriously upon this, and on the cruelty, we might even say impiety, of sacrificing the glory of great characters to trivial circumstances, and mere conveniency, it might be justly apprehended, that the world would rather resent our timidity, if we should distrust their approbation of the liberty necessary to be taken in this respect, than censure us for doing at once, and in the easiest and most effectual manner, what, some time or other, must have been done, if we had been too scrupulous in the performance of what we undertook. Architects are seldom censured for small mistakes in their estimates, if the structure they proposed to erect, be but uniform and complete; besides, a palace finished at once, is always cheaper, as well as more beautiful, than when helped out by additional buildings, made necessary from the cramping of the first design.

We have now executed, in as narrow a compass as it is possible, what we proposed at the entrance of this Discourse, and therefore have nothing to do more than to conclude it. We have shewn how these kind of *Dictionaries* came first into use, and why they were received with such universal eagerness and avidity; in giving the History of MORERI'S performance, we have explained the causes which hindered that work from being carried to perfection, even by the most able and learned men in *Europe*; in our account of MR BAYLE'S design, we have described the manner in which he gave that superior value to an undertaking of this sort, and shewed how, instead of a *Library* for the *Ignorant*, it might be made the *Treasure* of the *Learned*; we have pointed out the reasons why it seems to be impossible, or at least impracticable, ever to carry either of these works to the highest degree of perfection, by a meer addition of *Supplement* after *Supplement*; we have proposed a new method of attaining this, and of giving the extent of MORERI'S plan, and the accuracy of BAYLE'S design, to one and the same work; lastly, we offer to the Publick this specimen of the possibility of such a performance, and should they honour the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA with their approbation, it will very probably prove the means of exciting, in other countries, a desire to erect the same kind of general monument, to the memory of deserving persons, which would effectually justify what we have laid down on that head, and furnish a more complete *Body of Personal History*, than, as yet, the world has seen, or so much as expected.



THE L I V E S

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and IRELAND,

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times.

A.



AARON and **JULIUS** (*Saints*) suffered martyrdom together, during the persecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the year 303 [A], about the same time with St Alban (a), the protomartyr of Britain (b) [B]. What their British names were, we are no where told; it being usual with the Christian Britons, at the time of baptism, to take new names from the Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Nor have we any certainty as to the particulars of their death; only that they suffered the cruelest torments. They had each a church erected to his memory [C]; and their festival is placed, in the Roman Martyrology, on the first of July. They are here joined together in one article, because, like Saul and Jonathan, *in their death they were not divided* (c).

(a) See the Article St ALBAN.

(b) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7. & Galfr. Monumeth. Hist. Reg. Brit. l. v. c. 5.

(c) 2 Sam. i. 23.

[A] **AARON** and **JULIUS** ——— suffered martyrdom together, in the year 303.] Venerable Bede, who mentions the martyrdom of these two saints (and of many others of both sexes, in different places, who were put to death with the cruelest torments) calls them *Citizens of Urbs Legionum. Passi sunt ea tempestate Aaron & Julius, Legionum Urbis Cives, aliique utriusque sexus diversis in locis per plures, qui diversis cruciatibus torti, & inaudita membrorum discerptione lacerati, animas ad supernæ civitatis gaudia perfetto agone miserunt* (1). *Urbs Legionum*, or the City of Legions, was a name given by the Romans to several cities of Britain; as Leicester, Exeter, and Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales: which last must here be meant, because the churches, dedicated to St Aaron and St Julius, were built in that city, and the bodies of the saints themselves interred there (2).

[B] ——— About the same time with St Alban.] That St Alban, nevertheless, claims the honour of the protomartyrdom, appears from the testimony of Matthew of Westminster; who, mentioning the martyrdom of St Alban under the year 303, adds, by way

of corollary, that Aaron and Julius, and many others, both men and women, suffered at the same time in Britain; St Alban, however, being the protomartyr of the English, or *the first who impurpled Britain with his blood. Eodem tempore passi sunt in Britannia Aaron & Julius, cum aliis pluribus viris & fœminis, qui ad desiderabile cœlestis Hierusalem gaudium per martyrium convolarunt; existente tamen beato Albano protomartyre, qui Britanniam primitivo sanguine purpuravit* (3).

[C] *They had each a church erected to his memory.*] Giraldus Cambrensis, describing the city of Caer-Leon (4), tells us, the bodies of Aaron and Julius lie buried in that city, each of whom has a church dedicated to him; that of Julius graced with a choir of nuns, and that of Aaron with a famous order of canons. And Bishop Godwin tells us (5), that the remains of these churches, or chapels, were visible not very long since; the one situated on the east side, the other on the west side of the town, about two miles distant from each other.

(3) Flor. Histor. ad Ann. 303.

(4) In Itinerar. l. v.

(5) Comment. de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Landav. n. 21.

(1) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(2) See Remark [C].

(a) Niceron. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes Illustres. Tom. xxxiii. p. 381.

ABBADIE (**JAMES**) was born at Nay in Berne, in the year 1658 (a), as there is good reason to believe, tho' some indeed say, that he was born in 1654 (b). He studied at Puy Laurent, at Saumur, at Paris, and at Sedan; at which last place, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He intended to have dedicated himself very early to the ministry, but the circumstances of the Protestants in France, rendered it impracticable there, for which reason, he readily accepted the offer of the Count d'Espense, who had a considerable post in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg, who desired

(b) See this Article, in the General Dictionary.

(c) Nicéron. ubi supra.

(d) See this Article in the Supplement to Moreri, printed at Paris in 1734.

(e) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43.

(f) Nicéron. p. 382.

(g) See the General Dictionary, and the Supplement to Moreri.

(h) See the Note [A].

(i) Nicéron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

(k) General Dictionary.

to carry him with him to Berlin, where the Elector intended to settle a French minister (c). It is not very clear, at what time he arrived in that city, but it is reasonable to suppose, that it might be either in 1680, or 1681. He resided there for many years with great reputation, and in high favour with the Elector Frederick William; making now and then a trip to Holland, on account of publishing his writings, which were received with great applause (d). At first, the congregation of French Refugees at Berlin was but thin, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numbers retired into Brandenburg, and were received with the utmost compassion; so that Dr Abbadie had a great charge, of which he took all imaginable care, and, by his interest, rendered them many services at court (e). In the spring of the year 1688, the Elector died, and our author then accepted of the proposal made him by the Marshal Schomberg, to go with him first to Holland, and then into England, with the Prince of Orange. In the latter end of the summer of the year 1689, he followed that great man into Ireland, where he remained till after the battle of the Boyne, which happened in July 1690, wherein his patron was killed, which occasioned his return to England (f): He became quickly afterwards, minister of the French church at the Savoy, but the air disagreeing with him, he went over again to Ireland, where he was promoted to the deanery of Killaloo, which he enjoyed for many years (g). His occasions, and especially the printing of his books, called him frequently into England, and Holland, in both places he was extremely beloved. He was strongly attached to the cause of his Royal Master, as appears by his elaborate defence of the Revolution, and his history of the Assassination Plot (h). He gave also very high proofs of his loyalty to King George the first, and would doubtless have shewn the like respect to his Son and successor, early in whose reign, viz. on the 25th of September, 1727, he departed this life at Mary-le-bon, near London, aged, according to some accounts, sixty-nine (i), according to others, seventy-three (k). He had great natural abilities, improved by a large stock of solid and useful learning; was a most zealous Protestant, and, without flattery, one of the most eloquent men of the age, in which he lived. His works, of which the reader will find an account in a note [A], bore

[A] Will find an account in a note.] In order to give the reader as distinct a detail of this author's writings as possible, we will mention them in the order in which they were published. 1. *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture*, Leiden 1680. i. e. Sermons on several texts of scripture, 8vo. This volume contains four sermons, and was the first work Monsieur Abbadie published.

2. *Panegyrique de Monseigneur l'Électeur de Brandebourg*, Rotterdam 1684, in 4to. i. e. A panegyrick on the Elector of Brandenburg. This treatise Gregorio Leti translating into Italian, inserted in his history of the house of Brandenburg: The book was published pretty early in that year, and was spoken of by M. Bayle, not only with great condescension but also with such marks of approbation as are not usual with that author (1).

3. *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, Rotterdam 1684, in 8vo. Two Volumes. *II. Seconde édition revue & augmentée*, Rotterdam 1688, in 12mo. Two Tomes. *II. Rotterdam 1692*, in 12mo. Two Tomes. *II. Quatrième édition*, Rotterdam 1701, in 12mo. Three Volumes. *II. Cinquième édition*, ibid. 1715, in 12mo. *II. Sixième édition*, ibid. 1719, in 12mo. *II. Septième édit.* Amsterdam in 1729, 3 Vols. 12mo. i. e. A treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion.

Mr Bayle commends this piece also, as one of the most perfect in its kind (2), and indeed, it has been always so esteemed as well by the Roman Catholic as the reformed divines. The Abbé Houteville, a late writer, speaks of it in these terms. 'The most shining of those treatises for defence of the Christian Religion, which were published by the Protestants, is that written by Mr Abbadie. The favourable reception it met with, the praises it received almost without example immediately after its publication, the universal approbation it still meets with, renders it unnecessary for me to join my commendations, which would add so little to the merit of so great an author. He has united in this book, all our controversies with the infidels. In the first part, he combats the Atheists; the Deists in the second; and the Socinians in the third: philosophy and theology, enter happily into his manner of composing, which is in the true method, lively, pure, and elegant, especially in the first books; for towards the end, he seems to have less fire. I see methinks there, a dryness which looks like the shore left by the ebb of the full tide of eloquence (3).' This work was translated into English, and into High Dutch, in

which language it hath bore two editions with notes (4).

4. *Reflexions sur la Présence réelle du Corps de Jésus Christ dans l'Eucharistie, comprise en diverses Lettres*. La Haye 1685, in 12mo. i. e. Reflexions on the real presence in the Sacrament. There was a second edition at Rotterdam in 1713, but the author disowned both, as being full of errors, which in many places destroyed the sense (5).

5. *L'Art de se connoître soi-même, ou la Recherche des Sources de la Morale*, Rotterdam 1692, in 12mo. i. e. The art of knowing one's self. This excellent system of morality, was printed again at Lyons in 1693, in 12mo. But therein all the passages which favour the Protestant Religion are left out. A Flemish translation followed, printed at Rotterdam, in 8vo. in 1700. And a High Dutch translation at Augsburg, in 1712, in 8vo. (6).

6. *Défense de la Nation Britannique; ou les droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Société sont clairement établis au sujet de la Révolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Auteur de l'Avis important aux Réfugiés*. A Londres 1692, in 8vo. i. e. A defence of the Revolution in England (7).

7. *Panegyrique de Marie Reine d'Angleterre décedée le 28 Decembre 1694*, la Haye 1695, in 4to. i. e. A panegyrick on Mary Queen of England.

8. *Histoire de la Conspiration dernière d'Angleterre, avec le détail des diverses entreprises contre le Roi, & la Nation, qui ont précédé ce dernier attentat*. Londres 1696, in 8vo. An account of the late conspiracy in England. This book was written by order of King William the third, and the original papers necessary for compiling it, were furnished to the author by the Earl of Portland, and Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State. It was reprinted in Holland, and was also translated into English, but is at present so scarce, that it is known to very few. Perhaps it may not be amiss to take notice, that this conspiracy was that design, commonly called the Assassination Plot (8).

9. *La Vérité de la Religion Reformée*, Rotterdam 1718, in 8vo. Deux Volumes. The truth of the reformed Religion. At the entrance of this work, stands the following address, *Dedicated to the true God, whose great Name, Holy and Terrible, be exalted of all, by all, and over all, for ever, Amen. Humbly offered to his anointed George I, King of Great-Britain, &c.* It was this book, that Dr Henry Lambert, Bishop of Dromore, caused to be translated into English, and afterwards disliking that version, translated it himself, for the instruction of the Roman Catholics in his diocese. It is written in a very warm pathetick stile, but

(4) Nicéron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 383.

(5) Nicéron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 384. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 272.

(6) Nicéron, p. 385.

(7) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iv. p. 254. Nicéron. p. 385. This Treatise of our Author's was in answer to Mr Bayle, but without taking notice that the *Avis important* was his.

(8) Nicéron. p. 387. General Dictionary, in the article A B B A D I E. See also our article of BERNARDE.

(1) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43. Nicéron. T. xxxiii. p. 384.

(2) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 156, 172. Tom. iv. p. 618, 619.

(3) Discours Historique & Critique, sur la méthode des principaux auteurs, &c. p. clxxvii.

bore many editions in his life-time, and are still in great esteem (l).

(l) Nicéron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

but not without a tincture of enthusiasm, which appeared still more strongly in the subsequent piece (9). The year following, he revised the French translation of the Common Prayer Book, which he likewise dedicated to his majesty King George I, (10).

10. *Le Triomphe de la Providence & de la Religion, ou l'ouverture des sept sceaux par le Fils de Dieu; ou l'on trouvera la premiere partie de l'Apocalypse clairement expliquée par ce qu'il y a de plus connu dans l'histoire & de moins contesté dans la parole de Dieu. Avec une nouvelle & très sensible demonstration de la verité de la Religion Chrétienne*, Amsterdam 1723, in four vols. 12mo. The triumph of Providence and

Religion, or the opening the Seven Seals by the Son of God, &c. This is one of the boldest Commentaries on the Revelations, that ever was published; it must however, be allowed, that there are in it abundance of surprizing things, and the strongest proofs, that the fire of the author's imagination, was not at all damped by his years (11). Besides these, he published several single sermons, and other little tracts, which it is not necessary to mention. In 1727, he sent abroad proposals for printing all his works, as well those already published, as many that he had by him ready for the press, in four volumes 4to. But before he could bring his design to bear, he was taken away by death (12).

E

A B B O T (GEORGE) Archbishop of Canterbury: A man, whose extraordinary abilities, high rank in the church, and influence in publick affairs, deserve that the circumstances of his life should be transmitted to posterity with the greatest accuracy and impartiality possible. He was born October 29, 1562, at Guilford, in Surrey, of very worthy parents (a); remarkably distinguished by their steady zeal for the Protestant Religion; for their living long, and happily together, and for their singular felicity in their children [A]. While his mother was pregnant with this son, she is said to have had a dream which proved at once an omen, and an instrument of his future fortunes. Her dream was this. She fancied she was told in her sleep that if she could eat a Jack, or Pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a Jack, and had thus, an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story being much talked of, and coming to the ears of some persons of distinction, they offered to become sponsors for the child, which was kindly accepted, and they had the goodness to afford many testimonies of their affection to their godson while at school, and after he was sent to the university (b). Such were the good effects of his mother's dream [B]. When he was grown up to an age proper for receiving the first tincture of learning, he was sent with his elder brother Robert (of whom in a subsequent article) to the free-school, erected in their native town of Guilford, by King Edward VI; and having passed thro' the rudiments of literature, under the care of Mr Francis Taylor, who had then the direction of that school (c); he was in 1578 removed to the university of Oxford, and entered a student in Baliol College (d). On November 29, 1583, being then bachelor of arts, he was elected probationer fellow of his college; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of arts, he entered into holy orders, and became a celebrated preacher in the university (e). He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1593, and proceeded doctor in that faculty, in May 1597: and in the month of September, of the same year, he was elected master of University College (f). About this time it was, that the first differences began between him and Dr Laud, which subsisted as long as they lived, and was the cause of great uneasiness to both (g). In the year following, which was 1598, he published a Latin work which did him great honour; and which was afterwards reprinted in Germany (h). On March 6, 1599, he was installed dean of Winchester, in the room of Dr Martin Heton, who was preferred to the bishoprick of Ely: Dr Abbot being then about thirty-seven years of age (i). Some writers say that he was also dean of Gloucester (k), but this is absolutely a mistake [C]. In 1600, he was vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford (l), and distinguished himself while in that high office, by the

opinion

[A] For their singular felicity in their children. Mr Maurice Abbot, was by trade a Clothworker, and settled at the town of Guilford, in Surrey, where he married his wife Alice March, and suffered for his steadfastness in the Protestant religion, through the means of Dr Story, who was a great persecuter of such persons in the reign of Queen Mary (1). But these storms being blown over, they passed the remainder of their days quietly, living together fifty-eight years. She deceased September 15, 1606, and he September 25, the same year, the former being eighty, and the latter eighty-six years of age (2). They left behind them six sons, of whom Robert the eldest, was then one of the King's chaplains, our author, George, had been thrice vice-chancellor of Oxford, and their youngest son Maurice, was at this time an eminent merchant of the city of London (3).

[B] Such were the good effects of his mother's dream. The story of this dream was first published by Mr Aubrey, in the year 1696 (4): he seems, from what he says in another work of his, to have enquired afterwards very carefully into the truth of it; which was attested to him by the minister, and several of the most sober inhabitants of Guilford (5); yet it must be owned, that it is not a little strange this dream should

never be taken notice of before, especially considering the humour of the times in which the archbishop lived, and the proneness of Fuller and Lloyd, who have both written accounts of this bishop, to set down whatever carried in it any thing of the wonderful.

[C] That he was dean of Gloucester, is absolutely a mistake. This is very evident, from consulting the succession of the deans of Winchester, and Gloucester; Dr Abbot was installed dean of Winchester, March 6, 1599, as appears by the register (6), and on June 3, 1609, Dr Thomas Moreton, was installed on the promotion of Dr Abbot, to the see of Litchfield and Coventry (7); so that the latter plainly held this deanery nine years. As for that of Gloucester, Dr Griffith Lewis was succeeded therein, after he had held it seven years, by Dr Thomas Moreton, in 1607 (8), who was removed to Winchester, upon the promotion of Dr Abbot; from whence, I imagine, the mistake must have proceeded: Mr Bayle, in his article, has heightened this error, for he makes Dr Abbot succeed Dr Moreton, in the deanery of Gloucester (9), which was excusable in him, as a foreigner; but it is surprizing, to find such as write English histories, setting down false facts of this nature, merely through want of attention.

(9) Nicéron. p. 386.

(10) Nouvelles Littéraires, Vol. X. p. 475.

(a) Thomas Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to 1651, p. 539. Ant. Wood, in his Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. c. 583. See also the inscription on the archbishop's tomb, at Guilford, in the Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the county of Surrey, by John Aubrey, Esq; 8vo. 1719, Vol. III. p. 285.

(1) Abel redivivus, p. 540.

(2) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 298.

(3) Abel redivivus, p. 539.

(4) In his Miscellanies, 8vo. p. 50.

(5) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

(11) Nicéron, ubi supra, p. 386.

(12) Id. p. 387.

(b) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 583.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. c. 584.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Dr Peter Heylyn's life of archbishop Laud, fol. 1608, p. 53.

(h) See Note [Y].

(i) Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. fol. 1716, p. 289.

(k) Dr John Harris's Hist. of Kent, fol. 1719, p. 574, and J. Dart's Hist. of Canterbury Cathed. fol. 1726, p. 173.

(l) Ant. Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 157.

(6) Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. p. 289.

(7) Idem ibid. p. 103.

(8) Idem ibid. Athen. Oxon. c. 584.

(9) See his article of ABBOT.

opinion he gave with respect to the setting up again the cross in Cheapside, about which there were great disputes, but in the end he carried his point against Dr Bancroft, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; which gained him great reputation as appears by a tract published on that subject (*m*) [D]. He likewise published the same year his sermons on the prophet Jonah, which were received with great applause (*n*). In 1603, he was again chosen vice-chancellor of the university, and discharged that office a second time with general approbation (*o*). In the succeeding year 1604, that translation of the Bible which is now in use was made by the direction of King James, and Dr Abbot was the second of eight learned divines in the university of Oxford, to whom the care of translating the whole New Testament (excepting the Epistles) was committed (*p*). He likewise published this year an answer to Dr Hill's Reasons for upholding Popery (*q*). In 1605, he was a third time vice-chancellor (*r*). In the succeeding year, he is said to have had a great share in the troubles of Laud, who was called to an account by the vice-chancellor, Dr Ayry, for a sermon of his preached before the university (*s*); and that year likewise, he lost his father and mother (*t*). In 1608, died his great patron Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, suddenly at the council table, at whose funeral, Dr Abbot preached a sermon, which was afterwards printed, and generally commended (*u*). After his decease, Dr Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and Treasurer of Scotland, one of King James's early favourites, and who had all along had a very high share in his esteem, and with him he went this year into Scotland, in order to assist in the execution of a very important design, for establishing an union between the Churches in that kingdom, and this, wherein he behaved with so much prudence and moderation as gained him a very high character, and is thought to have been the first step to all his future preferment (*w*) [E]. While he was at Edinburgh upon this occasion, a prosecution was commenced against one George Sprot, Notary of Aymouth, for having been concerned in Gowry's conspiracy eight years before, for which he was tried before Sir William Hart, Lord Justice General of Scotland, condemned and executed. A large account of this affair was drawn up by the judge, and a narrative prefixed thereto, by Dr Abbot, who had been eye-witness of all that passed, and this was published at London, in order to settle the minds of the people, with regard to that

(*m*) See Note [D].

(*n*) See Note [T].

(*o*) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 165.

(*p*) See Fuller's Church Hist. lib. x. fol. 46, 57. J. Lewis's Compl. Hist. of the Translations of the Bible and Testament, 2^{vo}. 1739, p. 311.

(*q*) See Note [T].

(*r*) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 168.

(*s*) Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 54.

(*t*) See Note [A].

(*u*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 584.

(*w*) Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, fol. 1672, p. 383.

[D] *A tract published on that subject.* The cross at Cheapside was taken down in the year 1600, in order to be repaired, and upon this occasion, the citizens of London desired the advice of both universities on this question; Whether the said cross should be re-erected or not? and Dr Abbot, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, gave it as his opinion, that the crucifix with the dove upon it should not be again set up, but approved rather of a pyramid, or some other matter of mere ornament, for the reasons assigned in his letter. In this determination he acted consistently with his own practice, when in his said office he caused several superstitious pictures to be burnt at the market-place of Oxford, and among the rest, one in which was the figure of God the Father, over a crucifix, ready to receive the Soul of Christ; and he professes in this letter, that he was moved to such proceedings by his own observation and experience. 'I remember, says he, in that college (Balliol) where I first lived, a young man was taken praying, and beating his breast, before a crucifix in a window; which caused the master and fellows, to pull it down, and set up other glass. Which example, makes me nothing doubt, but that the cross in Cheapside hath many, in the twilight and morning early, who do reverence before it, besides Campian, whose act is famous, or rather infamous, for it. And, I am informed, that so much hath been signified by the neighbours, or inquest, making presentments concerning the circumstances of this cause. By all which, I do conclude, that it is a monument of their superstition; a great inducement, and may be a ready way to idolatry; and that there can be no tolerable use of this matter, which may be able to countervail the dangers and obloquy arising upon the retaining of it; and so much the rather, because it is perceived that many evil affected men do make their advantage from hence, to insinuate into the minds of their credulous hearers, that it is a token of the return of their faith again into this land, since their monuments are not extinguished in the chief street of our greatest city.' He afterwards desires, that the reader would observe, he says, the magistrates are to redress such enormities: 'For, continues he, I do not permit inferior men to run headlong about such matters; and to rend, break, and tear, as well within, as without the churches; which was that which Luther reprehended, but the advice and consent of superior powers is

to be had herein, that all things may be done decently and in order.' He held it therefore necessary, that they should apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) and to the Bishop of London (Bancroft) for instructions (10). The issue of the matter was, that the cross only was erected again, without either the body, or the dove, which was agreeable in the main to the sentiments of the vice-chancellor, and heads of houses at Oxford.

[E] *The first step to all his future preferments.* There is no point in which all the writers who mention this Prelate, more clearly agree, than in this, that his journey to Scotland, brought him into that height of favour with the King, which so suddenly raised him in little more than three years, from Dean of Winchester, to Archbishop of Canterbury; yet it has so fallen out, that hitherto, his transactions in Scotland have lain so much in the dark, that it is a very difficult thing to discern how he merited by them, so high a share of the Royal favour. To explain therefore this hitherto untouched point, and set this matter in a clear light, shall be the business of this note, the rather because it will shew how unjustly this great man has been charged with unfriendliness to the establishment of the Church of England, and coldness in regard to the Hierarchy. King James had suffered so much before his accession to the Crown of England, from the spirit and power of the Presbyterians in Scotland, that he was greatly set on restoring the ancient form of government by Bishops, in that kingdom; the care of which was principally entrusted to the Earl of Dunbar, to whom Dr Abbot was now chaplain (11). That noble Lord, who is by all writers allowed to have been both the wisest and best man of all the favourites of that nation, had proceeded so far in this matter two years before, as to obtain an act for the restitution of the estates of Bishops, but the Presbyterians made so ready a resistance, that the consequences which were hoped from the restoring of that order, were in the utmost danger of being disappointed. But by the skill and prudence, the sound sense, and great moderation of Dr Abbot, these difficulties were removed, and the clergy of Scotland, who had refused to admit the Bishops for their moderators in their church synods, were brought to a better temper, and things put into such a train, as afterwards produced the entire establishment of the Episcopal Order in Scotland; for which the King had been so long struggling,

(10) Cheapside Cross censured and condemned, by a letter sent from the Vice-chancellor, &c. of Oxford; in answer to a question propounded by the citizens of London, &c. 4to, London, 1641.

(11) Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 383.

that conspiracy; which had been hitherto looked upon as a very mysterious affair, and about the reality of which there had been very great doubts (*) [F]. The King knew

(*) A Compensious History of the Catholick Church, shewing her Deformation and Reformation, fo

by Alexander Petrie, fol. Hague, 1662, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

struggling, and to so little purpose. The account given by the famous historian of the Church of Scotland, sufficiently proves the truth of what has been asserted. 'About the end of June (1608) says he, the Earl of Dunbar came from court, and with him two English Doctors, Abbot and Higgins. Dr Maxy, one of the King's chaplains came by sea. It was reported that no small sums of money were sent down with him, to be distributed among the ministers and some others. The English doctor seemed to have no other direction, but to persuade the Scots that there was no substantial difference in religion, between the two realms, but only in things indifferent, concerning government and ceremonies: and to report, that it was his majesty's will, that England should stand as he found it, and Scotland as he left it. But when he came to St Andrews, Mr Robert Howie, a man of a seditious and turbulent spirit, declaimed against the discipline and government of our Kirk; and then they uttered their mind in plain terms: no order was taken with so manifest a breach, after the last conference. This was the policy of the aspiring Bishops, to cry peace, peace, and to crave silence of their opposites; when, in the mean time, they minded not to be silent themselves, when they found occasion (12). This very clearly proves, that it was by a kind and moderate, not a haughty and severe, behaviour, that the English doctor, as he calls Dean Abbot, won so much upon the Scots ministers, as to bring them into a compliance with the King's desires; so that in two years afterwards, the Lord High Treasurer, Dunbar, who was entirely governed in this matter by the advice of his able chaplain, procured an act in the General Assembly, by which it was provided, 'That the King should have the indiction (or calling) of all General Assemblies. That the Bishops, or their deputies should be perpetual Moderators of the diocesan synods. That no excommunication, or absolution, should be pronounced without their approbation. That all presentations of benefices should be made by them; and that the deprivation or suspension of ministers, should belong to them. That every minister at his admission to a benefice, should take the oath of supremacy, and canonical obedience. That the visitation of the diocese, shall be performed by the Bishop or his deputy only. And finally, that the Bishop should be moderator of all conventions, for exercising or prophesying, which should be held within their bounds (13). All which were afterwards ratified and confirmed by authority of the parliament of that kingdom. Such were the merits of Dr Abbot in this respect, and so great justice was there done to them by his noble patron, the Treasurer, in the report he made to his majesty, of the Dean's behaviour in this respect, that, in conjunction with the service rendered his majesty, by giving his unquestioned testimony in the affair of Gowry's conspiracy, (of which a full account shall be given in the succeeding note) he was raised so high, and so firmly fixed in the esteem of his royal master, as that no opposition could prevent his arriving at the supreme dignity in his profession (14). As a proof of his advancing his fortune by this means, and not otherwise, it may not be amiss to transcribe the observation of a con-temporary historian, after Dr Abbot was raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, who tells us, 'That the first preacher, and the first in that embassy, which King James sent into Scotland, to establish those neighbouring Churches, was he, whose eminency both for place and piety, is now worthily foremost in guiding our own; and whose blessed travels in that service, as they were acceptable to God, his majesty, and that nation; so are they a document to others, how powerful and admirably successful true learning is, where it is guided with true prudence; and where piety and the love of God's glory, is linked with charity and zeal of man's good (15).

[F] There had been very great doubts. It is a difficult thing to give a clear account of this matter, within the short compass of a note; and yet the impor-

tance, as well as curiosity of the subject, very obscurely treated by most of our historians, as well as it's close connection with the history of Dean Abbot's life, render it absolutely necessary. This conspiracy was framed by John, Earl of Gowry, son to that Earl of Gowry, who had been executed for surprizing the King's person at Ruthen Castle, in 1584 (16); and carried on with great diligence and secrecy. The scheme was to invite the King, upon some pretence or other, to the Earl's house at Perth, and there to make sure of him. This design was executed on Tuesday August 5, 1600, when the King was brought thither by Mr Alexander Ruthen, brother to the Earl, accompanied by some persons of quality, under pretence of seeing some chymical experiment; and for this purpose after dinner, being brought to a chamber at the top of the house, Mr Alexander Ruthen shut the door, and suddenly fell to upbraiding the King with the death of his father, for which he was now to make satisfaction; and, after this speech, left him for some time to the mercy of the executioner, who refused to do that office, though Alexander returning had, if this man had not hindered him; but the King with much struggling got at last to a window, and cried out so loud, that the lords and gentlemen of his retinue heard him, and came to his assistance; the Earl himself was killed by Sir Thomas Erekine, the captain of the King's guard, as he was going to help his brother, and Alexander Ruthen, was dispatched by Ramfay, one of the King's pages, who being well acquainted with the house, came by the back-stairs time enough to preserve his master (17). When the ministers of Edinburgh were desired to assemble the people, and give God thanks for this deliverance, they excused themselves, as not acquainted with the particulars; and when they were pressed only to make known to the people, that the King had escaped a great danger, and to excite them to thanksgiving: — they answered, that they were not very well satisfied, as to the truth of the matter; and that nothing was to be uttered in the pulpit, but that which might be spoke in faith (18). Upon this, the council ordered the Bishop of Ross to assemble the people, to declare the whole affair, and to make a prayer of thanksgiving, which was done accordingly (19). In November following, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which the estate of Gowry was confiscated, the whole family attainted; and the 5th of August established by act of parliament, for a day of thanksgiving in all succeeding times (20). After King James's accession to the throne of England, he appointed a weekly commemoration, by a Tuesday's sermon at court (21): and now, on the execution of this Sprot, an account of his share in the conspiracy was published, with a preface to the reader, subscribed by Dr Abbot, and full as large as the account itself (22). As this little tract is become very scarce, it may not be amiss to give some passages from it, in order to set this matter in a clearer light. 'There are few in this island, says he, of any understanding, but have heard of the traitorous, and bloody attempt of the Earl Gowrie and his brother, against the person, and life, of our most blessed Sovereign. Wherein albeit there were such evidences, and arguments, as that any man who would have taken notice thereof, might have been sufficiently informed therein, even at the very first, and afterward, by the clear depositions (for most pregnant circumstances) and ample attestations of many persons of honour, and quality; the parliament of that kingdom took full knowledge thereof, and accordingly proceeded to the forfeiting of the whole estate of that Earl, and of his heirs for ever: yet some humorous men, whom in that respect, I may justly term unthank-

ful death, in Edinburgh, August 12, 1603. Written and set forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Justice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the treasonable device betwixt John, Earl of Gowry, and Robert Logane, of Restalrig (commonly called Lesterig) plotted by them for the cruel murdering of our most gracious Sovereign. Before which treatise, is prefixed also a Preface, written by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester; who was present at the said Sprot's execution. London, printed by Melch. Bradwood, for William Aspley, 1608, 4to. Containing 60 Pages, of which, the Preface makes 38.

(16) Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 360.

(17) A Complete History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her Son and Successor, King James, by W. Sanderfon, Esq; fol. 1656, p. 225.

(18) Petrie's History of the Catholick Church, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 362.

(19) Sanderfon's History of Mary and James, p. 231.

(20) Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 362.

(21) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

(22) The Title of this Pamphlet runs thus, The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction, of George Sprot, Notary in Ayrmouth. Together with his constant and extraordinary Behaviour at his

(12) The true History of the Church of Scotland, by Mr David Calderwood, fol. 1680, p. 588, 589.

(13) Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 381, 382.

(14) Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 64.

(15) J. Speed's History of Great Britain, Book x. fol. 1227.

so well the difficulties that were to be encountered in this northern nation, that it gave him very high ideas of the abilities of the man, who was able to overcome them; and therefore, when another set of men filled the King's head and heart with apprehensions, he had recourse to Dr Abbot, as the fittest person, to put things again into the right channel. The case was this, his majesty being engaged in the mediation of peace between the crown of Spain, and the United Provinces; by which the sovereignty of the latter, was to be acknowledged by the former: he demanded the advice of the convocation then sitting, as to the lawfulness of espousing the cause of the States (y). Upon this opening, they launched at once into the wide sea of politics, and instead of satisfying the King's scruples, excited new jealousies and apprehensions, as appears by a very singular

(y) Wilfon's History of King James, p. 37. Sanderfon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 561. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. sub Anno 1609.

ful unto God, and undutiful to their King, out of fond imaginations, or rather, if you will, seditious suppositions of their own, did both at home and abroad, by whisperings and secret buzzings into the ears of the people, (who were better persuaded of them than indeed there was cause) employ their wits and tongues, to obscure the truth of that matter, and to cast an imputation where it was least deserved. Which, when God had permitted, for the space of some years to ranckle and fester in the bowels of those who were the authors of it; the same God, in his wisdom, at last meaning to cure them, if they would be cured, of that malady, discovered that in the same treason, although carried never so secretly, there were other confederates, of whom hitherto the world had taken no kind of knowledge. And albeit two of the persons interested in that business, were lately dead, and departed unto far greater torment, than all the earth could lay upon them, (unless they died repentant) yet it was apprehended, that a third party remained, who had foreknowledge of that conspiracy, and was able to utter much of the secrets of it: one George Sprot, a notary, inhabiting at Ayemouth, a place well known in that county. Which matter, or some part thereof, being made known to an honourable person, a most faithful servant to His Majesty (23): first, by some words that fell from Sprot himself, and afterwards, by some papers found upon him; it was so wisely carried, and so prudently brought about, by the great care and diligence of that nobleman (God Almighty blessing the business) that so much was revealed, as followeth in this treatise, upon the acts to be seen, which are here set down at large, word for word, as they agree with the process original, and other examinations, that such as have been averfe, may at last receive satisfaction. Touching all which I shall say nothing, but only report that which befel upon the day of his death, when he suffered for that treason. Having then the sentence passed on him, upon Friday, August 12, 1608, in the forenoon, and publickly being warned to prepare himself to his end, which must be that after dinner, he most willingly submitted himself unto that punishment, which (as he then acknowledged) he had justly deserved. And being left to himself, till dinner time was expired, then came to him into that private place where he remained, some of the reverend bishops, diverse lords of the Session (24), two of the English ministers, there employed by his majesty, with diverse other ministers of the town of Edinburgh. Before whom he first acknowledged and avouched his former confession to be true, and that he would die in the same; and then falling on his knees, in a corner of that room where he and they then were, in a prayer to God uttered aloud, he so passionately deplored his former wickednesses, but especially that sin of his, for which he was to die, that a man may justly say, he did in a fort, deject and cast down himself to the gates of Hell, as if he should there have been swallowed up in the gulph of desperation: yet, presently laying hold upon the mercies of God in Christ, he raised himself, and strangely lifted up his soul unto the throne of grace, applying joy and comfort to his own heart so effectually, as cannot well be described. In the admitting of this consolation into his inward man, he burst out into tears, so plentifully flowing from him, that for a time they stopped his voice. The sight, and hearing whereof, wrought so forcible an impression in those persons of honour, and learned men, who beheld him, that there was scarce any one of them, who could refrain tears in the place, as diverse of themselves that day did witness unto me (25). ——— After-

(23) The Earl of Dunbar.

(24) Archbishop of Glasgow, Bp Bricchen, Ld Halyrudshouse, Collector, Register, Justice Clerk, D. Maxwell, M. Hodson, M. P. Galloway, M. J. Hall, Ch. Lumfden, and others.

(25) Dean Abbot's Preface, p. 13. --- 22.

ward being brought to the scaffold where he was to die, he uttered many things, among which, I observed these: He acknowledged to the people, that he was come thither to suffer most deservedly; that he had been an offender against Almighty God, in very many respects; but that none of his sins was so grievous unto him, as that, for which he must die; wherein, notwithstanding he was not an actor, but a concealer only. That he was ingyred (involved) in it by the Laird of Raftalrig, and his servant, the Laird of Bour, both which, he said, were men that professed not religion. Whereupon, he exhorted men to take heed, how they accompanied with such as are not religious; because, said he, with such as make not profession of religion, there is no faith, no truth, no holding of their word, as himself had tried and found. But touching the treason, for the concealing whereof he was condemned, he added, that he was preserved alive to open that secret mystery which so long had lain hid. That God had kept him since that attempt of the Earl Gowrie, from very many dangers, but notably from one, when being in apparent hazard of drowning, he was strangely delivered; which, said he, was God's work, that I might remain alive unto this happy and blessed day, that the truth might be made known. And now I confess my fault, to the shame of myself, and to the shame of the devil; but to the glory of God. And I do it not either for fear of death, or for any hope of life (for I have deserved to die, and am unworthy to live) but because it is the truth, which I shall seal with my blood. My fault, said he, is so great, that if I had a thousand lives, and could die ten thousand deaths, yet I might not make satisfaction, that I should conceal such a treason against so gracious a King. These, and the like words, when he had spoken upon one side of the scaffold, he turned him to the second side, and afterward to the third (that all the people might hear) where he spake to the same purpose as formerly he had done (26). ——— And here, being told (26) Ibid. p. 24. --- 26. by the said ministers, and other persons of quality, that being so near his departure out of the world, it concerned him to speak nothing but the truth, and that upon the peril of his soul: he answered, that to the end that they should know that he had spoken nothing but the verity, and that his confession was true in every respect, he would (at the last gasp) give them some apparent token for the confirmation of the same. Then fitting himself to the ladder, the executioner cometh to him, and as the manner is, asking forgiveness of him; with all my heart, said he, for you do but your office, and it is the thing I desire; because, suffering in my body, I shall in my soul be joynted to my Saviour. Ascending up to the ladder, he desired the people to sing a psalm with him, which they did with many a weeping eye. He named the 6th psalm, and beginning, or taking it up himself, in every verse or line thereof, he went before the people, singing both loud and tunably unto the very end. Then once again confirming and avowing his former confession, he covered his own face, and, commending his soul to God, he was turned off the ladder; where hanging by the neck some little while, he three several times, gave a loud clap with his hands, that all the standers-by might hear, which was the sign or token (as it seemeth) which he a little before had said, that he would give at his last gasp, for the ratification and avowing of those things, which by his confession he had so many times declared and delivered. These things were done in the open sight of the sun, in the King's capital town, at the market-cross in Edinburgh, in the presence of diverse thousands of all sorts; of the nobility, of the clergy, of the gentry,

singular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this subject [G]. It does not appear what effect this letter of the King's produced, but in all probability it answered his majesty's end in writing it, as it is an incontestable proof of the confidence he had in the person it was written to. At least thus much is certain, that Dean Abbot, stood so high in the King's favour, that on the death of Dr Overton, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, which happened the latter end of April, 1609, his majesty thought of Dr Abbot for his successor, and he was accordingly consecrated Bishop of those united sees, on December 3, in the same year (z). But this, it seems, did not appear in the King's eyes a sufficient recompence, for the services rendered him by so able a man; and therefore, before he had sat a month in this bishoprick, he was translated to London, that see becoming void by the death of Dr Thomas Ravis, and he was accordingly removed thither on the 20th of January following (a). It was but a short time that he possessed both these bishopricks, and yet in that short time, he so remarkably distinguished himself by the diligent performance of his function, by constant preaching, and by expressing the utmost readiness to promote learning, and learned men, that he obtained a general good character, as appears from several memorials of those times (b) [H]. While the good Bishop was thus employed, a new opportunity offered of the King's testifying his esteem of, and confidence in, this worthy person, by the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury's becoming vacant as it did, on the 2d of November, 1610, by the death of

Dr Richard

(z) Regist. Bancroft, fol. 96. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 584, 735. Godwin de Praefulib. Angliae, Lond. 4to 1616, p. 225.

(a) Ibid. fol. 705. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 735.

(b) Godwin de Praeful. Angliae, p. 225.

gentry, of the burgessees, of women and children, myself, with the rest of the English ministers, standing by, and looking on, and giving God the glory, that after so long a space as eight years and eight days (for so it was by just computation, after the attempt of Gowrie) he was pleased to give so noble a testimony unto that, which by some maligners, had been secretly called in question, without any ground or reason. I have reported at length, those particulars, which I heard and saw; which that honourable personage who wrote this treatise following, doth somewhat more briefly deliver, but yet both of us very truly, as thousands can witness (27).

[G] *A very singular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this subject.*] This letter from the King, to Dr Abbot, was first published on occasion of the famous dispute between Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, and his adversaries, on his taking the oaths to King William III, after some hesitation, and grounding the defence of his conduct on (Bishop) Overall's Convocation Book (28). It is not necessary here, to enter at all into the merits of that dispute; but as the letter has a close connection with the history of the Archbishop's life, the reader will not be displeased to see it (29).

Good Dr Abbot,

I cannot abstain to give you my judgment of the proceedings in the convocation, as you will call it; and both as *rex in folio*, and *unus grex in ecclesia*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the crown, nobody calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me, and you may guess whom I mean; all that you, and your brethren, have said of a king in possession (for that word, I tell you, is no more, than that you make use of in your canon) concerns not me at all: I am the next heir, and the crown is mine by all rights you can name, but that of conquest; and Mr Solicitor, has sufficiently expressed my own thoughts, concerning the nature of kingship; and concerning the nature of it, *ut in mea persona*, and, I believe, you were all of his opinion, at least none of you said any thing contrary to it, at the time he spoke to you from me: but you know all of you, as I think, that my reason of calling you together, was to give your judgments; how far a christian, and a protestant King, may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their own sovereign? Upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's time, this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders, both with arms and advice, and none of your coat ever told me, that any scrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from some of your selves, to raise scruples about this matter; and albeit, I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in subditos*, as in *May* last, in the star chamber, upon the occasion of Hales's pamphlet; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours call on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and Spain, and the honour of the nation

will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, especially after so much money and men spent in their quarrel; therefore, I was of the mind to call my clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the world about us, of the justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not; you have dipped too deep, in what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii*; and whatever aversion you may profess against God's being the author of sin, you have stumbled upon the threshold of that opinion, in saying, upon the matter, that even tyranny is God's authority, and should be remembered as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it, for you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority, if he prevail.

Mr Doctor, I have no time to express my mind further on this theory business; I shall give you my orders about it by Mr Solicitor, and until then, meddle no more in it, for they are edge tools; or rather like that weapon that is said to cut with one edge, and cure with the other: I commit you to God's protection, good Dr Abbot, and rest

Your good friend,

JAMES R.

[H] *As appears from several memorials of those times.*] While he was Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, it appears that he solicited Archbishop Bancroft, to bestow a prebend upon Dr Thomas James, who was Sir Thomas Bodley's Librarian at Oxford (30). In the year 1610, Thomas Tisdale, of Glimpton, in Oxfordshire, Esq; bequeathed five thousand pounds to Dr George Abbot, then Bishop of London, Sir John Bennet, and Dr Aray, to purchase lands for the maintenance of seven fellows, and six scholars; which money was laid out in the purchase of two hundred and fifty pounds a year. Afterwards, Richard Wightwick, B. D. rector of East-Isle, in Berkshire, gave lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three fellows, and four scholars; upon which, the trustees before-mentioned, having repaired, and, in a manner, rebuilt Broad-Gate-Hall, in Oxford, procured in the reign of King James, upon their petition setting forth these facts, a charter of Mortmain, for seven hundred pounds *per annum*, to this new foundation, which was called Pembroke College (31), in respect to William, Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University; and for our Prelate's activity in accomplishing this affair, Dr Thomas Clayton, who was the first master of the new college, wrote him a very handsome letter of acknowledgment, which is still extant (32). In August, 1610, he consecrated the new church-yard on the west side of Fleet-Ditch, the ground of which had been given to the inhabitants of St Bride's parish, by the Earl of Dorset (33). His zeal, and indefatigable diligence, in the publick exercise of his function, were so remarkable, and the conduct of his private life so exemplary, as well as irreproachable,

(30) Reliq. Budleian. 8vo. 1703. p. 228.

(31) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. lib. xi. p. 125. See his Worthies also in Oxfordshire.

(32) The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, by Mr John Ward, fol. 1740. p. 210.

(33) Newcourt's Diocese of London, Vol. I. fol. 316.

(27) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

(28) A Vindication of the Case of Allegiance, due to Sovereign Powers; in Reply to an Answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled, Obedience and Submission to the present Government demonstrated from Bishop Overall's Convocation Book; with a Postscript, in Answer to Dr Sherlock's Case of Allegiance, &c. by William Sherlock, Master of the Temple, 4to. 1691. p. 4.

(29) New Observator, Vol. III. No. xii. the Author of which tells us, the Original is in the hands of an eminent person; in the four last lines in the King's own hand, and the rest in the secretary's.

(c) Sanderfon's
Reign and
Death of King
James, p. 365.
Athen. Oxon.
Vol. 1. col. 584.

(d) Heylyn's Hi-
story of the Pref-
byterians, p. 383.

(e) Regift. ipſius,
fol. 1.

(f) Camden.
Annal. Jacobi 1.

(g) Godwin de
Præful. Angliæ,
p. 225.

(b) Memorials of
Affairs of State,
in the Reigns of
Queen Elizabeth,
and King James 1.
Collected from
the Original Pa-
pers of Sir Ralph
Winwood, fol.
1725, Vol. 111.
p. 281.

(i) Heylyn's Hi-
story of the Pref-
byterians, p. 384.

(k) Winwood's
Memorials, Vol.
111. p. 294, 317.
Heylyn, ubi ſupra.

(l) Winwood's
Memorials, Vol.
111. p. 346.

(m) Camden.
Annal. Jacob. 1.

(n) Winwood's
Memorials, Vol.
111. p. 423, 430.

(o) Wilſon's Hi-
ſtory of King
James, p. 65.
Sanderfon's
Reign and Death
of King James,
p. 380. Camden.
Annal. Jacob. 1.

(p) Winwood's
Memorials, Vol.
111. p. 454.

Dr Richard Bancroft (c). The court Bishops immediately caſt their eyes upon the cele-
brated Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Biſhop of Ely, and pointed him out to the King,
as one ſufficiently qualified to take upon him the government of the Church; and they
thought this recommendation joined to the King's known regard for the parts and piety of
this eminent man, enough to ſecure his promotion to the Primacy (d); but either the King
himſelf thought of the Biſhop of London, or he was propoſed to him by his old friend
and patron, the Earl of Dunbar; and therefore, without taking the advice of thoſe pre-
lates, his majeſty preferred Biſhop Abbot to the throne of Canterbury, in which he
was ſeated on the 9th of April, 1611 (e); and on the 23d of June following, was ſworn
of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council (f). Thus we ſee him, before he had
arrived at the age of fifty, exalted to the higheſt dignity in the Church, and celebrated
by one of his con-temporaries, and a biſhop too, for his learning, eloquence, and indefa-
tigable diligence in preaching and writing, notwithstanding the great burthen that lay
upon him, from the neceſſary attendance on the duties of his high office; eſpecially pre-
ſiding in the high commiſſion court, which ſat weekly at his palace, and his regular aſſiſt-
ing at council, which, while his health permitted, he never failed (g). At this time,
he was in the higheſt favour both with Prince and people; and appears to have had a
principal hand in all the great tranſactions in Church and State; he was never eſteemed
exceſſively fond of power, or deſirous of carrying his prerogative, as Primate of England,
to an extraordinary height; yet as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick,
he ſhewed a ſteady reſolution in the maintainance of the rights of the high commiſſion
court, and would not ſubmit to Lord Coke's prohibitions (b). He likewiſe ſhewed his
concern for the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion abroad, by procuring his majeſty's
application to the States General, againſt Conrade Vorſtius, whom they called to the Pro-
feſſorſhip of Leyden (i); in which affair Sir Ralph Winwood was employed; and
when it was found difficult to obtain from the States that ſatiſfaction which the King
deſired, his Grace, in conjunction with the Lord Treafurer, Saluſbury, framed an expedi-
ent for contenting both parties (k). In all probability this alarmed ſome of the warm
churchmen at home, who were by no means pleaſed with the King's diſcountenancing
abroad, thoſe opinions which themſelves favoured in both univerſities; but, whatever
their ſentiments upon this matter might be, Archbiſhop Abbot ſeems to have had as
great concern for the Church, as any of them, when he thought it really in danger, as
appears by a ſhort and plain letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, about one Mr Amias,
who had been appointed preacher in the English congregation at the Hague, of whom
the Biſhop ſays, that he was a fit perſon to breed up the captains and ſoldiers there in
mutiny and faction, and, conſequently, very unfit for his office (l). His great concern
for the true intereſt of religion, made him a zealous promoter of the match between the
Electoꝛ Palatine, and the Princeſs Elizabeth; and that Prince being here in the begin-
ning of the year 1612 (m), his Grace thought fit to invite the nobility that attended him
to an entertainment, at his archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth, where, though uninvited
and unexpected, the Electoꝛ himſelf reſorted, to ſhew his great reſpect for the Archbiſhop,
and was ſo well pleaſed with his welcome, that when he feaſted the members of the
privy council at Effex Houſe, he ſhewed particular reſpect to the Archbiſhop, and thoſe
who attended him. On the fourteenth of February following, the marriage was ſolem-
nized with great ſplendor, the Archbiſhop performing the ceremony on a ſtage erected
in the middle of the royal chapel; and on the tenth of April, his Electoral Highneſs
returned to Germany (o); but before his departure, he made a preſent of plate to the
Archbiſhop, of the value of a thouſand pounds, as a mark of the juſt ſenſe he had of
the pains his Grace had taken in the accompliſhing his marriage; and as an additional
mark of his confidence, he wrote to him from Canterbury, in relation to the cauſes of
that diſcontent, with which he left England (p) [I]. The concern his majeſty had
ſhewn for removing Arminius firſt, and then Vorſtius, had given their favourers in
Holland ſo much uneaſineſs, that the famous Hugo Grotius, the great champion of their
cauſe, was ſent over to England, to endeavour to mitigate the King's diſpleaſure, and,
if

irreproachable, that we find him celebrated by an eminent poet, for uniting the wiſdom of the ſerpent, with the innocency of the dove (34); which was not only true of him then, but in the whole ſucceeding courſe of his life; wherein it may be truly ſaid, that as his abilities raiſed him to preferment, ſo nothing but his rigid virtue and incorruptible probity, expoſed him to thoſe ſtorms of envy and malice, which, however they might affect his fortune, could never ſhake his conſtancy, or prejudice his reputation.

[I] To the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England.] The Prince Electoꝛ Palatine, a little before he left England, addreſſed himſelf to the King, in hopes of obtaining the enlargement of the Lord Gray, who had been a long time a priſoner in the tower; but this application ſo little pleaſed the King, that he told him roundly in anſwer, he marvelled, how he ſhould become ſuitor for a man whom he neither knew, or ever ſaw; to which the Prince Electoꝛ anſwered, that this was true, but that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke de Bouillon,

Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and Count Henry, who were well acquainted with him. In all probability, this, inſtead of giving the King ſatiſfaction, filled him with new apprehenſions; for his reply was in a very quick ſtile, Son, ſaid he, when I come into Germany, I promiſe you not to importune you for any of your priſoners. This was ſo far from operating favourably in behalf of Lord Gray, that he was ſoon after more cloſely reſtrained, upon pretence of ſome private converſation he had with one of Lady Arabella's women, which proved after all to be no more than an amorous intrigue. Theſe particulars we learn from a letter written by Mr Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated May 6, 1613, and he adds, 'It is thought the Prince Palatine, went not away ſo well ſatiſfied, being reſuſed in divers ſuits and requeſts; and I hear that from Canterbury he wrote to the Archbiſhop, complaining, That the King did not uſe him like a ſon, but rather like a youngling, or childiſh youth, not to be regarded (35).

(35) Winwood's
Memorials, Vol.

[K] Of 111. p. 454.

(34) See the Scourge of Folly, conſiſting of Satyrical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy Perſons, &c. by John Davis, of Hereford, 8vo. ſine Anno, p. 137.

if possible, to give him a better opinion of the Remonstrants, as they began then to be called; and we have a very singular account of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbishop (q) [K]. In the spring of the year 1613, the affair of the Charterhouse was settled, and at the close of the month of June, his Grace, and the rest of the trustees, took possession of that place, pursuant to the will of Mr Sutton (r); and if this gave the Archbishop, as no doubt it did, great satisfaction, an affair that happened about the same time, disturbed him not a little. This was the famous case of divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, and Robert, Earl of Essex, her husband; which has been always considered as one of the greatest blemishes of King James's reign, though the part acted therein by the Archbishop of Canterbury, added much to the reputation he had already acquired, for unshaken and incorruptible integrity [L]. The circumstances that attended this affair, might possibly lessen the King's favour to him in some respects, but he still retained a great share of it, as appears by the raising his brother to the see of Salisbury, in the year 1615 (s); but with Queen Anne, he stood always on the best terms possible (t). He made use of his interest with her majesty, when all other applications had failed, to engage her to recommend Mr George Villiers, so well known afterwards in the world, to his majesty's favour, for which at that time, the young man was so grateful as to call him father (u), and to desire his advice as to his behaviour, which the Archbishop very freely gave him; and it had been very

(q) See that letter in the Note.

(r) Sanderson's Reign and Death of King James, p. 567.

(s) Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 68.

(t) As we learn from himself, in a passage of a work of his, transcribed in Note [M].

(u) See the Article of V I L L I E R S (GEORGE Duke of Buckingham.

[K] *Of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbishop*] This is contained in a letter from his Grace to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 1, 1613, from Lambeth; it contains a great variety of curious particulars, some of which follow (37). 'You must take heed, how you trust Dr Grotius too far, for I perceive him to be so addicted to some partialities in those parts, that he feareth not to lash, so it may serve a turn. At his first coming to the King, by reason of his good Latin tongue, he was so tedious, and full of tittle-tattle, that the King's judgment was of him, that he was some pedant, full of words, and of no great judgment. And I myself, discovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him, so long as he would talk, (which is a great burthen to men replete with business) did privately give him notice thereof, that he should plainly, and directly, deliver his mind, or else he would make the King weary of him. This did not so take place, but that afterwards he fell to it again, as was especially observed one night at supper at the Lord Bishop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr Casaubon, (as I think) my Lord intreated him to stay to supper, which he did. There was present Dr Steward, and another Civilian, unto whom he flings out some question of that profession, and was so full of words, that Dr Steward afterwards told my Lord, that he did perceive by him, that, like a snatterer, he had studied some two or three questions, whereof when he came in company he must be talking to vindicate his skill; but if he were put from those, he would shew himself but a simple fellow. There was present also, Dr Richardson, the King's professor of divinity in Cambridge, and another Doctor in that faculty, with whom he falleth in also about some of those questions, which are now controverted among the ministers in Holland. And being matters wherein he was studied, he uttered all his skill concerning them: my Lord of Ely sitting still at the supper all the while, and wondering what a man he had there, who never being in the place or company before, could overwhelm them so with talk for so long a time. I write this unto you so largely, that you may know the disposition of the man, and how kindly he used my Lord of Ely, for his good entertainment. — You will ask me what is this to you? I must tell you therefore, that you shall not be without your part. At the same time that Sir Noel Caron was together with Grotius, being now to take his leave of the King, it was desired of his majesty, that he would not hastily give his judgment concerning points of religion, now in difference in Holland, for that his majesty had information but of one side, and that his Ambassador did deal partially, making all reports in favour of the one side, and saying nothing at all for the other. For he might have let his majesty know, how factious a generation these contradictors are; how they are like to our puritans in England; how refractory they are to the authority of the civil magistrate, and other things of like nature, as I wrote you in my former letter. I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this information, whereout I

(37) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 459.

conceive you will make some use, keeping these things privately to your self, as becometh a man of your employment. When his majesty told me this, I gave such an answer as was fit; and now upon the receipt of your letters, shall upon the first occasion give further satisfaction. All things rest there as they did, and I, as ready to do you all good offices, remain, &c.

GEORGE Cant.

[L] *Unshaken and incorruptible integrity*] This affair of the divorce, was by the King referred to a court of delegates, consisting of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Coventry and Litchfield, and Rochester, Sir Julius Cæsar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn, Dr John Bennet, Dr Francis James, and Dr Thomas Edwards. This affair was drawn out into a great length, and many accidents happened in the course of it, which gave the Archbishop infinite disquiet. He saw plainly, that the King was very desirous the Lady should be divorced, and, on the other hand, he was in his judgment directly against the divorce. He laboured all he could to extricate himself from these difficulties, by having an end put to the cause some other way than by sentence, but it was to no purpose; for those who drove on this affair, had got too great power to be restrained from bringing it to the conclusion they desired. The Archbishop was told, that a predecessor of his, which was Archbishop Grindall, had suffered about Dr Julio's divorce, and so might he; but this, however, did not at all move him; on the contrary, he prepared a speech against the nullity of the marriage, which he intended to have spoken in the court at Lambeth, September 25, 1613, but he did not make use of that speech, because the King ordered them to deliver their opinions in few words. He continued, however, inflexible, with regard to his opinion, and therefore, when sentence was pronounced, the court was divided in the following manner (38)

The commissioners who gave sentence in the Lady Essex's behalf, were,

- | | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|
| Winchester,
Ely,
Litchfield and Coventry,
Rochester, | } Bishops. | |
| Sir Julius Cæsar,
Sir Thomas Parrey,
Sir Daniel Dunn, | | } Doctors of Law. |

The commissioners dissenting.

Archbishop of Canterbury,
Bishop of London.

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| Sir John Bennet,
Francis James,
Thomas Edwards, | } Doctors of Law. |
|---|-------------------|

(38) Sanderson's History of King James, p. 390, 391.

very happy for him if he had always followed those councils [M]. Towards the close of the next year, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato (w), took shelter here, from the persecution with which he was threatened by the Pope, for discovering his dislike both of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome, and was very kindly received by his majesty, who was pleased to order the Archbishop to entertain him (x), which he did with generous hospitality, till he was otherwise provided for by the King. His Grace however thought himself sufficiently recompensed for the trouble given him in this affair, by this stranger's procuring for him the manuscript of Father Paul's excellent history of the council of Trent (y). In the spring of the year 1618, viz. on the second of March, our good Archbishop lost his brother the Bishop of Salisbury (z), and before his grief was well over for so near a relation, he met with fresh disturbance from the King's declaration for permitting sports and pastimes on the Lord's day, which was dated at Greenwich, May 4, 1618 (a). This declaration was ordered to be read in churches, and the Archbishop being accidentally at Croydon in Surrey when it came thither, had the courage to forbid it's being read, which however the King winked at, notwithstanding there were some about him, who let no opportunity slip of irritating him against this prelate (b). The council of Dort

(w) Camd. An-
nal. Jacob. I.
Dec. 16, 1616.

(x) Id. ibid.

(y) Compleat
Hist. of England,
Vol. II. p. 707.

(z) Wood's A-
then. Oxon.
Vol. I. col. 417.
Heylyn's Hist. of
Abp. Laud, p. 75.

(a) Heylyn's Hi-
story of the sa-
bat, p. 493.

(b) Compleat Hi-
story of England,
Vol. II, p. 709.
fat

To justify his conduct in this matter, the Archbishop drew up the reasons which induced him to be against the sentence, which King James thought fit to answer himself, and wrote also a letter to him upon that subject, in which there are some things that are very singular, and therefore worthy the reader's notice. 'After that I had fully perused and rightly considered of all your papers, I found your principles so strange, and your doubts so far fought, that I thought it necessary, as I have already said, to set down unto you my observations upon them. But to conclude my letter with that plainness that becometh one of my quality; I must freely confess, that I find the grounds of your opposition so weak, as I have reason to apprehend, that the prejudice you have of the persons, is the greatest motive of breeding these doubts into you; which prejudice is the most dangerous thing that can fall in a Judge, for misleading of his mind. And the reason moving me to this apprehension, is partly grounded upon your last words to me at your parting from Windsor, and partly upon a line scraped out in your paper of doubts, for I am sure you think me not so blunt a secretary, but that I can read a line so scraped out. In your last speeches with me, you remember you told me, what assurance you had of the Earl's ability out of his own mouth, which you said you could not but trust, because he was so religious a nobleman. But when I told you of the other party's contrary affirmation, you remember how you used the word of iniquity, and how far your interlined line seems to have a harmony with this word, yourself can best judge. Now then if I would ask you what proof you have of the one's religion more than the other's, you must answer me by judging upon the exterior; and how deceivable that guess is, daily experience teaches us: but with a holy protestation, that I never knew any thing but good in the young Earl. Was not this the ground of master Robert Bruce's incredulity, because he knew the Earl of Gowry to be truly religious, &c. (39) This letter might and probably did trouble the Archbishop, however he persisted in the same conduct, and never could be brought to do any thing, that might appear so much as a tacit approbation of that sentence, as is most evident in the account given of this matter, and all the circumstances attending it, (at least in relation to the Archbishop) written by himself, and published within these few years (40).

[M] If he had always followed those councils.] We have this very remarkable passage from the Archbishop's own pen, in the discourse he wrote upon his disgrace, under the reign of King Charles. In that discourse he observes, that it was one of King James's maxims, to take no favourite but what was recommended to him by his Queen, that if she afterwards complained of this Dear One, he might answer, it is long of yourself, for you were the party that commended him unto me. Our old master, says the Archbishop, took delight strangely in things of this nature. He says that Queen Anne was graciously pleased to give him more credit than ordinary, and therefore when others had solicited her in vain, he was applied to; but for some time her majesty would not listen to his persuasions, or think of recommending Villiers, for which she often gave him these

reasons. My Lord, you and the rest of your friends know not what you do, I know your master better than you all, for if this young man be once brought in, the first persons that he will plague must be you that labour for him, yea, I shall have my part also; the King will teach him to despise and hardly intreat us all, that he may seem to beholden to none but himself. Noble Queen (cries out the Archbishop after reporting this fact) how like a prophetes did you speak! The rest of the story being but short will appear best in the Archbishop's own words. 'In the end, says he, upon importunity, Queen Anne condescended, and so pressed it with the King, that he assented thereunto; which was so stricken while the iron was hot, that in the Queen's bed-chamber, the King knighted him with the rapier which the Prince did wear. And when the King gave order to swear him of the bed-chamber, Somerset, who was near, importuned the King with a message, that he might only be sworn a Groom; ——— but myself and others that were at the door, sent to her majesty that she would perfect her work, and cause him to be sworn a Gentleman of the chamber. There is a lord or two living that had a hand in this achievement; I diminish nothing of their praise for so happy a work, but I know my own part best; and on the Word of an honest man, I have reported nothing but truth. 'George went in with the King, but no sooner he got loose, but he came forth unto me in the privy-gallery, and there embraced me: he professed that he was so infinitely bound unto me, that all his life long he must honour me as his father. And now he did beseech me that I would give some lessons how he should carry himself. When he earnestly followed this chace, I told him I would give him three short lessons, if he would learn them. The first was, that daily upon his knees he should pray to God to bless the King his master, and to give him (George) grace studiously to serve and please him. The second was, that he should do all good offices between the King and the Queen, and between the King and the Prince. The third was, that he should fill his master's ears with nothing but truth. I made him repeat these three things unto me, and then I would have him to acquaint the King with them, and to tell me when I met him again, what the King said unto him. He promised me he would; and the morrow after, Mr Thomas Murrey, the Prince's tutor, and I standing together in the gallery at Whitehall, Sir George Villiers coming forth and drawing to us, he told Mr Murrey how much he was beholden unto me, and that I had given him certain instructions, which I prayed him to rehearse, as indifferently well he did before us; yea, and that he had acquainted the King with them, who said, they were instructions worthy of an Archbishop to give to a young man. His countenance of thankfulness for a few days continued, but not long, either to me or any other of his well-wishers. The Roman historian Tacitus hath somewhere a note, That benefits while they may be required seem courtcies, but when they are so high that they cannot be repaid, they prove matters of hatred (41).'

(41) Rushworth's
Historical Col-
lections, Vol. I.

[N] His p. 460, 461.

(39) Case of the
Earl of Essex, and
the Lady Frances
Howard, p. 129.

(40) See a further
account of this
realitie in note
[2].

fat this year, to which were sent from hence in the beginning of the month of October four commissioners, and amongst them Dr Hall, Dean of Winchester, with whose health the climate of Holland disagreeing, he returned, and Dr Goad, the Archbishop's chaplain, was sent in his place (c). The end of this year proved as disagreeable to the Bishop as it's beginning; in Autumn, the Queen, his gracious mistress, falling ill of that distemper, which, after a tedious sickness, brought her to her end on the first of March following (d). The Archbishop himself began also to grow infirm, and finding himself less fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, resolved, while he had still strength, to enter upon a great and good design, which he had long meditated as a testimony of affection to his native town of Guilford, where, on the fifth of April 1619, he was present when Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the first stone of his hospital, which the Archbishop afterwards nobly endowed (e) [N]. It was towards the end of this year, that the Elector Palatine accepted of the crown of Bohemia (f), which occasioned great disputes in King James's councils, some desiring that his majesty should not interfere in this matter at all, from a foresight that it would produce a war in Germany; others again, believing that both natural affection to his son and daughter, and a just concern for the Protestant interest, ought to have engaged his majesty warmly to support the new election (g). The Archbishop agreed in sentiment with the last mentioned party, and not being able at that time to attend the privy council, he wrote his mind with great plainness and freedom to the Secretary of State [O]. The next year was in a great measure spent in debates and negotiations

(c) Fuller's Ch. Hist. of Britain, Cent. XVII. lib. x. p. 80.

(d) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(e) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. April 6, 1619. Aubrey's Anriq. of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 233. Weaver's Funer. Monuments, p. 199.

(f) Sanderfon's History of King James I. p. 481.

(g) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 83.

[N] His hospital which he afterwards nobly endowed.] This hospital stands almost over-against Trinity Church, built of brick in a quadrangular form, with a noble tower at it's entrance, and four small turrets over the gate. His Grace endowed it with lands to the value of three hundred pounds per annum, one hundred pound of which was to be employed towards setting the poor to work, and the other two hundred pounds, for the maintenance of a master, twelve brethren, and eight sisters, who have blue cloaths, and gowns of the same colour, and two shillings and six pence a week, each. In the chapel, which is spacious and high roofed, there are two windows of painted glass, very well stained, representing the story of the patriarch Jacob and his family, and amongst the figures there are three angels holding scrolls, in which are these words,

Do pauperibus. Reddo Deo. Quid retribuam Domino? hic vota resolvam.

I give to the poor. I restore to God. What shall I return unto the Lord? here will I pay my vows.

On scrolls in several places of the windows are these words;

Clamamus Abba Pater (42).

This I take to be a kind of allusion to the Archbishop's name, which was sometimes written Abbat, as appears by the picture before his brother's life, in Dr Fuller's collection (43); but however, the allusion will hold in the Latin without this supposition. The twenty-ninth of October being the anniversary of the Bishop's birth is commemorated here, and the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, is the visitor of this hospital (44).

[O] He wrote his mind with great plainness and freedom to the Secretary of State.] This letter shall be here transcribed, not so much in proof of the matter of fact asserted in the text, as in respect to the work itself, for so it may be filed, tho' no more than a letter, since it contains a compendious system of the Archbishop's sentiments in religion and politics; so that if we were to spend ever so much time in the enquiry after these points, we should never be able to point them out so clearly, fully, and in a manner so much to the reader's satisfaction, as they are here (and in another letter hereafter cited) represented by the Archbishop's own pen (45).

To Secretary NAUNTON.

Good Mr Secretary,

I HAVE never more desired to be present at any consultation, than that which is this day to be handled, for my heart and all my heart goeth with it; but my foot is worse than it was on Friday, so that by advice of my physician I have sweat this whole night past, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

But for the matter; my humble advice is, that there is no going back, but a countenance of it against all the world; yea so far as with ringing of bells and making of bonfires in London, so soon as it shall be certainly understood, that the coronation is past. I am satisfied in my conscience that the cause is just, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man; and so much the rather, because he hath taken a course to make that kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath set up the Prince that is chosen to be a mark of honour thro' all Christendom, to propagate his gospel, and to protect the oppressed, I dare not for my part give advice, but to follow where God leads.

It is a great honour to the King our master, that he hath such a son, whose virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And methinks I do in this and that of Hungary, foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece the kings of the earth that gave their power unto the beast (all the word of God must be fulfilled) shall now tear the whore and make her desolate, as St John in his Revelation has foretold. I pray you therefore, with all the spirits you have, to put life into this business; and let a return be made into Germany with speed, and with comfort, and let it be really prosecuted, that it may appear to the world, that we are awake when God in this sort calleth us.

If I had time to express it, I could be very angry at the shuffling which was used towards my Lord Doncaster, and the slighting of his embassage fo, which cannot but touch upon our great master who did send him; and therefore I would never have a noble son forsaken for respect of them, who truly aim at nothing but their own purposes.

Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, will honour the Palsgrave, will strengthen the union, will bring on the States of the Low-Countries, will stir up the King of Denmark, and move his own uncles, the Prince of Orange and the Duke de Bourbonville, together with Tremorville (a rich Prince in France) to cast in their shares; and Hungary, as I hope, (being in that same cause) will run the same fortune. For the means to support the war I hope providebit Deus: the parliament is the old and honourable way, but how assured at this time I know not; yet I will hope the best: certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave spirits will voluntarily go. Our great master, in sufficient want of money, gave some aid to the Duke of Savoy, and furnished out a pretty army in the cause of Cleve. We must try once again what can be done in this business of a higher nature, and all the money that may be spared, is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the jewels that were laid up in the Tower, to be gathered by the mother for the preservation of her daughter; who, like a noble Princess, hath professed to her husband, not to leave herself one jewel, rather than not to maintain so religious and righteous a cause. You see that lying on my bed I have gone too far; but if I were

(42) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 282.

(43) Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 538. and his name is likewise spelt Abbat in the index.

(44) Aubrey, ubi supra.

(45) Cabala, third edit. p. 102.

(b) Sanderfon's History of King James, p. 423; Wilson's Hist. of King James, p. 137.

(i) Fuller's Ch. History of Britain, Cent. XVII. Book x. p. 87. Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle. 1674. p. 521. Le Neve's Lives of Protestant Archbishops, p. 68.

(k) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 88. Hackett's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 65.

(l) Id. ibid.

(m) Idem, ibid.

(n) Sanderfon's History of King James, p. 531.

(o) Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 121.

(p) Hackett's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 67.

(q) Idem, ibid.

(r) Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 122, 123. Hackett's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 68.

(s) Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, ubi supra.

(t) Sanderfon's continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 337, --- 340.

negotiations upon this subject, in which the King took a great deal of pains with little effect (b). The Archbishop's declining state of health, making exercise a thing not only convenient but necessary for him, he was wont in the summer to make a tour into Hampshire for the sake of recreation, and being invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramzill upon the edge of Berkshire, and not far from Hartford Bridge, his grace met there with the greatest misfortune that befel him in the whole course of his life; for hunting in this park on the twenty-fourth of July, he let fly a barbed arrow from a cross-bow at one of the deer, which unfortunately struck one Peter Hawkins, my Lord Zouch's keeper, who was quite out of the Bishop's sight, and had been warned more than once to keep out of the way, in the left arm, by which wound a large blood-vessel being pierced, he bled to death in an hour's time (i). This unforeseen accident threw the Archbishop into a deep melancholy, tho' he was not conscious to himself of the least inadvertency or indiscretion, neither did this wear off in time, but throughout his whole life he observed a monthly fast on a Tuesday, the day on which this fatal mischance fell out, and settled an annuity of twenty pounds on the widow, which soon procured her another husband (k). This affair made a very great noise, and there wanted not some to represent it in a sinister light to King James, but his majesty gave his judgment of the matter in a short and clear sentence, *An angel, said he, might have miscarried in this sort (l)*. When he was afterwards informed of the legal penalties which his grace had incurred by this accident, he wrote him a consolatory letter with his own hand, in which amongst other things he told him, that *he would not add affliction to his sorrow, or take one farthing from his chattels or moveables which were forfeited by law (m)*. The Archbishop immediately on this misfortune retired to his own hospital at Guilford, there to wait the decision of the great point as to the irregularity, which some imagined he had incurred, for it happened very unluckily that at this juncture, there were four Bishops elected but not consecrated, *viz.* Dr John Williams, lord keeper of the great seal, to the see of Lincoln; Dr John Davenant, to that of Salisbury; Dr Valentine Cary, to that of Exeter; and his old antagonist Dr William Laud, whose preferment, on this occasion, he had warmly opposed, to that of St Davids; and all, except Dr Davenant, scrupled the Archbishop's capacity to lay hands on them till he was cleared from all imputation as to this fact (n). The King being informed of this, directed, in the beginning of October following, a commission to the ten following persons, *viz.* the Lord Keeper; the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Rochester; the Elects of Exeter and St Davids; Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the common pleas; Sir John Dodderidge, one of the justices of the King's bench; Sir Henry Martin, Dean of the Arches; and Dr Steward; to consider and resolve the three following questions (o). 1. *Whether the Archbishop was irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide?* The Bishop of Winchester, the two Judges, and the two Civilians, were very clear that he was not irregular; but the other five thought he was (p). 2. *Whether that act might tend to scandal in a churchman?* The Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chief Justice Hobart, and Dr Steward, doubted; all the rest agreed, that a scandal might be taken tho' not given (q). 3. *How his Grace should be restored, in case the King should follow the decision of those commissioners, who had found him irregular?* All agreed that it could not be otherwise done than by restitution from the King, but they varied in the manner. The Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chief Justice, and Dr Steward, thought it should be done by the King, and by him alone, in the same patent with the pardon. The Lord Keeper, and the Bishops of London, Rochester, Exeter, and St David's, were for a commission from the King directed to some Bishops. Judge Dodderidge, and Sir Henry Martin, were desirous it should be done both ways, for abundant caution (r). This return was made to his majesty on the tenth of November 1621 (s), and accordingly a pardon and a dispensation both bearing date at Westminster, the twenty-second of November, passed the great seal, by which his majesty absolved the Archbishop from all irregularity, scandal, or infamation, (if any was incurred) and declared him capable of all metropolitical authority, as if this accident had never happened (t). Such was the close of this business, after a great variety of proceedings, and many arguments published on both sides [P]. Yet all this could not satisfy the minds of

' were with you this should be my language, which
' I pray you humbly and heartily to represent to the
' King, my master, telling him, that when I can
' stand, I hope to do his majesty some service herein.
' So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

GEORGE Cant.

[P] *And many arguments published on both sides.*
As the case was absolutely new, and such a one as naturally afforded room for talkative and busy men to display their abilities; there was nothing surprizing in the noise this accident made, or the various constructions put upon it by different people, according as their notions or their prejudices led them. The Arch-

bishop being sensible of all this, either wrote himself, which is most probable, or caused to be written, a very short piece, under the title of an apology (46), which, on the eighth of October 1621, was sent to Sir Henry Spelman, who, on the nineteenth of the same month, returned an answer to it, which discovers full as much severity as learning. It is not very clear to whom this apology was addressed, or for whose satisfaction the answer to it was written; but it is very probable, that both were intended for the use of the Commissioners, appointed by the King, to inquire into the supposed irregularity of the Archbishop, of which his Grace had notice on the fifth of October, and the Commissioners applied themselves very closely to their business, from that time. Both these pieces are extant, in the posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, but these do not seem to have been the only pieces that were penned on this occasion; for we are told

(46) The whole title is, An Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, the Keeper, wounded in the park at Bramzill, July 24, 1621, by an unknown hand, but from the title it seems to be the Archbishop's. Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ. p. 107.

* This date wanting in the Cabala, is supplied from Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 42.

* Sept. 12, 1619.

of those who had scrupled his power of laying on hands, and therefore they petitioned the King, that they might not be compelled to wound their consciences by submitting to such a consecration; and, in compliance with their desire, the Bishop of Lincoln was consecrated in King Henry VIIIth's chapel, on the eleventh of November, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Oxford, and Landaff; and the Bishops of Sarum, Exeter, and St David's, in the chapel of the Bishop of London's palace, on the eighteenth of November, by the same reverend Prelates (u). It does not appear, that his Grace was at all lessened, by the suggestions of his enemies, in the King's favour, or his courage in any degree abated, by the troubles he had met with (w). On the contrary, we find him, in the year 1622, opposing the Spanish match, which was a thing the King had set his heart upon, with the greatest firmness and spirit, and even venturing, under his hand, to give his sentiments on that subject in terms so vigorous and pathetick, that no pen can properly represent them but his own (x) [Q]. The King however remained fixed in his resolution, and the articles agreed on for the said marriage, were sworn to, in the presence of the Archbishop, and other great officers of state, notwithstanding which they never took effect (y). The Archbishop thenceforward assisted but seldom at council, being hindered chiefly by his infirmities (z), but in the King's last sickness he was called for, and attended with great constancy, and received the highest marks of the King's confidence, to the very last moment of his life, and was near him when he expired, on the twenty-seventh of March 1625 (a). At the coronation of King Charles I, the Archhishop, as his office required, set the crown upon his majesty's head, tho' he was extremely weak, and much troubled with the gout (b), but thenceforward he visibly declined in the King's favour, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched for an opportunity to make the Archbishop feel the weight of his displeasure. This was at last taken, for his refusing to licence a sermon, preached by one Dr Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire, to justify and promote

(u) Bishop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 62.

(w) Bp Hacket, in the place before cited, says, the Archbishop was wont to dissent from the King as often as any at the council board, and that his Majesty loved him the better for his courage and sincerity.

(x) Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 80. Haylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 111. Sanderfon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(y) Rushworth's Hist. Collections, Vol. I. p. 33.

(z) See his own narrative, in Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.

(u) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 175.

(b) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 204.

told by a reverend Prelate, that the fact was much discoursed of in foreign universities, especially amongst our neighbours the Sorbonnits, who disputed it three several times in their schools, and concluded the accident to have amounted to a full irregularity, which is an incapacity to exercise any ecclesiastical act of order or jurisdiction (48).

[Q] *No pen can properly represent them but his own.* This letter from the Archbishop to King James is without date, but the subject points out plainly enough the time when it was written; and it is inserted here, to shew the Archbishop's principles in religion, in regard to which there cannot be a fuller testimony:

‘ May it please your Majesty,

‘ I HAVE been too long silent, and am afraid, by my silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in: but now I humbly crave leave, I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duty to your Majesty; and therefore I beseech you freely to give me leave to deliver myself, and then let your Majesty do with me what you please. Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of religion, I beseech you to take into your consideration what your act is, what the consequence may be; by your act, you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful it will be to God, and grievous to your good subjects, the professors of the Gospel, that your Majesty who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those heresies, should now shew yourself a Patron of those wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. And hereto I add what you have done, in sending the Prince into Spain, without consent of your council, the privy and approbation of your people; and although you have a charge and interest in the Prince, as son of your flesh, yet have the people a greater, as son of this kingdom, upon whom, (next after your Majesty) are their eyes fixed, and welfare depends; and so tenderly is his going apprehended, as (believe it) however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him into this action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, unpunished. Besides, this Toleration which you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament; unless your Majesty will let your subjects see, that you will take unto yourself, ability to throw down

‘ the laws of your land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequences these things may draw afterward, I beseech your Majesty to consider, and above all, left by this Toleration, and discountenancing of the true profession of the Gospel, wherewith God hath blessed us, and this kingdom hath so long flourished under it, your Majesty do not draw upon this kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.

‘ Thus in discharge of my duty towards God, to you your Majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble leave to deliver my conscience. Now, Sir, do what you please with me (49).’

(49) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 35.

This letter is likewise printed by Arthur Willson in his history, with this reflection, both on the King and the Archbishop. ‘ Thus did our Solomon in his latter time, (though he had fought with beasts at Ephefus, as one faith of him) incline a little too much to the Beast: yet he made his tale so good to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (what reservations soeever he had) that he wrought upon the good old man, (afterwards) in the conclusion of the work, to set his hand as a witness to the articles (50).’ Upon this, another historian of the same reign takes upon him to insinuate, that this long letter to the King, was penned to please his disciples, and copies given to publish in print after his decease; for, says he, we never heard tidings of it till now, in our last days; for Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, was the first man that signed to the postscript, which attested those articles of the marriage, and so did all the privy council.’ Then speaking of the excuse made by Mr Willson, for the Archbishop, this writer adds, *I can tell him there were two other Bishops, John, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lancelot, Bishop of Winchester, men of far greater merit, and high esteem, and evener conscience, that subscribed with him (51).* But in this fact he is mistaken, for Lancelot, Bishop of Winchester, did not sign, more willingly than the Archbishop. The apology of the other historian also was unnecessary, for the articles which the Archbishop apprehended, and wrote against, were private articles, as appears plainly from the whole transaction printed in Rushworth (52). But another great writer, gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he owns that the letter came abroad, not in these last times, as Sanderfon calls them, but at the very time when it was supposed to be written, yet he denies that the Archbishop was the author of it, and suggests, that it was only fathered upon him, that it might make the greater impression upon the people (53).

(50) Life and Reign of King James, p. 236.

(51) Sanderfon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(52) See his Collections. Vol. I. p. 85, ---- 101.

(53) Haylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 111.

- promote a loan, which the King had demanded. This sermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent assizes 1627, before the Judges at Northampton (c), and it was transmitted to the Bishop, with the King's direction, to license it, which he refused to do, and gave his reasons for it; notwithstanding which, the sermon was licensed by the Bishop of London, (Dr Mountaigne) after many things had been corrected therein, from the lights given by the Archbishop's objections, for which however it was resolved that he should suffer (d). Discourses of this nature were so loud at court, that some of his Grace's friends overheard and reported them to him, upon which he thought fit to retire to his palace at Croydon, a month before his usual time. On the fifth of July, Lord Conway, who was then Secretary of State, made him a visit, and intimated to him, that the King expected he should withdraw to Canterbury, which the Archbishop declined, because he had a law-suit at that time with that city, and desired he might rather have leave to go to his house at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was yielded to (e); and on the ninth of October following, the King granted a commission to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute archiepiscopal authority, the cause assigned being no more than this, *That the Archbishop could not at that time, in his own person, attend those services, which were otherwise proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction* (f). Some writers have pretended, that his supposed irregularity, occasioned by the death of Peter Hawkins, was revived; but the commission which is extant on record shews the contrary, nor indeed was that affair ever thought of afterwards (g); but the Archbishop did not remain long in this situation, for the necessities of the times rendering a parliament necessary, his Grace was sent for about Christmas, and not only restored to his authority and jurisdiction, but, on his coming to court from his palace at Lambeth, was received when he quitted his barge, by the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Dorset, who conducted him to his majesty, where, having kissed the King's hand, he was desired not to fail the council table twice a week (h). His Grace sat in that parliament which began on the seventeenth of March following, and continued in the full exercise of his office ever after, of which it may not be amiss to take notice in this singular instance. On the twenty-fourth of August 1628, he consecrated Richard Montagu, to the see of Chichester, a man who had been remarkably busy in supporting the pretence of his irregularity, and at this consecration Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, assisted, which is the clearest proof that can be, that no doubts stuck longer as to his irregularity, even with those who loved him least (i). In parliament, the Archbishop maintained his credit in as high a degree as any of his predecessors, and it is more than probable, that the knowledge of this procured him such marks of respect, as were at this time afforded him by the court. When the Petition of Right, that great pillar of the English liberty, was under consideration, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the sense of the house of Lords thereupon, at a conference with the house of Commons, and at the same time, laid before them such propositions as their Lordships had agreed upon, for which, thanks were returned, in a set speech, by Sir Dudley Diggs (k). The interest of Bishop Laud was now so great at court, that he drew up a scheme of instructions, which having the King's name at the head of them, were, in the month of December 1629, transmitted to his Grace, under the pompous title, *His Majesty's instructions to the most reverend father in God, George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be observed and put in execution, by the several Bishops in his province*. These instructions his Grace communicated to his suffragan Bishops, in which, as Heylyn observes, he acted *ministerially*; but to shew that he still meant to exercise his own authority in his own diocese, he restored Mr Palmer and Mr Udnay to their lectureships, after the Dean and Archdeacon of Canterbury had suspended them, and, in other respects, softened the rigour of those instructions, which were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the Church, which the Archbishop thought a burden too hard to be borne by the tender consciences of those who made the fundamentals of religion their study, and were not so zealous for forms (l). His conduct in this and other respects, is said to have made his presence unwelcome at court, and so indeed it seems to have been, for upon the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles II,) which happened on the twenty-ninth of May 1630, Laud, then Bishop of London, had the honour to baptize him as Dean of the chapel, notwithstanding that the Archbishop of Canterbury is the Ordinary of the court, and the King's household, wherever it is, are regarded as his parishioners; so that this was visibly as much a slight upon the Archbishop, as an act of favour towards his antagonist (m). The Archbishop however was proof against all such accidents as these, and went on doing his duty without fear or favour, and yet one of the last acts of his life plainly shews; that he was very far from being so indifferent towards the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, as some have represented him. This act of his was an order dated the third of July 1633, requiring the parishioners of Craysford in Kent, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on their knees, at the steps ascending to the communion table (n). We may well stile this one of his last acts, since a month afterwards, *viz.* on the fourth of August in the same year, he deceased at his palace of Croydon, worn out with cares and infirmities, at the age of seventy-one. He was buried according to his own express direction, in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the holy Trinity, in his native town of Guilford in Surrey (o). Soon after his decease, a noble monument was erected
- (c) This sermon was intitled, *Ap-postolical Obedi-ence, &c.* 410, 1627.
- (d) See his nar-rative, in Ruf-thworth's Col-lections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.
- (e) *Idem*, *ibid.*
- (f) Rufthworth, Collections, Vol. I. p. 435. Frankland's An-nals, p. 211. In both places the commission is printed at large.
- (g) The reign of King Charles by Hammond L'E-Strange, Esq; p. 71, 72. Observations on the History of the Reign of King Charles, by H. L. Esq; writ-ten by Dr Hey-lyn, p. 54.
- (h) Heylyn's Life of Abp Laud, p. 195.
- (i) Bishop Hack-er's Life of Abp Williams, p. 68.
- (k) Rufthworth, ubi supra, p. 552, 553. Frankland, ubi supra, p. 282.
- (l) Heylyn, ubi supra, p. 204.
- (m) Sanderfon's compleat History of the Reign of King Charles, p. 147. Heylyn, ubi su-pra, p. 209.
- (n) Regist. Ab-bot, 111. fol. 143.
- (o) Wood's A-then. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 587.

erected over his grave, with the effigies of the Archbishop in his robes, supported by six black marble pillars of the Dorick Order, raised on pedestals of books piled up (p). On this tomb there is a large Latin inscription in honour of the Archbishop, which having been already more than once in print, need only be referred to here (q). The facts related in this article, sufficiently prove that he was a man of great natural parts, and those sufficiently improved, for the worthy performance of whatever his high station in the Church required. He shewed himself in many circumstances of his life, a man of great moderation towards all parties, a steady friend to the Protestant religion, an honest though perhaps not an humble courtier, and one who was desirous that the clergy should have attracted the reverence and esteem of the laity, by the sanctity of their manners, and the uprightness of their behaviour, rather than have claimed them as necessarily annexed to their function. These notions of his, squaring little with the humour of some writers, has drawn upon him many reflections that he did not deserve [R]. The general historians of those times ran much into writing of characters, and that which Hammond l'Estrange bestowed upon the Archbishop, has been copied into various works. Dr Heylyn makes use of it to express what he did not care should fall from his own pen (r), though upon other occasions, he has treated that writer in his history very freely. Lloyd has copied that character without naming his author (s), and to say the truth, it is from thence, that most of the strokes of satire bestowed upon the memory of this great man have been stolen (t); and yet how little suitable that character is to the person for whom it was drawn, the reader will easily perceive from the piece itself, inserted for that reason at the bottom of the page [S]. He has not met with much better

(p) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285.

(q) Le Neve's Lives of Protestant Bishops, p. 112. Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285, 287.

(r) Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 243, 244.

(s) State Worthies, p. 749.

(t) See the Notes [R] and [S].

[R] Reflections that he did not deserve.] Our old church historian tell us, 'That he forsook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity, more than the clergy, in causes that were brought before him (54).' One would imagine from hence, that this Archbishop had been a man of great severity in his government; whereas, another writer censures his Grace for his remissness in visitations (55); and as it is impossible that a man should be guilty of opposite offences at the same time, it may fairly be presumed, that he was guilty of neither; but that the bearing hard upon immoral clergymen in the high commission court, and his tenderness for good men, who were scrupulous about ceremonies, exposed the Archbishop to such censures from those who loved the former too well, and had too little pity for the latter. Mr Sanderfon strikes much deeper at the Archbishop's character, for in his history he tells us, 'That his Grace grew so much out of humour with the court, on the questioning his regularity, upon the accident of Peter Hawkins's death, that he refused, because he was not permitted to go to the altar, to attend the service of the council-table; saying to our author, *Since they will have it so, that I am incapable of the one, I shall spare myself the trouble of the other* (56).' He adds to this charge a much higher. He says, 'That the Archbishop fell upon down right Puritan principles, and had so many church and state male-contents visited him, that it produced a new sect, who were styled *Nicodemites*, and his disciples; for which he gives this wife reason, *That the Archbishop had constantly candle light in his chamber and study, making it midnight at noon-day* (57).' The conclusion of his charge is the bitterest of all, and therefore I shall transcribe his own words. 'Here he began to be the first man of eminency in our Church, a ringleader of that faction, for I can name those then his private disciples, which lately appeared desperate profelytes (58).' These passages were first printed in another book, word for word (59), from whence it evidently appears, that Sanderfon wrote them both. Yet with respect to the charge, Fuller assures us, that Dr Barnard, the Archbishop's household chaplain, and near relation, knew nothing of this burning candle in his chamber and study (60); and as to the male-contents that resorted to him, the Archbishop has fully purged himself of that accusation, in the narrative of his troubles (61). This humour of inveighing against the Archbishop, was not confined to his own times, but has prevailed even amongst later writers. Mr John Aubrey having transcribed what is said of this Prelate on his monument, adds immediately; 'Notwithstanding this most noble character, transmitted to posterity on this Archbishop's monument, he was, though a benefactor to this place, no friend to the Church of England, whereof he was head, but scandalously permitted that poisonous spirit of Puritanism to spread all over the whole na-

tion, by his indolence at least, if not connivance and encouragement; which some years after broke out, and laid a flourishing Church and State in the most miserable ruins; and which gave birth to those principles, which, unless rooted out, will ever make this nation unhappy (62).' I might easily add more instances of the same sort, but that I am persuaded the reader will think these sufficient, and therefore I shall conclude this note, with an observation of Fuller's. 'The truth is, says he, the Archbishop's own stiffness and averness to comply with court designs, gave advantage to his adversaries against him, and made him more obnoxious to the King's displeasure. But the blame did most light upon Bishop Laud, men accounting this a kind of *filius ante diem*, &c. As if not content to succeed, he endeavoured to supplant him, who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honour: What needs the felling of a tree a falling? (63).'

(62) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 287.

(63) Church History, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

[S] At the bottom of the page.] This historian writes thus. 'Not long after his return from Scotland, aged and self-fear, George Abbot the titular Archbishop of Canterbury, went to his everlasting home, August 4. A very learned man he was, his erudition all of the old stamp, stiffly principled in the doctrine of St Augustine; which they who understand it not, call *Calvinism*, therefore disliked by those who inclined to the *Massilian* and *Armenian* tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his conversation. But some think a better Man than Archbishop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the dignity, than with a spirit answering the function, in the exercise whereof he was conceived too facile and yielding; his extraordinary remissness in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed orders of the Church in point of ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal determinations to their first principle of indifferency, and led in such an habit of inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender conformed men to long discontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. This was the height of what I dare report his failings reached to: that he was a ringleader of that sect which lately appeared desperate profelytes, loth I am with a late author to affirm (64), warrant I have none, to leave so ill a favour upon his fame, nor can it be infallibly inferred from these men, their being then in favour with him. Their principles perhaps were entertained since his death, or if before, not then declared, and until such secrets be discovered, men may be mistaken in those they favour; the greatest sufferer of these times was so (65).' As injurious as this character is in some points, yet it is plain, that the author did not credit what Mr Sanderfon had asserted, and indeed, it is happy for this Archbishop's memory, that almost all his censurers have contradicted each other, and thereby afforded just room to posterity, to question the truth of what they have all advanced, especially when

(64) Sanderfon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 530, 531.

(65) L'Estrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

(54) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

(55) L'Estrange in his Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

(56) Reign and Death of King James, p. 531.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Aulicus Conquarior, or, A Vindication in Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Court and Character of King James*, London, 1650, 12mo. p. 132.

(60) Church History, ubi supra.

(61) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 462. Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 213, 224.

better quarter from the noble historian, tho' there is more of decency preserved in his animadversions, as the reader will perceive from the picture of our Archbishop drawn by his pen [T]. A later writer justly esteemed for his perfect knowledge of the English history, and not so much addicted to party, has done much more justice to the virtues and abilities of this great Prelate, and therefore we held it reasonable to annex his testimony to these memoirs [U]. His charity and publick spirit ought certainly to have been set in a clearer light, than hitherto they have been, by the friends to the Church; the rather, because a writer, remarkable for his keenness, has been pleased to assert (u), that *marks of his benefaction we find none, in places of his breeding and preferment*; which is at once an unjust and unchristian aspersion, as will appear in the notes [X]. In regard to his learning, succeeding ages may judge thereof,

(u) Heylyn's
Life of Abp Laud,
p. 245.

when it is considered, that in all their censures, they enter into the secrets of this Prelate's heart, and take upon them to publish to the world, what, if true, could be known only to God and himself.

[T] *Drawn by his pen.*] The Earl of Clarendon speaks of him thus. 'It was about the end of August in the year 1633, when the King (Charles I) returned from Scotland to Greenwich, where the Queen kept her court; and the first accident of moment that happened after his coming thither, was the death of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had sat too many years in that see, and had too great a jurisdiction over the Church, tho' he was without any credit in the court from the death of King James, and had not much in many years before. He had been master of one of the poorest colleges (Baliol) in Oxford, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very four aspect, which in that time was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of Dunbar, the King's first Scotch favourite, he was preferred by King James to the bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, and presently after to London, before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of any parish-church in England, or Dean or Prebendary of any cathedral church; and was in truth, totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterwards.'

'He had scarce performed any part of the office of Bishop in the diocese of London, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never-enough to be lamented death of Dr Bancroft, that Metropolitan, who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the Calvinian Party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists, by and after the conference at Hampton Court, countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva, or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overal, or any man who understood and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.'

'But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered the Christian religion no otherwise, than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most, who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity of the articles or canons established, he made little enquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a publick reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him: and tho' many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and tho' the Bishop of London, (Dr Laud) from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he

could to those defections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford, had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England; yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled, by many weak, and more wilful churchmen (66).'

[U] *Testimony to these memoirs.*] 'Archbishop Abbot, says he, was a person of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his conduct, shewed an unwillingness to stretch the act of uniformity, beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the Church; or the prerogative of the crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the state. Being not well turned for a court, tho' otherwise of considerable learning, and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, stoop to the humour of the times; and now and then by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him, as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular interest; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government (67).'

[X] *As will appear in the notes*] The Archbishop loved hospitality, and living as became a man of his rank, he tells us himself, that this was recommended to him by King James, and that he never forgot his majesty's injunctions upon that head (68), neither is it the Archbishop alone that mentions this, but even some who did not wish him very well, and who plainly intimate, that amongst the rest of his faults, he was thought to live too high, to have too much company, and to become thereby too popular (69). This hospitality of his, together with the troubles he met with, must have hindered him from growing rich, and, consequently, put it in some measure out of his power to shew his publick spirit in other respects, how much soever it might be his inclination. Yet some instances we find of his generosity in this way, at least enough to falsify Heylyn's reflection; for besides his noble and well-contrived charity at Guilford, he gave to the schools of arts in Oxford, one hundred pounds at one time, and fifty pounds at another (70). In 1619, he bestowed a large sum of money on the library of Baliol college, for augmenting the number of books, and repairing the building (71). He built a fair conduit in the city of Canterbury, for the convenience of the inhabitants (72). He likewise intended to have left a yearly revenue for the support of that conduit, if he had not been deterred by the ungrateful usage he met with from the Mayor and corporation (73). In 1624, he contributed to the founding of Pembroke college in Oxford (74). He discharged a debt of three hundred pounds owing from Baliol to Pembroke college (75). About the year 1632, he gave one hundred pounds to the library of University college (76). To the town of Guilford he left one hundred pounds, to be lent without interest to four poor tradesmen of that town, for two or three years. To the poor of that town, twenty pounds; to the poor of Lambeth, thirty pounds; to forty of his inferior servants, ten pounds each; besides forty pounds, to supply any forgetfulness towards such as had served him. All the books in his great study, marked with his name, to his successors for ever; besides some from his study at Croydon, to the Dean and Chapter at Winchester, and others to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (77).

(66) History of the Rebellion, Oxon. 1707. 8vo. p. 88, 89.

(67) Memoirs of the most material transactions in England, for the last 100 years, by Dr Wellwood, 8vo. 1700. p. 38.

(68) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 454.

(69) Heylyn, ubi supra, p. 244.

(70) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 23, 24.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Bateley's edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 138.

(73) See Archbishop Abbot's Will in the prerogative office, Russell, 85.

(74) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 333. Balfour's, p. 97. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham college, p. 210.

(75) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 334.

(76) Ibid. p. 60.

(77) See the Archbishop's Will, as above cited.

thereof, from his writings upon various subjects, of the most remarkable of which, we have, for the reader's satisfaction, added a succinct account [2]. It may not be amiss to observe here, that there was another writer of both his names, who flourished somewhat later. This George Abbot wrote a *paraphrase on Job*, a *vindication of the Sabbath*, and a *paraphrase on the Psalms*. This last was printed in 1650, and it appears from thence, that the author was lately dead, and had been, while living, a member of the parliament then sitting (w). Another George Abbot, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, in 1622, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (x), was our Prelate's nephew, and the son of Sir Maurice Abbot, but it does not appear that he was a writer (y).

(w) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 583.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Ibid.

[1] *Added a succinct account.*] As to his works, we shall endeavour to give a list of them in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Questiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ & disceptatæ anno 1597, in quibus è sacra Scriptura & Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur.* Oxoniæ 1598, 4to. It. Francofurti 1616, 4to. This second edition was published by the famous Abraham Scultetus. 2. *Exposition on the Prophet Jonab, in certain Sermons preached at St Mary's Church in Oxford,* London, 4to. 1600. And again 1613. 3. *His Answer to the Question of the Citizens of London, in January 1600, concerning Cheap-side Cross,* London 1611. Of this treatise we have before given a particular account. 4. *The Reasons which Dr Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, unmasked and shewed to be very weak,* &c. Oxon. 4to. 1604. This Thomas Hill quitted the Church of England for that of Rome, and wrote this book to vindicate that change (78). 5. *A Preface to the Examination of George Spout,* &c. of which we have before given a large account. 6. *A Sermon preached at Westminster, May 26, 1608, at the Funeral of Thomas, Earl of Dorset, late Lord High Treasurer of England, on Isaiah xl.* 6. by George Abbot, Dr of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester, one of his Lordship's Chaplains, London, 4to. 1608. 7. *Translation of a Part of the New Testament, with the rest of the Oxford Divines, printed in 1611.* 8. *Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, pronounced September 25; 1613, at Lambeth, and the Difficulties endured in the same.* This treatise makes fifty-six pages in twelves, and has the following remarkable attestation at the end of it. "This narration is wholly written with mine own hand, and was finished October 2, 1613, being the eighth day after giving the sentence. And I protest before Almighty God, that I have not willingly wrote any untruth therein; but have delivered all things fairly to the best of my understanding, helping myself with such memorials and notes, as I took from time to time, that if there was occasion, I might thus set down at large the truth to posterity;

when this case shall be rung from Rome gates, or the fact hereafter be questioned."

GEORGE Cant.

To this is added, *Some observable things since September 25, 1613, when the sentence was given in the cause of the Earl of Essex, continued unto the day of the marriage, December 26, 1613,* which appears also to have been penned by his Grace, or by his direction, and to it is annexed, *The speech intended to be spoken at Lambeth, September 25, 1613, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when it came to his turn to declare his mind concerning the nullity of marriage between the Earl of Essex and the Lady Frances Howard* (79). 9. *A brief Description of the whole World; wherein is particularly described all the Monarchies, Empires, and Kingdoms of the same, with their Academies, &c. by the Most Reverend Father in God, George, late Archbishop of Canterbury,* London, 8vo. 1634. Of which work there have been many editions. 10. *A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins, dated October 8, 1621; of which we have already given an account.* 11. *Treatise of perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church in all Ages.* London, 4to. 1624. His name is not to this book, only his arms impaled by those belonging to the see of Canterbury, are put before it. Dr Heylyn acquaints us with the reason of his writing it, but does not tell us why he did not own it (80). 12. *A Narrative containing the true Cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court. In two Parts. Written at Ford in Kent 1627,* (81). Bishop Hacket (82) assures us, that he had seen this manuscript in the Bishop's own writing, and had several of the facts contained in it from the Archbishop's own mouth. 13. *History of the Massacre in the Valtoline* (83). 14. *His Judgment of bowing at the Name of Jesus.* Hamburg 1632. 8vo. Besides many instructions to the Bishops of his diocese, speeches in parliament, letters, and other occasional compositions, too numerous to be mentioned here.

(79) These were printed all together under the title of, *The Case of Impotency as debated in England,* &c. Lond. 12mo. 1719. In the preface it is said, that the original manuscript, in Archbishop Abbot's own hand writing, is still in the hands of an eminent Lawyer.

(80) Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 53.

(81) Printed in Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. 1. p. 438---461, and in the Annals of K. Charles, from p. 213, to 224.

(82) Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 68.

(83) Printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church, edit. 1631.

(78) The title of it was, *A Quarrel of Reasons of Catholic Religion, with as many brief Answers of Refusal.* Antw. 4to. 1600. which was answered also by F. Dallingham.

ABBOT (ROBERT) brother to the former; was also born in the same town of Guilford, anno 1560 (a), and bred up under the same school-master there; till being sufficiently qualified for the university he was sent to Baliol College in Oxford, anno 1575. He took his Master of Arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, also a constant lecturer at St Martin's Church, in the Quadrivium, and sometimes at Abingdon in Berkshire (b). His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithstanding the distinction which some have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of these two brothers; "That George was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar; George the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine: gravity did frown in George, and smile in Robert (c):" such the qualities of this Robert evidently were; that upon the first sermon he preached at Worcester, he was made lecturer in that city, and soon after rector of All-Saints there; and upon a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross, he was presented to the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamshire, by one of his auditors, John Stanhope, Esq; as Dr Featley has observed in his life (d). In 1594 he became no less eminent for some of his writings; particularly, against a certain Papist, on the Sacrament. He then took his degrees in divinity; that of Doctor being completed in 1597 (e). In the beginning of the reign of King James I, he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this King so well esteemed of his writings, that, with the second edition of Dr Abbot's book *de Antichristo*, in 1608, his majesty ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypse to be printed: an honour, which that King did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the Doctor's pen had now brought him also into general esteem, for what he had hitherto published in Defence of William Perkins's *Reformed Catholic*, against Dr William Bishop, now a secular priest, but afterwards, in the Pope's stile, a titular Bishop, of the Aërial Diocese of Chalcedon. It is my author's as-

(a) Samuel Clark's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, &c. 4to. 1650, p. 458.

(b) Athen. Oxon. 1721. Vol. 1. col. 430.

(c) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(d) In Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to. 1650, p. 540.

(e) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

- fertion, that Dr Abbot has herein given that William Bishop as great an overthrow, as Jewell to Harding, Bilson to Allen, or Reynolds to Hart (*f*). At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatise, he soon after writ, intitled, *The true ancient Roman Catholick*; which he dedicated to Prince Henry; to whom it was so acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand (*g*), and promised his assistance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the Church. And though by that Prince's untimely death the Doctor lost some hopes, yet, in course of time, his deserts found other friends to do him that justice. In 1609, he was unanimously elected master of Baliol College (*h*). Here it is observed of him, that he was careful and skilful, to set in this nursery the best plants; and then took such care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the University of Oxford, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew sweeter fruit, than in Baliol College, while he was master (*i*). His diligent reading to his scholars, and his continual presence at publick exercises, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. These regulations and improvements, he further wrought, by establishing piety, which had been much neglected; restoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a stranger in that society (*k*). In May 1610, we find him nominated by the King, among the first fellows of his majesty's Royal College at Chelsea, then newly founded, and designed as a kind of fortrefs for controversial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarrisoned, with the most able and select champions for the Protestant cause, against all assaults of Popery (*l*). In November the same year, he was made prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell (*m*). Upon his preaching a sermon before the King, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of Dr Thomas Holland's death was brought from Oxford, his majesty named him successor in the Theological Chair, usually called the King's Professor of Divinity; but he modestly refused the same, till his brother procured a mandate from the King for him to hold it. Some notable circumstances we meet with of him in this station [*A*]; and herein, he has had the character given him of a profound divine; most admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and schoolmen; and a more moderate Calvinian, than either of his two predecessors in the divinity-chair, Holland and Humphrey, were; which he expressed by countenancing the Sublapsarian way of predestination (*n*). Lastly, upon the King's perusal of his *Antilogia*, against the *Apology* for Garnet, and the same of his incomparable lectures in the university, upon the King's supreme power, against Bellarmine and Suarez, (printed after his death) his majesty, when the see of Salisbury fell void, sent his *Conge d'Elire* for him to the Dean and Chapter. Thus, as he set forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other, still advanced in the temple of honour (*o*), though indeed, but leisurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obstruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan, (though cordial to the doctrine of the Church of England) and the unwillingness of some friends to adorn the Church with the spoil of the University, and mar a Professor to make a Bishop (*p*). He was consecrated by his own brother the Archbishop, on December 3, 1615, in his chapel at Lambeth (*q*). Herein equalizing the felicity of Sefridus, some time Bishop of Chichester, who being a Bishop himself, also saw his brother, at the same Archbishop of Canterbury (*r*). Other bishopricks were voiced upon him; but the business of the nullity (before-mentioned, in his brother's life) made a nullity for a time, says my author, in his Grace's good intentions; insomuch, that King James, when the Doctor, newly consecrated Bishop of Sarum, came to do his homage, said pleasantly to him, Abbot, *I have had very much to do to make thee a Bishop; but I know no reason for it, unless it were, because thou hast written against one*; alluding to the name of the Popish priest before-mentioned (*s*). In his way to Sarum, he made a farewell oration at the university, with great applause. We have some fragments of it preserved, in the original Latin, by two authors (*t*); and a translation thereof, or epitome in English, by a third (*u*). His brethren, the heads of houses, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his diocese with tears for grief; and the gentry of Sarum received

(*f*) Dr Daniel Featley's Life of Bishop Abbot, ubi supra, p. 539.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 545.

(*h*) Wood, ut supra.

(*i*) Dr Featley, ubi supra, p. 543.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 544.

(*l*) Fuller's Church History, lib. x. fol. 52.

(*m*) Athen. Oxen. ut supra.

(*n*) Idem.

(*o*) Dr Featley, ubi supra, p. 547.

(*p*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*q*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Bishops since the Reformation, 8vo, 1720, p. 94.

(*r*) H. Hollandi Herologia Anglica, fol. Arnhem, 1620, p. 186.

(*s*) Dr Featley, ubi supra, p. 548.

(*t*) Holland, ut supra, & Featley, p. 546.

(*u*) Donald Lupton's History of modern Protestant Divines, 8vo, London 1637, p. 314.

[*A*] Some notable circumstances, &c. in this station.] Among the rest, while he was Professor in the chair at Oxford, was, his preaching a sermon before the university; in which, he so significantly laid open the oblique methods then used by those who secretly favoured Popery, to undermine the Reformation; and Dr Laud, then present, was so notoriously suspected to be one who used those methods, as to have the said reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, Dr Neal, then Bishop of Lincoln, (therefore about the year 1614) to know whether he should not make a direct reply to it. The passage Laud objected to, was, that Abbot should say, 'There were men, who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the Puritans, struck at the heart and root of that faith and religion now established among us; which was the very practice of Parsons and Campian's counsel, when they came hither to seduce young students; who, afraid to be expelled, if they should openly

profess their conversion, were directed to speak freely against the Puritans, as what would suffice: so these do not expect to be accounted Papists, because they speak only against Puritans; but because they are indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them: or if they do, they beat about the bush, and that softly too; for fear of disquieting the birds that are in it.' Hereupon, Laud, in his letter to the said Bishop of Lincoln, complains, 'That he was fain to sit patiently at the rehearsal of this sermon, though abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as the fat; yet would have taken no notice of it, but that the whole university applied it to him; and his friends told him, he should sink in his credit, if he answered not Dr Abbot in his own: nevertheless, he would be patient; and desired his Lordship to vouchsafe him some direction (1). But, as we hear not that Laud did answer it, the Bishop, might perhaps vouchsafe him rather directions to be quiet.

(1) See Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 62.

ceived him with those of joy. He soon observed the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetousness of those who filled their purses, with that which should have stopped the chinks (x). Therefore he used such means with the prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church (y); and then laboured to repair the congregation, both by doctrine and discipline; visiting his whole diocese in person, and preaching every Sabbath-day, whilst his health would permit, which was not long; for that sedentary course, to which he had accustomed himself, by his close application to study, brought upon him the gravel and stone; with which, his hour-glass, contrary to others, the sooner ran out, by being stopped (z). But in all the bodily tortures of his last fit, his soul was at ease; and his heavenly hopes disposed him contentedly to resign all earthly enjoyments. He was so far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life supportable, that he gave it others. Even to the Judges, who in their circuit came to visit him on his death-bed, he spared not his christian admonitions; and besides his precepts, gave them his example, of the comforts that flowed from a clear conscience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned less to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had so much endeared himself to them, by diligence in his pastoral charge, by his hospitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all (a). Having summoned his domesticks, with desire to declare his faith, he was persuaded to refrain, it being manifest in his writings. Thus, with exhortations, benedictions, and the pains of his disease, quite worn out, he lay a while slumbering; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for some space, gave up the ghost, on March 2, 1617, (and not, as some have mistaken, the year after) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this see two years and three months; being one of the five Bishops which Salisbury saw in six years (b). He was buried over-against the Bishop's seat in the cathedral: having been twice married; the last time, with some displeasure to the Archbishop, about half a year after his promotion to the said see. He left one son, or more, and also one daughter named Martha (c), who was married to Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College in Oxford; and their daughter Margaret, married Dr Edward Corbet, Rector of Haseley in Oxfordshire; who gave some of the Bishop's MSS to the Bodleian Library, as may appear in the article set apart for the enumeration of his writings [B]. There was another Robert Abbot, a minister, and author also of several devout pieces; who though he was scarcely a writer before Bishop Abbot died, is yet here mentioned, that some readers may not confound him with this Bishop of Salisbury, as others have divided him into three distinct persons (d); because so many different livings

(x) Dr Featley, ubi supra. p. 49.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Idem.

(a) Ibid. p. 550.

(b) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 431.

(d) The Bodleian Catalogue, both editions.

[B] Enumeration of his writings.] And first, those in print are, *The Mirror of Popish Subtilties: discovering the Shifts which a cavelling Papiſt, in behalf of Paul Spence a Priest, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine, &c. concerning the Sacraments, &c.* Dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift, London, 4to. 1594. 2. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ.* Sermon on the 110th Psalm. Dedicated to Bishop Babington, 4to. London 1601. 3. *Antichristi Demonstratio; contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptam Belarmini, &c.* Dedicated to King James, London, 4to. 1603. and in 8vo. 1608. This is much commended by Scaliger (2). 4. *Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins, against the Bastard Counter-Catholic of Dr William Bishop, Seminary Priest.* Dedicated to King James: the first part, 4to. 1606. the second part, 4to. 1607. third part 4to. 1609. A most elaborate work, as one calls it (3); and another writes, that W. Bishop had answered all the said Reformed Catholic; then we should have had in Abbot's encounter, a whole system of controversies exactly discussed; and the truth of the Reformed Religion, in all points solidly confirmed, by scripture, fathers, and reason (4). From a small typographical error in one author, there is another also, who has made a great blunder about this book: for the former, mentioning 'Dr Abbot's two volumes against Bishop's (5)', (next to another book, which was written by his brother, the Archbishop) has, by not obliterating the last letter of the last word, and by neglecting to distinguish it as a proper name, in *Italicks*, given a foreigner occasion to make his said brother the Archbishop, author of a *Treatise against Bishop's* (6); which, as hath been truly observed, would be somewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. *The old Way; a Sermon, at St Mary's, Oxon.* 4to. London 1610. Dedicated to Archbishop Bancroft, and translated into Latin by Thomas Drax. 6. *The true ancient Roman Catholic: being an Apology against Dr Bishop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic.* 4to. 1611. Dedicated to Prince Henry, as was before observed. 7. *Antilogia: Adversus Apologiam, Andreae Eudæmon-Jobannis, Jesuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jesuitâ pro-*

ditore. London, 4to. 1613. Dedicated to King James. The said apology was printed three years before (7); and further thereof, with the true name of its jesuitical author, may be seen elsewhere (8). 8. *De gratiâ & perseverentiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi.* Lond. 4to. 1618. & Francf. 8vo. 1619. Dedicated to Prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomsoni, Angli-Belgici Diatribam, de amissione & intercessione Justificationis & Gratiæ, animadverso breviss.* Also printed after his death; London, 4to. 1618: for he finished this book the last day of his life; and then, his brother the Archbishop, directed Dr Featley, the Bishop's domestic chaplain, to draw up, from his Grace's notes, the attestation which is affixed thereto. 10. *De supremâ Potestate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Francf. Suarez.* Lond. 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his son, to George, Archbishop of Canterbury. He also left behind, many compositions in manuscript, as his Sermon at St Mary's *In Vindication of the Geneva Bible from Judaism and Arianism* (9); which Dr Howson opposed, till King James turned his edge from Geneva to Rome; and then, he as fiercely declared against the Pope; *That he'd loosen him from his chair, though he were fastned thereto with a tenpenny nail* (10). Our author also left other Sermons, which he had preached at Paul's Cross; and at Worcester; and some in Latin, at Oxford, &c. *Lectures on St Matthew. Examination of Mr Bishop's Reproof of his Dedication, &c. to the Answer of his Epistle to the King.* Preface to be inserted after the dedication of his book *De Antichristo*: besides Commentaries on some parts of the Old Testament. And a Commentary in Latin, upon the whole Epistle to the Romans; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; wherein he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and enclosed the whole magazine of his learning (11): and it is regretted, that the Church should be deprived of such a treasure, particularly that of Worcester; to which he seems to have bequeathed it, in his epistle to the sermons he dedicated to Bishop Babington: this work, in

(7) Andr. Eudæm. Joannis Cydonii, & Soc. Jesu act. prodit. Ed. Coqui, Apologia pro H. Garnetto. Colon. Agrip. 8vo. 1610.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, (before the last Edition of his History) p. 179.

(9) Featley, ubi supra, p. 551.

(10) Ibid. p. 546.

(11) Idem, p. 547.

(2) Scaligerana, p. 1.

(3) Hieronologia Angl. p. 189.

(4) Dr Featley in Abel Redivivus, p. 545.

(5) See William London's Catalogue of the most vendible Books in England, 4to. 1658, in the Divinity Books.

(6) Henning-Witte in Diar. Biographicum, 4to. 1691.

livings are mentioned to his name in his books: never considering that one man might, by removal, or successively, enjoy them all, as was the case here: that Robert Abbot being first beneficed in Kent, afterwards in Hantshire, and lastly in London.

four volumes folio, was given by Dr Corbet before-mentioned, to the Bodleian library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our last quoted author; 'If all he wrote on the history of *Christ's passion*, the prophet *Ezay*, and the

' *Epistle to the Romans*, had seen the light; he had come near unto, if not overtaken, the three prime worthies of our university, *Jewell*, *Bilson*, and *Reynolds* (12)'

(12) Dr Featley in Abel Red. p. 539.

ABBOT (MAURICE) or rather MORRIS, the youngest of six sons, born to Mr Maurice Abbot, of Guilford, by his wife Alice March, and brother to Robert and George beforementioned. He was bred up to trade, and became an eminent merchant in the city of London, but was more remarkably distinguished, by his applying himself to the direction of the affairs of the East-India company, and his earnest attention to whatever might promote the extensive commerce of this nation, or strengthen her foreign colonies. In this quality, we find him one of the commissioners employed in the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty with the Dutch East-India company, by which the Molucca Islands, and the commerce to them, is declared to be two thirds belonging to the Dutch East-India company, and one to the English. This treaty was concluded at London, on the seventh of July, 1619, and ratified by the King, the sixteenth of the same month, and is as remarkable a (a) transaction as any in that reign [A]. It was in consequence of this treaty, and in order to recover the goods of some English merchants, that Sir Dudley Diggs, and Maurice Abbot, were sent over into (b) Holland, in the succeeding year, 1620, but with what success does not appear. He was afterwards one of the farmers of the customs, as appears from a commission granted in 1623, to him and to many other persons, for administering the oaths to such persons, as should either desire to pass the seas from this kingdom, or to enter it from foreign countries (c). In the succeeding year, 1624, he was appointed one of the council, for settling and establishing the colony of Virginia, with very full powers for the government of that colony, as by that commission (d) appears [B]. On the accession of King Charles I, to the throne, Mr Abbot was the first person upon whom he conferred the honour of knighthood (e), and so great was his interest at that time in the city, that we find him chosen to the first parliament called in that King's reign, viz. in 1625, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Heneage Finch, and Mr Robert Bateman (f). In 1627, he was one of the Sheriffs of London, with Henry Garway; Sir Cuthbert Hacket, being then Mayor (g). About the year 1635, he erected a noble monument to memory of his brother, George, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his native town of Guilford (h). In 1638 he was Lord-Mayor of the city of London (i), and deceased on the tenth of January, 1640 (k), but as to any farther particulars, we have not been able to discover them, except that he was a great lover and encourager of trade, as well as very fortunate therein [C]. He had a son whose name was George, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (l).

(b) As appears by the monumental inscription.

(i) See Thomas Heywood's *Porta Pietatis*, or solemn entry of Sir Maurice Abbot, Lord-Mayor, 4to 1638.

(k) Smith's *Obituary* apud *Defiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II, lib. xiv. p. 18.

(l) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 585.

[A] *As any in that reign.* The preamble of this treaty recites, That whereas there had been long and great disputes between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and that commissioners had met at London, in the year 1613, and at the Hague in 1615, for the accommodating these disputes, without effect, his Majesty and the States General had been pleased to grant full powers to certain commissioners on the part of his Majesty, and the States, as also the like full powers to several persons on the behalf of each of the companies, by whom a treaty was framed and concluded, in which the right of both parties to the trade of the Indies is freely acknowledged, free access is allowed to the servants of one company in all the forts and factories of the other; it is farther agreed that each company should furnish ten men of war, for the joint defence of their commerce, each from six to eight hundred tons, carrying 150 men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The fortresses on the islands of Banda and Amboyna, are therein settled, for the mutual benefit of both nations; and it is agreed, that their garrisons shall be maintained out of the customs and duties levied both on the English and Dutch: in a word, this appears to have been a kind of treaty of Coalition, which one would have imagined must have prevented for the future, any disputes in that part of the world, and secured the trade thereof to the Maritime Powers. In the ratification, his Majesty pro-

mises, that during the time for which this treaty was concluded, which was twenty years, he would not erect any other company, for carrying on the trade to the East Indies, than that with which this agreement was made (1).

[B] *As by that commission appears.* This commission, which was issued in virtue of two acts of parliament, one in the first year of the King, for preventing persons from going out of the kingdom without licence, and another in the third, for the better discovering and repressing Popish recusants, is directed to the Recorder of the City of London, the Receivers, and Collectors of the Customs, the General Supervisor and Comptrollers of the Customs in the Port of London, the head Searcher of the same Port, and to Sir John Wolstenholme, Abraham Jacob, Henry Garway, and Morris Abbot, (and thus he wrote his name himself) and to several other persons, empowering them to examine all persons going from or coming to this kingdom, and for granting them letters testimonial, as also for staying such as they should suspect, as well as for administering the oaths and other purposes (2).

[C] *As well as very fortunate therein.* This is particularly asserted in a dedication to Sir Maurice, when Governor of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, by Mr Robert Ashley, the author of a translation mentioned in the margin (3).

(1) Continuation of Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. xvii. p. 171 ---- 174.

(2) *Ibidem*, p. 467 ---- 470.

(3) *Cochin-China*: containing many admirable varieties and singularities in that country; extracted out of an Italian relation, lately presented to the Pope, by Christ. Borri, who lived there certain years; published by R. A. London, 4to 1633.

ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS) Chaplain to Queen Catherine, consort of King Henry VIII (a), distinguished himself by his zeal in opposing the proceedings of that king, and in particular the divorce of his royal mistress. To this end he wrote a piece intitled, *Traſtatius de non diſſolvendo Henrici & Catharine matrimonio*, i. e. 'A Treatise proving

(a) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 54.

‘ proving that the marriage of King Henry and Queen Catherine ought not to be dissolved.’ He took his degree of bachelor of arts at Oxford, on the fourth of July, 1513 (b); and that of master of arts, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1516 (c). In the year 1534, he fell under a prosecution for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, called *the Holy Maid of Kent* [A]. He was also one of those, who denied the King’s supremacy over the Church; for which he was apprehended and imprisoned, and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered in Smithfield, on the thirtieth of July, 1540. During his imprisonment, he was so closely confined, that the keeper of Newgate was committed to the Marshalsea prison, for suffering him to go out upon bail (d). Boucher gives him the character of a very learned man, and tells us, he used to teach the queen music and the languages (e).

[A] *He was prosecuted for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent.* Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1) gives us the following account of that impostor. ‘ Elizabeth Barton — had almost stirred up more than one tragedy: for being furnished by the Monks, to use some strange gesticulations, and to exhibit divers miracles, accompanied with some wizardly unsoothsayings, she drew much credit and concourse to her; information that no mean persons, and, among others, Warham late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, gave some belief to her: so that notwithstanding the

danger that was to give ear to a prediction of her’s, that Henry VIII should not live one month after his marriage with Mrs Bolen, she was cried up with many voices; Silvester, Darius, and Antonio Polioni, the Pope’s agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the plot being at last discovered, she was attainted of treason in the parliament, and executed with her chief accomplices shortly after; at which time she confessed their names, who had instigated her to these practices, and whom she had acquainted with her revelations.’ T

ACCA (St) (a) Bishop of Hagustald, or Hexam, in Northumberland [A], succeeded Wilfrid in that see, in the year 709. He was a Monk of the order of St Benedict, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and had his education under the most holy prelate Bosa, Bishop of York; and from thence was taken under the patronage of Wilfrid, whom he accompanied in a journey to Rome. Here he improved himself in several things, relating to ecclesiastical usage and discipline; which (his historian tells us) it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country (b) [B]. This prelate ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence [C], furnished it with plate and holy vestments, procured a large collection of the lives of the saints, and erected a noble library consisting chiefly of ecclesiastical learning (c). About the year 732, Acca was driven from his see into banishment, but for what cause is unknown [D]. He was esteemed a very able divine,

[A] *Bishop of Hagustald, or Hexam, in Northumberland.* As this episcopal see has been now a long time extinct, the curious reader will not be displeas’d to see here a short account of it, as extract’d from our old English historians by Mr Camden. ‘ And now the whole *Tine*, being well grown, and still increasing, presses forward in one channel for the Ocean, by *Hexam*, which Bede calls *Hagustald*. This was the *Axeldunum* of the Romans, where the first cohort of the Spaniards were in garrison, as the name implies, as also it’s situation on a rising hill; for the Britons called such a mount *Dunum*. But take an account of this place from Richard it’s Prior (1). *Not far from the southern bank of the river Tine, stands a town, of small extent indeed at present, and but thinly inhabited; but (as the remaining marks of it’s antient state will testify) heretofore very large and magnificent. This place is called Hextoldesham, from the little rivulet of Hextold, which runs by, and sometimes suddenly overflows it. In the year 675, Etheldreda, wife of King Egfrid, assigned it for an episcopal see to St Wilfrid; who built here a church, which, for the curiousness and beauty of the fabric, surpass’d all the monasteries in England.* — But the honour [of being an episcopal see] after the twelfth Bishop, was wholly lost, the Danith was prevailing. Afterwards it was only reckon’d a manour of the Archbishops of York, till they parted with their right in an exchange made with Henry VIII (1).

[B] — *Which — it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country.* *Cum quo etiam Romam veniens (says Bede) multa illic que in Patria nequiverat ecclesie sanctorum institutioni utilis didicit, et suis subjeis tradidit* (2). From this assertion of Bede’s it appears, that the English and Roman churches were not yet brought to an uniformity in all points.

[C] *He ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence.* The author of a catalogue of the Bishops of Hexam, published by Wharton (3), has the following remark upon this prelate’s benefactions, which it may not be improper to set down. *Lubens hec commemoro, ut precam gentis nostrae devotionem, et in sacris magnificentiam, Lectores intuantur: V O L. I. No. 2.*

novæ ornamenta ecclesiarum pretiosa a primæwæ (inter nos) fidei simplicitate aliena babeantur. — ‘ I will mention these benefactions, that the readers may see the antient devotion of our nation, and it’s magnificence in sacred matters; and that rich ornaments of churches may not be thought foreign to the simplicity of faith among us.’

[D] *He was driven from his see into banishment, but for what cause is unknown.* We learn this particular of the life of Bishop Acca from Richard, Prior of Hagustald (4). That author’s words are: ‘ Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis 732 & regni Ceolwulf IV, & episcopatus sui 24, de sede sua fugatus est. — Quæ autem urgente necessitate pulsus fit, vel quo diverterit, scriptum non reperit. Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eo tempore episcopalem sedem in Candida inceptit & preparaverit. — In the year of Christ 732, the fourth of the reign of Ceolwulf, and the twenty-fourth of his promotion to the episcopacy, he was driven from his see. — But, what urgent necessity oblig’d him to withdraw, or to what place he retir’d, we are no where told. Some indeed pretend, he then laid the foundation of an episcopal see at Candida Casa or Withern.’ The supposition (here mention’d) of Acca’s founding the see of *Candida Casa*, during the time of his exile, cannot be true, since that bishopric was founded (or rather restor’d) before Bede finish’d his History, that is, before the year 731: as appears from Bede himself. ‘ At vero Provincie Northan-hymbrorum, cui rex Ceolwulf præest, quatuor nunc episcopi præsulatum tenent: Wilfrid in Eboracensis Ecclesia, Æthiwald in Lindisfaronsi, Acca in Hagustaldensi, Pethelm in ea quæ *Candida Casa* vocatur; quæ nuper, multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem’ (5). — *In the province of Northumberland, over which King Ceolwulf reigns, there are now four Bishops governing their respective sees; Wilfrid in the Church of York, Æthiwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Hagustald, and Pethelm in that called Candida Casa; of which he is the first Bishop, it having been lately taken into the number of episcopal sees, on account of the great increase of the faithful.* [E] He

(e) *Vir longè doctissimus, qui reginæ aliquando in mustarum tacito & linguæ operam suam navarar.* T. Boucher, Hist. Eccl. de martyrio frat. Ord. Minor. D. Francisci. I. golf. 1583.

(a) *Brompton calls him Attacbronic.* apud Decem Scriptorum. col. 795.

(b) *Beda, Hist. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 20.*

(c) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *De Statu & Episcop. Hagustald. Eccl. c. 15.*

(5) *Beda, ubi supra. c. 24.*

(b) *Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 19.*

(c) *Id. ib. col. 24.*

(d) *Stow’s Annals, an. 1534.*

(1) *Life & Reign of Henry VIIIth, apud Complete Hist. of Engl. Vol. 1. ad an. 1534.*

(1) *Ricardus Prior Hagustald. de statu & episcopis Hagustald. Eccl. c. 1.*

(1) *Camden’s Britannia, published by B/hop Gibson, Vol. 11. col. 1083.*

(2) *Beda, Hist. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. v. c. 20.*

(3) *Anglia Sacra. Pars 1. p. 696.*

(c) Balus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 90.

(d) Rog. Hoved. Annal. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601. p. 403.

divine, and was remarkably skilled in church-musick [E]. He wrote the following pieces: 1. *Passiones Sanctorum*, i. e. 'The Sufferings of the Saints.' 2. *Officia sue Ecclesie*, i. e. 'The Offices of his own Church.' 3. *Epistole ad Amicos*, i. e. 'Letters to his friends.' 4. *Pro illustrandis scripturis ad Bedam*, i. e. 'For explaining the scriptures, addressed to Bede (c).' He died in 740 [F], having governed the church of Hexam twenty-four years, under Egbert King of the Northumbrians (d). Simeon of Durham relates several miracles performed by the relics of St Acca [G].

[E] He was remarkably skilled in church-musick.] Bede informs us, that Acca retained in his service, during twelve years, an excellent finger named Maban; by the help of whose instructions, he revived the use of church-musick, and singing of anthems. This Maban, it seems, had been taught to sing by the successors of the disciples of St Gregory the Pope in Kent. *Cantatorem quoque egregium, vocabulo Maban, qui à successoribus discipulorum beati Papæ Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonus edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersit, ac per annos duodecim tenuit: quatenus & quæ illi non noverant, carmina ecclesiastica doceret; & ea quæ quondam cognita longo usu vel negligentia inveterare cæperunt, hujus doctrina præfium renovaret in statum* (6).

(6) Beda, ubi supra, c. 20.

[F] He died in 740.] His body was buried with great solemnity in the church of Hagustald; and two stone crosses of exquisite workmanship were placed, the one at his head and the other at his feet. Three hundred years after, his sepulchre being opened, the burial-cloths, in which his body was wrapt, were found entire, and not in the least decayed; an argument (says an historian) of his great sanctity, and a proof of his never fading glory. *In argumentum magnæ sanctitatis, & testimonium incommutabilis gloriæ ejus* (7). There was found upon his breast a small wooden tablet in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood joined together with silver nails; on which was this inscription: *Alme Trinitati. agie. Sophie. Sanctæ Mariæ* (8).

(7) Ricardus Prior Hagustald. ubi supra, c. 15.

(8) Simeon Duneim. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. ad an. 740.

[G] Simeon of Durham relates several miracles performed by the relics of St Acca.] For the reader's amusement I shall select one or two. A certain brother in the church of Hagustald, whose name was Aldred, resolved one day to separate the bones of St Acca, which had hitherto lain mixed with his ashes, and deposit them in a chest prepared for that purpose.

Accordingly having brought out the relics, and laid them on St Michael's altar, he picked out the bones, and wrapping them in a linen napkin placed them in the chest. This done, he took up the chest, and went with it into the choir, where he intended it should stand, leaving a brother of his to watch the relics. This brother, being left alone, and having a strong desire to get into his possession a relic of so great a saint, resolved to search amidst the ashes, in hopes some little bone might inadvertently have been left behind. But first, that he might not proceed irreverently, he kneeled down, and repeated the seven penitential palms; then approaching the altar, he began to stir the ashes; when suddenly a flame bursting forth, as from the mouth of an oven, drove him back, and obliged him to desist from his attempt; convincing him at the same time, that it was not the will of God, that he should take away the minutest particle of such precious relics (9). Another miracle is as follows. One Edric, a presbyter, coming to the church of Hagustald, perceived a heap of earth lying near one of the altars; into which beginning to dig, he discovered a wooden box, and in it a leaden casket with an inscription, importing that some of the relics of St Acca were contained therein. The priest, having broke open the casket, found in it a little parcel of dust resembling ashes, and intermixed with a few bones; which he took away with him. It happened at that time he was acquainted with a pious but poor old woman of the town, who had been a long time blind; and it came into his thoughts to try the virtue of his relics in effecting her cure. Accordingly he steeped one of the Saint's bones in a little holy water; and having washed her eyes therewith, in about two hours time, through the merits and intercession of St Acca, she was restored to sight (10).

(9) Simeon Duneim. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

A D A M S (THOMAS) citizen and Lord-Mayor of London: a man of great eminence in his time, for his prudence and piety, his loyalty and sufferings, and his acts of munificence both in town and country. He was born at Wem in Shropshire, anno 1586, educated in the university of Cambridge, and bred a Draper in London (a). He was chosen, in the year 1639, Sheriff of that city (b); and was of so publick a spirit, that when his son-in-law brought him the first news of the said election, he immediately dismissed his particular business, and never afterwards personally followed his trade, but gave himself up to the city concerns (c). By his genius, he made himself such a master of the customs and usages, the rights and privileges of the city; and by his nature, was found to be a man of that wisdom and integrity, in the exertion of his knowledge, that there was no honour in the city whereof he was capable, to which he was not preferred (d). He was made Master of the Drapers company, Alderman of a ward, and President of St Thomas's hospital, which probably had been ruined, but for his sagacity and industry in discovering the frauds of an unjust steward (e). He was often returned a Burgess in parliament, tho' the iniquity of the times would not permit him to sit there: and in the year 1645, was chosen Lord-Mayor of London (f), in which office he was so far from self-seeking, that he made not those advantages which are usually made, by selling the vacant places (g). On account of his incorruptible loyalty to King Charles I, his house, while he was Lord-Mayor, was searched by the party then getting into power, with expectation of finding the said King. The year after he was cast into the Tower, there kept a prisoner, and, for several years, excluded from all publick offices and employments; they finding him a man who would not be moulded into their forms, nor make shipwreck of his conscience, to serve their interest (h). This constancy brought upon him, besides these troubles, the publick scoffs and detractions of the levelling faction, which yet others have cleared him of [A], and many writers, in verse as well as prose, have applauded his administration in this office. At length he became, and so continued for some years, the first among the twenty-six, the eldest Alderman upon the bench, that had served in the office of Lord-Mayor, to whom is given that

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Shropshire, p. 20. And the English Baronets, Vol. 11, 8vo 1727, p. 21.

(b) Delaune's Angliæ Metropolis: or Present State of London, 8vo 1690, p. 237.

(c) Dr Nath. Hardy's Royal Commonwealths Man; or David's Picture; represented in a Sermon at the Funeral of Sir THO. A D A M S, &c. 4to 1668, p. 36.

(d) Idem, p. 32.

(e) Ibid. p. 37.

(f) Delaune, ubi supra.

(g) Hardy, ubi supra, p. 37.

(h) Dr Har'y. &c. p. 35, 36.

(1) John Lilburn, in his London's Liberties, &c. 4to 1646.

[A] Publick scoffs and detractions, &c. which yet others have cleared him of.] One calls him the prerogative Lord-Mayor (1); others of the Independants and Sectaries, are for resembling him to wicked

Abaz, for breaking his promise (2); 'whereas, says Mr Tho. Edwards, he performed it most punctually and conscientiously; considering himself as a Christian, and a Magistrate, in such an eminent place (3).'

(2) The Lord-Mayor's Farewell from his office, &c. 4to 1646.

(3) See his *Gangrana*, 4to 1646. Part III. p. 179, 228.

that honourable title, of *FATHER of the CITY* (i). Nor received he only all his honours from the city, but his Prince also, with the greatest reason, conferred upon him the greatest whereof his station was capable. For such was his generous loyalty and affection to the said Prince, Charles II, that having in those perilous times remitted ten thousand pounds to him in his exile (k), and being deputed, at his majesty's joyful return to these realms, by the city, to go, tho' in the seventy-third year of his age, as their Commissioner, to Breda in Holland with General Monk (l), to congratulate and attend him home; he was, in consideration of his signal services, knighted at the Hague by the said King, and, a few days after his majesty's restoration, advanced to the dignity of a Baronet of England, on the thirteenth of June 1660 (m). His merit is still more extensive in the character of a benefactor to the publick, than that of having been one to his Prince; particularly at Wem, where he not only gave the house of his nativity for a free-school (n), that others might have their breeding where he had his birth; but did also liberally endow the same. He likewise founded an Arabic professorship at Cambridge, on condition that it were frequented with a competency of auditors (o); and notwithstanding the general jealousy, that this new *Arabia* (the happy, as all novelties, at first) would soon become *desert*; yet it thrived so well, that the salary of forty pounds *per annum* (p), was settled upon Mr Abraham Wheelock, fellow of Clare Hall, a man of great learning and industry, whose longer life would have probably much improved the Polyglott Bible. Nor were these munificent acts to bear the date of their commencement from that of his death; but the one began twenty, and the other above thirty years before it (q). Neither was their maintenance only settled for some term of years, but, as we usually say, for ever. By which means, he not only served his own, but succeeding generations. Nay, in that Arabic lecture, he served those remote eastern parts of the world; upon which account, at the desire of the said Mr Wheelock, he was at the charge of printing the Persian Gospels, and transmitting them into those parts. Thus he endeavoured to promote the Christian religion, by *throwing a stone at the forehead of Mabomet*, as himself was wont to express it (r). And thus was he serviceable in his generation, to the honour of God, the welfare of the city, and the benefit both of country and university. In private as well as publick charities he was also a conspicuous example. His hands being frequently open in his life-time, to objects of want and desert upon all occasions; and notwithstanding many great damages to his estate, he gave considerable legacies to the poor of several parishes, to hospitals, and ministers widows. Though he was a man of a fine and graceful presence, the virtues of his mind, exceeded the elegance of his form [B]. But one of the most shining virtues in his character was, his Christian courage, his fortitude and patience, under several years of bodily pain, many doleful losses he met with in his worldly goods, and some disastrous crosses in his near relations; such, as himself acknowledged, *He could not have borne, were it not for the strength he received from those divine examples, wherewith he had been so conversant*. In the losses and crosses here mentioned, my author last quoted is no further particular: but the disease, which, in his later years so much afflicted him, was the stone in his bladder. This, by a fall as he was stepping out of his coach (s), hastened his death, which happened on the (t) twenty-fourth of February, 1667, in the eighty-second year of his age. That stone was of such extraordinary magnitude, that it was found, when taken from him, to exceed twenty-five ounces in weight (u): and it is therefore preserved in the Laboratory at Cambridge (x). The worldly affairs in which his life had been so much engaged, left no reluctance in him to part with it: so truly had he learnt the principal part that can be acted by the wisest men, of familiarizing his thoughts in such manner to that dissolution allotted us all, as neither to be surprized at it's approach, nor unprepared for his resignation; of which he was so mindful many years before his death, that it was his frequent language, upon several occasions, *Solum mihi superest sepulchrum. All my business now, is to fit me for the grave*. Dr Hardy preached his funeral sermon in St Catherine Creechurch on the tenth of March following, before a numerous audience of the principal magistrates in the city, his children [C], and many relations; to all whom he concludes with excellent advice. The characteristical part thereof is lately reprinted (y), in which it appears, the death of Sir THOMAS ADAMS, was not accounted a single loss; but that it was, in this one person, manifold: for, passing by private losers, the King lost a loyal subject; the Church, a faithful son; the City, a prudent senator; and the whole publick, a

(i) Dr Hardy, p. 32.

(k) English Barons, ubi supra.

(l) Ib. and Dr Hardy, p. 36.

(m) English Barons, ubi supra.

(n) Fuller, in Shropshire.

(o) Fuller's Hist. of the university of Camb. since the conquest, fol. 1655, p. 166. sub ann. 1631-2.

(p) Dr Hardy, p. 37.

(q) Idem.

(r) Ibid. p. 33.

(s) English Barons.

(t) J. Le. Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. III.

(u) Dr Hardy, p. 39.

(x) English Barons.

(y) Memorials & Characters of eminent and worthy persons, fol. 1739. No. iii. p. 86.

common

[B] Exceeded the elegance of his form.] Dr Hardy, who was acquainted with him above twenty years, tells us, ' His very outward aspect was amiable, nay venerable; his presence, as the appearance of some benign star, having a pleasing influence upon all that looked upon him: but could you have viewed his inside, behold that virtuous soul which inhabited his comely body, how would it have ravished you! and yet tho' we could not directly we might reflexively, and that, both from his words and works.' And a little further, ' Such was his tongue! frequently tipped with silver, nay golden sayings; which he brought forth out of the treasure of his memory: such were his lips! with which (as well, nay better,

than with his bountiful table) he fed not only his children and servants, but all who conversed with him; among whom I can truly say, *I never went to him, but I did, or might, come away from him, bettered by his gracious and prudent discourse*. Nor was he only, as I doubt too many are, a man of words; his goodness was not only at his tongue's, but his fingers ends. So that he was not only in respect of his words, a sweet and pleasing voice; but of his works, a burning and shining light (4).

[C] His children.] Whereof he had nine, tho' four only survived him; three daughters, and one son, named William, who succeeded in dignity and estate. This Sir William Adams, Bart. married Anne, sister to

(4) His funeral sermon, p. 30, 31.

common father. He was buried at Sprowston church in Norfolk, and has a handsome monument over him, with a long Latin inscription thereon, written by W. Faldo of Grey's-Inn, Esq; which has been printed elsewhere (z).

(z) In Monum. Anglic. prædict. ab an. 1667.

to Sir James Rushout of Northwick, in Worcestershire, Bart. by whom he had nine sons, and one daughter; but by his second wife, the widow of Alderman Allington, he had no issue: he died *anno* 1687, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas his eldest surviving son; who died unmarried in 1690. Whereupon Sir Charles Adams, Bart, late of Sprowston-hall in Norfolk, the sixth son of Sir William, became successor. He married Frances, one of the six daughters of

Sir Francis Rolle, son of Lord Chief Justice Rolle; but dying without issue, in August 1726, was buried at Ealing in Middlesex, and succeeded by his only brother living, Sir Robert Adams, who married the daughter and one of the coheireses of Peirce Wiseman, Esq; a branch of the antient family of Wiseman in Essex. *He beareth, ermin, three cats passant in pale, azure. CREST: on a wreath, a greyhound's neck, &c.* (y).

(y) The English Baronets, Vol. II. p. 22.

A D A M S O N (PATRICK) Archbishop of St Andrews. He was born March 15, 1563, in the town of Perth, descended of mean, but very honest and indulgent parents (a), who willingly afforded him all the learning that they were able. As a proof of this, they sent him to the grammar-school in the place where they dwelt, thence he went to the university of St Andrews, where he passed through a course of philosophy, and attained the degree of Master of Arts (b). Their circumstances not allowing them to maintain him any longer there, he was constrained to return home, and think of some way of getting his bread. In order to this, he removed to a little village in Fife, where he taught school, and in a short time gained such a reputation, that many gentlemen in the neighbourhood sent their sons to be educated under him (c). In this condition he continued about four years, till Mr James Mc Gill, of Rankellor, one of the senators of the college of justice, intending to send his eldest son into France to study the Civil Law, made choice of Mr Adamson, to be his tutor or preceptor (d). With this young gentleman he set out for Paris in the year 1566, which is the first date we meet with in the memoirs of his life. In the month of June, in the same year, Mr Adamson's loyalty involved him very unluckily [A]. Neither had he escaped so easily as he did, had not Queen Mary, Dowager of France, and Sovereign of Scotland, with some of the principal nobility in the kingdom, interested themselves in his behalf (e). As soon as he recovered his liberty, he retired with his pupil to Bourges, where he and young Mr Mc Gill both entered students of Law. He was in that city during the massacre at Paris, and the same humour prevailing there, he narrowly escaped suffering martyrdom for the Protestant Religion, living concealed no less than seven months in a certain publick house, the master of which, for his charity to hereticks, was thrown from the top thereof and beat to pieces, though upwards of seventy years old (f). While Mr Adamson lay thus in his sepulchre, as he justly called it, he wrote two excellent pieces in Latin verse, which are still extant [B]. In the year 1573, he returned into Scotland, where he married a Lawyer's daughter, probably with an intent to have furthered his progress in that science; but finding no encouragement, and standing in need of a present provision, he entered into holy orders, and became minister of Paisley (g). In the year 1575, he was appointed one of the commissioners to confer on settling the jurisdiction and policy of the Church, by the General Assembly (h). In a General Assembly held the succeeding year at Edinburgh, he, together with Mr David Lindsay, was appointed to report their proceedings to the Earl of Moreton, then Regent (i). The same year, that great nobleman appointed

(a) Vit. Pat. Adamson, à Thoma Volufco. conscript.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Compendious Hist. of the Catholick Church, fol. Hague 1662, Part iii. p. 392.

(e) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(f) Præfat. in Job.

(g) Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, fol. 1680, p. 55, but more largely in the MS Hist. still preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

(h) Petrie ad ann. Calderwood, ad ann.

(i) Calderwood and Petrie.

[A] *Mr Adamson's loyalty involved him very unluckily* The occasion was this, Mary Queen of Scots, being delivered on the 19th of June, 1566, of a Prince, afterwards James VI of Scotland, and First of England (1); Mr Adamson, to shew his loyalty, and it may be also to shew his genius for Latin poetry, wrote a very fine copy of verses, which he procured to be immediately printed and published. The title of this poem ran thus, *Serenissimi & Nobilissimi Scottiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ amplissimæ Filii Genethliacum* (2). i. e. *A Poem on the Birth of the most Serene, and most noble Prince of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Son of the most illustrious Hero Henry Stuart, and of the most potent Queen Mary.* This poem was published on the 25th of June, but six days after the birth of the Prince, who was the subject of it; and therefore we may be sure, that it was both written and printed in some hurry; however, the giving the titles of France, and England, to his own Prince, so much alarmed the French court, that they instantly caused him to be arrested, and might perhaps have proceeded to greater severities, if immediate applications and all possible excuses had not been made to the ministry (3), which, however, did not hinder Mr Adamson's being closely confined for six months. The English court also were not less angry, but at length, with much ado, the matter was made up.

(1) Buchan. Hist. Scot. ad fin. lib. xvii.

(2) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamson.

(3) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

Perhaps the reader will not be displeas'd at being put in mind, that this was a sort of prophecy, which afterwards was verified; since he whom he then stiled Prince, was actually acknowledged as King by that very title, though our author never lived to see it.

[B] *In Latin verse which are still extant.*] Dr Mackenzie calls the French university, at which Mr Adamson studied, Bruges (4), I cannot tell why, since the Latin writer of the Archbishop's life, from whom he had his materials, tells us expressly that it was Bourges, which is indeed a French university, and capital of the dutchy of Berry. The poems mentioned in the text, were, a Poetical Version of the Book of Job, and the Tragedy of Herod, who was smote by an Angel. Of both these he immediately sent copies to Lyons and Paris, to be printed. That which he sent to Lyons was directed to Bouillius, and that which he sent to Paris was address'd to Lambinus, but the civil wars which quickly ensued hindered their being committed to the press; and it was not till long after, that the author recovered one of the copies, and that by the greatest accident that could be. For on the death of Lambinus, his papers falling into the hands of Dr Henry Blackwood, he discovered amongst them both these pieces, and immediately transmitted them to our author, who committed them to the press in 1572, and they were received with universal applause (5).

(4) Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. III. p. 365.

(5) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

appointed him one of his chaplains, and on the death of Bishop Douglas, raised him to the Archbishoprick of St Andrews (k), a dignity which brought him nothing but trouble and uneasiness. On October 24, 1576, the General Assembly sat at Edinburgh, and, in their seventh session, required Mr Adamson to submit himself to the tryal and examination of the Assembly, and to receive the office of a Bishop with such limitations as they thought fit, which he refused to do, whereupon they forbade the chapter of St Andrews to proceed to any election. However, after the Assembly rose, the chapter met, and elected Mr Patrick Adamson, Archbishop. The next year, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to summon the Archbishop before them, to examine into the validity of his election, and to take cognizance of various charges brought against him (l). The clamour of the Presbyterian party ran very high against him, and now they began to vent those stories first, which afterwards their authors inserted in their histories, not only contrary to truth and justice, but even to probability, and inconsistent with each other [C]. The unfortunate Prelate vainly imagining, that by displaying his zeal for Religion, his great skill in the Scriptures, and his excellent vein in Latin Poesy, he should be able to sooth the passions of these angry men; composed a Catechism in Latin verse (m). This they saw and approved, but went on persecuting him for all that [D]. In 1578, he submitted himself to the General Assembly, which procured him a little quiet, and but a little, for in 1579 a new commission was issued out to enquire into fresh charges against him, whereupon the Archbishop retired to St Andrews, and for some years they continued disputing, the Archbishop being constantly treated as an enemy to the Church, and preserved from destruction only by the power of the court (n). In 1582, the Archbishop was seized with a grievous disease, and kept himself in the castle of St Andrews, which the author of the true History of the Church of Scotland calls decently, *living like a fox in a hole* (o). The physicians were at a loss what to call his distemper, and could afford him little or no relief. In his distress he took some simple medicine from an old woman, whose name was Alison Pearson, which did him good (p). One would have thought such a circumstance as this, could scarce have been rendered worthy the ears of posterity; yet such was the malice of the Archbishop's enemies, that they charged the old woman with witchcraft, and the poor Prelate with seeking to the devil to save his life. On this strange charge, the woman was committed to prison, but by the Archbishop's means, as they gave out, made her escape. However, four years afterwards, she was met with again at Edinburgh, and, at the instance of the Presbyterian ministers, was fairly burnt for saving the Archbishop's life (q) [E]. In 1583, King

(k) Calderwood, p. 74. and Petrie, p. 387. Vit. Pat. Adamson, Spottwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, ann. 1575.

(l) Calderwood, Petrie, and Spottwood, ad ann. 1577.

(m) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(n) Spottwood, ad ann. 1578. Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(o) Calderwood, p. 14c. and much more at large in the MS History.

(p) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(q) Calderwood, ad ann. 1583, and Petrie, p. 441.

[C] *Inconsistent with each other.* We have a good deal on this subject in Dr Mackenzie's account of our author, but the doctor does not take any great pains, to show that the scandalous things said of the Archbishop are inconsistent, and therefore cannot be true, neither is he at all particular in citing authorities. To readers well acquainted with Scottish history, this might not be necessary, but to other persons it makes his account very obscure. The gross of what was alledged against him, when he became Archbishop, was what follows. 'That his father's name was Constance, a baker in Perth, and under the name of Constance, he assisted as a minister in the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in the year 1560. After this, having deserted his ministry, he went over to France to study the laws; but upon his return, he betook himself again to the ministry, and being baulked of the Archbishoprick of St Andrews, in the month of February, 1572, he preached at St Andrews; and in his sermon told the people, that there were *Three sorts of Bishops, my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery. My Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Bishop seweth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right sure; and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel* (6).' For these particulars we are referred to Petrie and Calderwood, but very probably Dr Mackenzie never consulted those authors, since Petrie expressly cites (7) another writer, for what he says of the Archbishop, who ought therefore to be reputed the author of the first part of the story at least (8). That the Archbishop's name was really Constance, is not a suggestion of late date, for we find in the continuation of Hollinshed's Chronicle (9), that he is stiled Patrick Adamson, alias Constance, in his life-time, for that book was printed in 1587. But that he became a minister before he went to France, is expressly contrary to the Archbishop's own testimony in his preface, and it can scarce be believed, that he would dare to affirm a falsehood in the face of the whole Church. The story of his preaching, is likewise inconsistent with his own account of his return into Scot-

land, which he places in 1573, nay, which is worse, it is not to be reconciled to their own account of the matter; for if what one of their writers says be true, that out of mere pity to his necessity, Mr Andrew Haye procured him the church of Paisley; it is impossible that he should immediately after pretend to the highest ecclesiastical preferment in the kingdom, and this too, against such a person as Mr John Douglas, Rector of the university, and a man of extraordinary interest. But to put this matter out of dispute, it must be observed, that Mr Douglas was nominated to the Archbishoprick in 1571 (10), when, without all question, Mr Adamson was out of the kingdom, so that he could not be piqued at missing the Archbishoprick. How such stories came to be broached, is no hard matter to discover, since we find Calderwood telling us expressly, and with triumph, that when he opposed the Kirk, certain writers set him forth in his colours, which is neither better nor worse, than countenancing men of great spleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invectives. The English histories at the same time, discover this to have been too much practised here, as the reader may find by consulting the article of AILMER, or of ARTHINGTON.

[D] *Went on persecuting him for all that.* The title of this work was, *Catechismus Latino Carmine redditus, & in Libros quatuor digestus 1577* (11), i. e. *The Catechism rendered into Latin Verse, and digested into four Books.* This was written for the use of the young King, and was received with such universal applause, that Mr Robert Pont, who was both a minister and a Judge, and Mr James Lawson, both warm in the prosecution of our author, could not forbear publishing two very fine Latin poems in praise of that performance (12). It was also much admired in England, in France, and in the Low-Countries, where the author was already well known by his Latin translation of the Confession of Faith, which he procured to be printed, while he resided in France, at the hazard of his life.

[E] *Fairly burnt for saving the Archbishop's life.* Petrie mentions this story of the witch twice (13), once from the books of the General Assembly, and a

(10) Calderwood, p. 43.

(11) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamson.

(12) Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 367.

(13) Part III. p. 441.

(6) Calderwood, p. 55.

(7) Part III. p. 392.

(8) Vindicie Philadelph. p. 53.

(9) Vol. II. p. 455.

King James VI, coming to St Andrews, our Prelate, who was now pretty well recovered, preached before him, and maintained the dignity of his order with great spirit and elocution, and also disputed with Mr Andrew Melvin before the King, with great reputation (r). This drew upon him new calumnies, and fresh persecutions [F]. The King, however, was so well satisfied of the Archbishop's wisdom and loyalty, that he sent him his Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, in which quality he resided for some years, at London. As to his conduct there, nothing can be more different, than the reports thereof by several authors. Thus much however is certain, that by his eloquent preaching, he drew after him such a concourse of people, and raised in their minds such a high idea of the young King his master, that Queen Elizabeth forbade him to enter the pulpit, during his stay in her dominions (s). But still the Bishops, and such Noblemen as were zealous for the interest of the Church, received our Bishop kindly, and treated him very respectfully, doing all that in their power lay to make the difficulties he laboured under, which were not a few, some way tolerable to him (t). There seems to be no reason to doubt, that the two things he principally laboured, were the recommending the King his master, to the nobility and gentry of England, and the procuring some support for himself, and the Episcopal party in Scotland, which was then in a very low state. In each of these designs, he had as much success as the situation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumstances, would allow: his revenues were far from being large, and his skill in managing them was very indifferent. His enemies took occasion from thence, to represent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends, with more humanity and truth, said, that he had spent too much time about other sciences, to be well skilled in œconomy. As to his intriguing with the Spanish Ambassador, or having any concern in that which was called Throgmorton's conspiracy, though they are charged upon him with great confidence (u) by some writers, yet it seems to be without any foundation; since it can scarce be imagined that the Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, who was himself a zealot, or any of the violent Papists, who were dipped in those dark designs, should have any confidence in a Protestant Prelate, who had written with great force and freedom against their religion, and who was withal, a person needy in circumstances, and of a timorous disposition [G]. Soon after the execution of the first Earl of Gowry, viz. In the year 1584, the Archbishop was recalled, and sat in the Parliament, which was held about the end of August at Edinburgh. In that Parliament, several acts were made for settling the peace of the kingdom, and for establishing the King's authority in Ecclesiastical affairs (w). Yet this produced little effect, the ministers refused absolutely to pay obedience, and because the Archbishop preached often before the King, persons were encouraged to beat at the church doors in order to disturb him; and most outrageous

(r) Spotswood, ad ann. 1583, Calderwood and Petrie, ubi supra.

(s) Vit. Pat. Adamson, Vid. etiam. Dedicat. Oper. P. A. A. S. A. ad Jacob. I. per T. Wilson.

(t) Calderwood and Petrie, ad ann. 1584.

(u) Calderwood, p. 161, and more at large in the MS History.

(w) Spotswood, Calderwood, Petrie, ubi supra.

(14) True Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 140.

second time, from a piece called the Historical Narration, but Calderwood tells us the story more plainly (14). 'Mr Patrick Adamson, called commonly Bishop of St Andrews, had kept his castle, like a fox in a hole, a long time, diseased of a great Feditie, as he himself called his disease. He sought cure of women suspected of witchcraft, namely of one who was apprehended, tried by the Presbyterie, and committed to the castle to be kept to farther trial, but suffered by him to escape: yet was she apprehended within three or four years after, and was executed in Edinburgh. He kept his castle since the assembly holden in April, 1582.' This is but one, out of many passages, wherein this heavy charge of applying to a witch, is over and over repeated, though the reader may please to observe, that it was then very customary, nor is it yet uncommon, for women in that part of the world, to pretend to great skill in curing chronic distempers, such as this of the Archbishop's seems to have been, since he was afterwards advised to go to the Spaw for cure.

[F] *New calumnies and fresh persecutions.* Let the reader take it in Mr Calderwood's own words. 'When the King cometh to St Andrews, he becometh a whole man, occupied the pulpit incontinent, declared before the King against the ministry and the lords, and their proceeding. He professed before, that he had not the gift of application, now he applyeth, but inspired with another spirit, than faithful ministers use to be. In his sermon he affirmed for certain, that the Duke of Lennox died a Protestant, having in his hand a scroll, which he called the Duke's Testament. A merchant woman sitting before the pulpit, and spying narrowly, affirmed that the scroll was account of four or five years old debt, which a few days before, she had sent to him. It is true, the Duke refused to take the sacrament out of a priest's hand, when he was dying, but had received it before, as was reported, out of the Bishop of Glasgow's hand (15).'

(15) Ibid. p. 141.

[G] *Of a timorous disposition.* Calderwood having reported the order made by Queen Elizabeth, for the

Spanish Ambassador's quitting her kingdom, proceeds thus, 'Let the reader then judge what could move Mr Patrick Adamson to quake and tremble, when Francis Throgmorton was apprehended. What business could he have with the Spanish Ambassador? And upon what ground did he maintain, that liberty of conscience was expedient? Was it not because he was in working, and he was privy to it? And seeing the Duke of Guise was to be chief ring-leader of the invasion abovementioned, Who will believe that the Duke of Lennox was not privy to it? If he had stayed, by all appearance, this plot had been very far advanced (16).' Father Parsons, in one of his books, gives us some light into this embassy. For having first introduced a discourse concerning the excessive pride of the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, he then makes the person into whose mouth he put it, proceed thus, 'And so, said I of late, to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in London, whither he was come by his King's appointment (as he said) to treat certain affairs with our Queen and council. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministry, he confessed the same with much grief of mind, and told me, that he had preached thereof before the King himself, detesting and accusing diverse heads thereof, for which cause, he was become very odious to them, and other of their faction, both in Scotland, and England. But he said, that as he had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queen, so meaneth he shortly to do the same unto Mr Beza, and to the whole Church of Geneva, by sending thither the articles of his and their doings; protesting unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious, and perilous, both to the King's person and to the Realm; being sufficient indeed to alienate wholly the young Prince from all affection to our Religion, when he shall see the chief professors thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him (17).'

(16) Ibid. p. 161.

(17) Leicester's Commonwealth, ann. dom. 1641, 4to, p. 145, 146.

geous libels were every where scattered against him, in order to ruin his reputation, and make him odious to the people. To abate, if possible, this temper in the people, and to set things in a true light, the King caused a declaration to be made by the Archbishop of St Andrews, of the reasons which induced those laws, and obliged his majesty and his council to see them put in execution. This declaration was published in the month of January, 1685, and was so well received by all wise and discreet men, that in the month of February, it was reprinted at London with great applause, contributing highly to the Archbishop's reputation, who seemed now to be in a fair way of overcoming all his difficulties, as he certainly would have done, if the court had been more steady; this declaration having procured King James many friends in England (x) [H]. But things did not remain in this situation, for the Kirk faction being obstinate, and indefatigable, soon gained ground again, drawing in several great men to countenance them, and at last making use of open force, which so intimidated the King, that by a new declaration he disavowed that formerly mentioned (y). In the month of April, 1586, a provincial Synod was held at St Andrews, wherein the Archbishop was present, but he was soon accused, and, notwithstanding his defence, excommunicated, whereupon, a day or two after, he excommunicated Mr James Melvin, who was moderator at the Synod; and, in respect to his own excommunication, appealed to the King, and the States of the kingdom; however, this did him little good, for the mob being let loose upon him, he durst scarce appear in publick, in the city of St Andrews (z). At the next General Assembly held at Edinburgh in the same year, a paper containing the Archbishop's submission, dated May 20, 1586, was produced, whereupon, the Assembly absolved him from the excommunication, and the King and council directed that he should read a divinity lecture in St Servator's College at St Andrews (a). In 1587, complaint was made to the General Assembly, that the Bishop had suffered himself to be denounced rebel, and put to the Horn, that is, in plain English, outlawed, because he could not pay his debts, but upon the motion of the King's commissioners, all proceedings were stayed (b). In 1588, the Archbishop was again cited before the General Assembly, for marrying the Earl of Huntley to his Countess, without obliging the Earl to subscribe a confession of his faith, and he not appearing, a commission was granted to try him for that and other crimes objected to him (c). In the beginning of 1590, our Prelate published the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, in Latin verse, which he dedicated to the King, complaining of the hard usage he had met with. In the latter end of the same year, he published a translation of the Apocalypse, in Latin verse, which he also dedicated to the King (d), yet neither these, nor a moving copy of Latin verses, written to his majesty in his deep distress, procured him any favour (e). On the contrary, the King finding the Archbishop no longer of use to him, granted the revenue of his see to the Duke of Lenox, whereby the unfortunate Prelate with his family, came, in a literal sense, to want bread (f). At this very time, the Assembly intercepted Letters from Dr Bancroft, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to our Archbishop Adamson, certifying him of the great respect the English clergy had for him, and blaming him for not taking sanctuary amongst his friends in that country (g). These letters never came to his hands, but the brethren taking advantage of the poor Prelate's miserable circumstances, and great weakness both in body and mind, procured his subscription to a most abject form of submission, and that, by giving him a poor collection for the immediate relief of his family's necessities (h). Thus he lingered out, till the latter end of the year 1591, his uncomfortable life, dying with very different characters from his countrymen, as the reader will see in the notes [I]. But as to what his enemies charitably asserted, of his being senseless

(x) Thinn's Continuation of Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 433.

(y) Calderwood, p. 193.

(z) Ibid. p. 199.

(a) Calderwood, p. 213. Thinn's Continuation of Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 456.

(b) Calderwood, and Petrie, ad ann. 1587.

(c) Calderwood, p. 226.

(d) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamson, Lond. and Joann. Billium, 1619, 4to.

(e) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(f) Calderwood, p. 259.

(g) Calderwood, ibid, ubi supra.

(h) Calderwood, p. 260. Spotwood, p. 387.

[H] This declaration procured King James many friends in England.] This declaration is still preserved at length, in Thinn's continuation of Hollinshed's history of Scotland (18), wherein the reader may peruse it, and therein find the true ground of that inveterate hatred, which was borne to our prelate by the presbyterian clergy; since, to say the truth, it is by far the boldest and strongest picture that was ever drawn, of their haughty behaviour towards their Prince, and towards his people. We need not therefore wonder, at the following account of the matter by Calderwood, which shews the spirit both of the man and his party. 'The acts of parliament holden the last May, were so tossed among the subjects, and disliked by good men, that the court was forced to set Mr Patrick Adamson, that chief devisor, on work, to make a declaration of the meaning, and that in the King's name. This declaration came to light in January, and was after so greedily embraced by the English Bishops, that after the printing of it here, it was reprinted with an odious preface of alleged treasons prefixed unto it, and to preserve the memory of it, insert in the Chronicle of England, compiled by Hollinshed, and continued by Francis Thinne. Our Kirk was ever careful, and especially at the same time, to entertain the amity between the two nations, and deserved no such indignity at their

hands. But let such a lying libel lie there, as a blur to blot their Chronicles (19).

[I] As the reader will see in the notes] In order to support what we have said in the text, we shall here set down three characters of him; the first by Calderwood, who tells us, that in the month of April 1591, he subscribed a long recantation, which he inserts in his history, and desired assistance for the support of his family. Afterwards he tells us, he sent to the Presbyterie at St Andrews, and desired to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. 'The brethren doubting whether his desire proceeded from trouble of mind, or if it was a shift only to get some support, directed Mr James Melvill, and Mr Andrew Moncrief, to try him. As soon as he saw Mr James, he pulled off his cap, and cried, Forgive me, forgive me, for God's sake, Mr James, for I have many ways offended you. Mr James forgave him, and exhorted him to unfeigned repentance. When he was asked, if he acknowledged the validity of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him. He interrupted Mr James, and cried pitifully, and often, Loose me for Christ's sake. At their report, the brethren with prayer and thanksgiving absolved him (20).' Archbishop Spotwood, gives somewhat a different account of this transaction, and a better character of our author. His words are

(19) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 172.

(20) Ibid. p. 259---265.

(18) Vol. II. p. 438.

fenfelefs in his laft moments, it is fo flagrant a falshood, that we have preferved an inftance of his having almoft in the article of death, the nobleft and moft pious fentiments [K]. This certainly joined with the confideration of the many admirable works he published, ought to perfwade us that he was one of the moft learned, and moft polite Prelates of the age in which he lived [L].

(21) Book vi.
P. 378.

are thefe (21). ‘ In this Affembly certain articles were prefented, fubfcribed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, allowing the prebyterial difcipline, and condemning the government epifcopal; which were afterwards imprinted, under the title of Mr Patrick Adamfon’s Recantation. The Bifhop lay bedfart at the time, and was fallen into great neceffity by his own mifgovernment, whereof his adverfaries taking advantage, it was devifed, that he fhould be vifited by fome of the brethren, and defired to leave a teftimony under his hand, of his opinion of matters of difcipline. This being moved unto him, he faid, that he did not trouble himfelf with fuch thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of any other Bifhop in the Church, but St Paul’s Bifhop, which he would willingly fet his hand to. Upon this his answer, were thefe articles drawn up, and fubfcribed by him; whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto, by a poor collection that they gave him in the time, (for fo the report went) or otherwife, it is uncertain: but when it was told him that fuch a recantation was published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his caufe to God, ended his days in the year 1591. A man he was of great learning, and a moft perfwafive preacher, but an ill adminiftrator of the Church patrimony, which brought him to the mifery that is pitiful to think of. Diverfe works he left; of which fome are extant, which fhew his learning: but his Prelections upon the Epiftle to Timothy, which were moft defired, falling into the hands of his adverfaries were fuppreffed.’ Mr Wilfon, who published our Prelate’s works, talks of him in much ftronger terms (22): ‘ He was, fays he, a Prelate endowed with fuch excellent qualifications, both as to mind and body, that he was a miracle of nature; and rather feemed to be the immediate production of God Almighty, than born of a woman; being a profound Theologue, an incomparable Poet, an eloquent Orator, well feen in the Greek, and Latin languages: a Prelate of great prudence, experience, and wifdom, in the management of affairs, fkillful in the civil and canon-law; and of fo happy a memory, that he did not know what it was to forget any thing, that he had either heard or read; fo that the death of fuch a perfon, who was the glory of his country, and of the republick of letters, can never be too much lamented.’

[K] *The nobleft and moft pious fentiments.* We are told by the charitable Mr Calderwood, that Mr David Black, a man mighty in doctrine, and of fingular fidelity and diligence in the calling of the miniftry, came to Mr Patrick (fo he calls the Archbishop) in February, the year following, (1591) when he was drawing near his end, and found him, as he lived, fenfelefs (23). The following Latin verfes written a very little while before he breathed his laft, will fhew what frame of mind he was in, and what reafons Mr David Black had for departing, as Mr Calderwood fays he did, with a heavy heart.

O Anima! affiduis vitæ jaftata procellis,
Exilii pertæfa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, & mundi invifas contemnere fordes.
Quippe parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, & verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine lifet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cæleftis origo
Invitat, fælix perge, æternumque quiefce.
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, fonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, & totum me tibi reddet.
Eccæ beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, & radiantes fanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capeffes
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
Alme Deus, Deus alme, & non effabile numen,
Ad te unum & trinum, moribundo peftore an-
helo (24).

(24) Mackenzie,
Vol. III. p. 376.

O Soul! long tofs’d in waves of endless strife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life,
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and speed thee from its snares.
Lo! the great God, who every good bestows,
Bids thee forfake thy body, and thy woes.
While the kind author of our happier fate,
His suffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haste thee! haste thee! to thy native sky,
Leave here thy pains, to endless quiet fly.
This breathless trunk, this putrid fleshy cafe
Tho’ worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear th’ angelick trump; again arise,
And, thou refuming, bear it to the skies.
See the blest day, see how the Lamb appears!
Hard by his cross! O how his bleeding cheeks!
On these depending, speed thee in thy flight,
In thy new friends bow much wilt thou delight?
Dear God, in thee, in thee, O God most dear,
Whose name be mention’d still with holy fear,
My faith firm fix’d for ever shall abide,
Living I trust, and dying I confide.

[L] *One of the moft learned and polite Prelates of the age in which he lived.* Besides the feveral pieces published together in a quarto volume by Mr Wilfon, our author wrote alfo many things which were never published, fuch as fix books on the Hebrew Republick, various translations of the Prophets into Latin verfe, Prelections on St Paul’s Epiftles to Timothy, various apologetical and funeral orations; and what deferves moft to be regretted, a very candid history of his own times; alfo many other pieces, the titles of which have not been preferved to poffterity (25). E

(25) Ibid. p. 378,
379.

ADDISON (LANCELOT), the fon of another Lancelot Addison, a clergyman, was born at Mauldiffeburne, in the parish of Crosby Ravenworth, in Westmorland (a), in the year 1632 (b), but the day is not certain. He received the first tincture of letters, in the grammar-school of Appleby, in the same county. Thence, in the year 1650, he was sent by his relations to Queen’s college in Oxford, where he became first a poor child on the foundation (c), but quickly distinguishing himself by his lively parts, and strict application to learning, he, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1654, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts (d); continuing still in the university, on the fourth of July, 1657, he became Master of Arts, and being then much taken notice of for his sprightly wit, was made choice of to be one of the *Terræ Filii*, for the A&E which was celebrated in 1658. But his loyalty getting the better of his prudence, he bore so hard in his oration, on the pride, hypocrisy, ignorance, and avarice, of those then in power, that he was compelled to make a recantation, and to ask pardon for the offence given, on his knees. Shortly after he retired from the university, out of disgust, in all probability, for the usage he had received (e). He chose for his retreat a village

(a) Wood’s
Athenæ Oxon.
Vol. II. col.
970.

(b) See his Epi-
taph in Note [B].

(c) Wood’s
Athenæ Oxon.
ubi supra.

(d) Wood’s
Fasti Oxon. Vol.
II. p. 105.

(e) Ibid. p. 115.

a village in the neighbourhood of Petworth, and spent his time in visiting such loyal gentlemen, as had seats in the county of Suffex, where with great zeal and steadiness he promoted amongst their youth (when it was most dangerous) principles of loyalty, and the tenets of the Church of England. On the restoration of King Charles II, the gentlemen of that county recommended him to Dr King, Bishop of Chichester, as a man of a found head and honest heart, one who had suffered much, and run the hazard of suffering much more, for his attachment to the constitution in Church and State. The Bishop received him kindly, and, in all probability, would have provided for him, if Mr Addison had not accepted the post of chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk, contrary to his lordship's inclination (f). In 1662, when that place was delivered up to the French, Mr Addison returned to England, where he did not remain long, an offer being made him, of going chaplain to the garrison settled at Tangier, with which he closed, and went thither the next year. He continued there about seven years, during which space he improved, with the utmost care and diligence, the great abilities he received from nature, and that large stock of acquired knowledge, which he carried from the university. He was in great favour with the famous Earl of Tiviot, who was Governor, and Colonel Norwood, Deputy Governor, of that garrison, and employed by them in matters of great importance (g). In the beginning of the year 1670, having settled all things relating to his office in a regular and easy state, and taken all imaginable precaution, for the security of the Protestant religion in that garrison, he thought he might without offence make a voyage into England, in order to look after his private affairs, which he accordingly did, and was well received here by persons of the first distinction. He was made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty Charles II, soon after his coming over (h), yet his office of chaplain at Tangier, though he had no intent of quitting it, was conferred upon another, whereby Mr Addison was not a little streightened for a subsistence. In this situation of affairs, Mr Wood tells us, that a worthy Knight in the county of Wilts, took him under his protection, and bestowed on him the rectory of Milston near Amesbury, in Wilts (i), which is said to have been worth about one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He also obtained the prebend of minor pars Altaris, in the cathedral church of Sarum, and on the sixth of July 1675, took the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, at Oxford (k). His spiritual preferments, though they were not very considerable, enabled him to live decently and hospitably in the country. He discharged his duty in his parish with a conscientious diligence, and employed his spare time in studying and in writing for the support of true religion, and of the Church of England, of which he was a most dutiful son. He lived likewise in terms of the strictest friendship with the most eminent persons of his neighbourhood, who were equally edified by the innocence of his life, and charmed with his pleasing and instructive conversation. In 1683, the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, on account of his services at Tangier, and to make good his great losses by fire at Milston, bestowed upon him the deanery of Litchfield (l), in which he was installed the third of July in the same year (m). Mr Wood supposes that he was then Archdeacon of Coventry (n), but in that he was mistaken, for Dr Addison was collated to that archdeaconry, on the eighth of December 1684 (o), and held it with his deanery *in commendam*. In the convocation which met on the fourth of December, 1689, Dean Addison was present, and was one of the committee, appointed by the lower house, to acquaint the lords, that they had consented to a conference on the subject of an address to the King (p). It is said that he might have been made a Bishop after the Revolution, if he had not in this convocation, and elsewhere, manifested such a zeal for the Church, as gave a handle for misrepresenting him to those in power. He enjoyed however a just and general reputation grounded on the uprightness of his life, and on the many learned and useful treatises he had published, a distinct account of which, the reader will find in a note [A]. He departed this life

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 970.

(g) West Barbary; or a Narrative of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, &c. p. 110.

(h) As appears by the title page of West Barbary, &c. wherein he is so styled, in 1671.

(i) Wood, ubi supra.

(k) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 198.

(l) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(m) A Survey of the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, &c. by Browne Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 402.

on

[A] *A distinct account of which the reader will find in a note.* I. *West Barbary: or, a short narrative of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, with an account of the present customs, sacred, civil, and domestick, by Lancelot Addison, Chaplain to his majesty in ordinary.* Printed at the theatre in Oxford, and are to be sold by John Wilmot, 1671, in octavo, containing in the whole 226 pages, of which the revolutions in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco take up seventy-one, and the description of West Barbary, and the rest. This book is dedicated *To the most worthy and truly honourable Joseph Williamson, Esq;* who from this and other dedications, appears to have been the author's great patron. The history is written with great plainness and perspicuity, but in a style visibly less pure than his subsequent productions, which, in all probability, might be owing to his long absence from his native country. Besides a curious detail of the revolutions in *Barbary*, and a very accurate account both of the country and of the inhabitants, there is in this little piece a multitude of curious particulars, related by the author on his own knowledge, which fully supports what he says in the preface, that his

book was not composed from the accounts given him by others, but was the fruit of diligent observations, and many years enquiries (1).

II. *The present state of the Jews, (more particularly relating to those in Barbary) wherein is contained an exact account of their customs, secular and religious; to which is annexed, a summary discourse of the Mishna, Talmud, and Gemara.* By L. Addison, one of his majesty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the late revolutions, and present customs, of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. London: printed by J. C. for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-Bar, and to be sold by John Courtney, bookseller in Sarum, 1675, in octavo, containing 249 pages. This book is also dedicated to his former patron, under the title of, the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State, &c. It is dated from *Milston near Ambros-Bury, in Wilts*, January 28, 1674-5. This treatise contains twenty-six chapters, exclusive of some considerations on the obstructions which at present hinder the conversion of the Jews, and the summary discourse mentioned in the title. The author himself acknowledges, that he composed this as well

(1) In this treatise, wherever our author relates a fact of his own knowledge, he adds such circumstances of time and place, as shew he trusted nothing to memory, which renders his observations much more valuable, than those of other travellers in those parts, who write avowedly from hearsay, or at best from recollection.

(n) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(o) Willis, ubi supra, p. 417.

(p) *Vox Cleri: or, the Sense of the Clergy, &c.* to which is added, an historical account of the whole proceedings of the present Convocation. London, R. Taylor, 1690, 4to, p. 61, 72.

on the twentieth of April, 1703, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was twice married; first to Jane, daughter of Nathaniel Gulston, Esq; and sister to Dr William Gulston, Bishop of Bristol, by whom he had three sons, and as many daughters. His second wife was Dorothy, daughter to John Danvers of Shackerston, in the county of Leicester, Esq; who survived him, and by whom he had no issue. As to his offspring by his first wife, they were born in the following order. Jane, on the twenty-third of April, 1671, who died in her infancy. Joseph, on the first of May, 1672, of whom in the next article. Gulston, in April, 1673, who died governor of Fort St George, in the East-Indies. Dorothy, in May, 1674, who married first Dr Sartre, formerly minister at Montpellier, afterwards prebendary of Westminster, some time after whose decease, she became the wife of Daniel Combes, Esq; Anne, in April, 1676, who died young. Lancelot, in 1680, who was Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and much admired in the university, for his great skill in the classics (q). Dean Addison was buried in the church-yard of the cathedral of Litchfield, at the entrance of the west door. His epitaph, and an inscription sacred to his memory, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [B].

as the former piece, while he was abroad; but without question he revised it in England, since the disposition of it is perfectly regular, the stile natural and easy, and the whole interspersed with many learned remarks, and moral reflections. It is really strange, that this judicious and excellent treatise is so little known, for it is certainly one of the best that was ever composed on this subject; and tho' many have been written since, yet the merit of this is far from being effaced. For according to our author's motto. *Alius alio plura invenire potest, nemo omnia.*

III. *The primitive institution: or, a seasonable discourse of catechizing, wherein is shewn the antiquity, benefits, and necessity thereof; together with its suitability to heal the present distempers of the Church of England,* by L. Addison, one of his majesty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the present state of the Jews (2).

IV. *A modest plea for the Clergy; wherein is briefly considered, the original, antiquity, and necessity, of that calling, together with the spurious and genuine occasions of their present contempt.* London, 1677, octavo. In another edition the title suffered some little alteration, for we find it run thus; *A modest plea for the Clergy; wherein is considered, the reasons why the Clergy are so contemned and neglected,* by L. A. D. D. and Dean of Litchfield. The celebrated Dr Hickeys, having met with the first edition of this book, reprinted it, together with Dr Heylyn's discourse on *tythes*, and a sermon on the sacerdotal benediction, by one Samuel Gibson, as proper antidotes to the *Rights of the Christian Church*, by Tindal. This piece came out in octavo, in the year 1709, and Dr Hickeys, in his preface, declares, that he did not know whether the author of the first discourse, was a clergyman or a layman, but was inclined to think him a layman, which shews how easily the most learned men may be deceived.

V. *The first state of Mahometism, or an account of the author and doctrine of that imposture.* London, 1678, octavo. This book was printed the next year, under the title of *The life and death of Mahomet, the author of the Turkish religion, &c. containing a hundred and thirty-six pages.* The book is divided into twenty-four chapters, and the author's design therein, as he himself acquaints us, was to give a faithful account of the life and doctrine of Mahomet, stript of fable and prejudice. In 1687, the bookseller, William Crooke, sent it forth with a new and much more copious title, but as to the work itself, it was without alteration or addition.

VI. *An introduction to the sacrament; or a short, safe, and plain way to the communion table, collected for, and rendered familiar to, every particular communicant,* by L. Addison, D. D. 1681.

There was a second edition of the beforementioned book, in 1686, to which there was then added, *The communicant's assistant; being a collection of devotions to that purpose,* in 12mo, containing 153 pages.

VII. *A discourse of Tangier, under the government of the Earl of Triviot,* London, 4to 1685, second edition.

VIII. *The Catechumen; or an account given by the*

young person to the minister, of his knowledge in religion, upon his first admission to the Lord's table. Recommended to the press, by two eminent divines of the Church of England. London, William Crooke, 1690, 12mo, containing one hundred pages. One of these eminent divines appears to have been Dean Addison himself, and the other was Dr Scot, and therefore it hath been presumed, that this book was not his; though it is ascribed to him in several catalogues (3).

IX. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ 'ΑΤΤΟ'ΘΕΟΣ; or, an historical account of the heresy, denying the godhead of Christ. London: for Robert Clavel, at the peacock in St Paul's Church-yard, 1696, 12mo, containing 107 pages. This is a most excellent book, comprehending in a very narrow compass the history of various heresies, clearly and fairly stated from original authors, for the use probably of such as were unable to read those authors in Greek or Latin.

X. *The Christian's daily sacrifice duly performed; or a practical discourse teaching the right performance of prayer.* By L. Addison, Dean of Litchfield. Printed for Robert Clavel, 1698, 12mo.

XI. *An account of the Millennium, the genuine use of the two sacraments, viz. Baptism and the Lord's-supper, with the Christian's obligation frequently to receive the latter.*

[B] *The reader will find at the bottom of the page.]* The following epitaph is on his tomb-stone in the church-yard.

Hic jacet Lancelotus Addison, S. T. P. hujus ecclesie Decanus, nec non Archidiaconus Coventriae, qui obiit 20 die Aprilis, ann. Dom. 1703. Aetatis suae 71.

Many years after his death, there was set up within side the cathedral, a marble compartment, bearing this inscription to his memory.

P. M. Lanceloti Addison, S. T. P. Agro Westmoreland oriundi, in Coll. Regin. Oxon. bonarum Litterarum profecti, diutinis per Europam Africanque perigrinationibus rerum peritiam speclabilis; hujus tandem Eccl. Decani & Coventriensis Archidiaconi; in primis nuptiis Duxit Janam Nathan Gulston Armig. Filiam & Gulielmi Gulston Episcopi Britolliensis Sororem; in secundis Dorotheam, Johan. Danvers de Shackerston in Agro Leicestriens. Arm. Filiam; Funere Mariti de se optime meriti nuper plorantem: Ex Jana tres Filios totidemque Filias suscepit; Josephum, Gulstonum arcis Sancti Georgii Gubernatorem; Lancelotum Coll. Magd. Oxon. Socium; Janam & Annam, prima juvenute defunctas; & Dorotheam unicam ex tot liberis superstitem, Obiit A. D. 1703. Aetatis 71.

Ab eo eximias Naturae dotes, Morum Innocentiam, Benevolentiam erga Homines; in Daum Pictentum luculentum (ei quod aliud Patrimonium) Filius natu maximus Josephus Saeculi sui Decus, qui in optimi parentis consortium dum hoc ipsi Marmor adornaret praepropera Morte adscitus est. A. D. 1719 (4).

(3.) See Wood's *Athensæ Oxon.* ubi supra. And the catalogue at the end of the *Christian Sacrifice.*

(2) See the note [B].

(2) See the advertisement in the page fronting the beginning of the present state of the Jews, &c. and Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 971.

(4) A survey of the cathedrals of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 402.

ADDISON (JOSEPH) the son of Dean Addison, spoken of in the last article. He was born at Milston near Ambros-Bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then Rector, on the first of May, 1672; and being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the same day, as appears from the church register.

register [A]. When he grew up to an age fit for going to school, he was first put under the care of the reverend Mr Naish, at Ambros-Bury. He was afterwards removed to a school at Salisbury, taught by the reverend Mr Taylor, and thence to the Charter-House, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which lasted as long as Mr Addison lived (a). He was not above fifteen when he went to the university of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had studied (b). He addicted himself at this time with such diligence to classical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin style, before he arrived at that age in which lads usually begin to write good English. A paper of his verses in that tongue, fell by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr Lancafter, Dean of Magdalen College, who was so pleased with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into that house (c), where he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Master of Arts. His Latin poetry in the course of a few years was exceedingly admired in both the universities, and justly gained him the reputation of a great poet [B], before his name was so much as known in town (d). He was twenty-two years of age before he published any thing in our language, and then came abroad a short copy of verses addressed to Mr Dryden, which procured him immediately, and that very deservedly, from the best judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing, which even himself afterwards produced (e). Some little space intervening, he sent into the world a translation of the fourth Georgick of Virgil, (omitting the story of Aristæus) exceedingly commended by Mr Dryden (f). He wrote also that discourse on the Georgicks, which is prefixed to them by way of preface in Mr Dryden's translation, and is allowed to be one of the justest pieces of criticism [C] in our own or in any other language (g). The next year he wrote several poems of different kinds, amongst the rest, one dated the third of April, 1694, directed to Mr H. S. [D] that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards so famous (h). The following year he began to have higher views, which discovered themselves

(a) Memoirs des hommes illustres, Vol. XXXI. p. 69.

(b) Mr Tickell's preface to Mr Addison's works, printed for J. Tonson, 1721, four Vols 4to. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(c) Tickell's preface. Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Tickell's preface.

(e) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. III. p. 245, edit. 12mo, 1716. Tickell's preface.

(f) Dryden's Virgil, printed for J. Tonson, 1709, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 822.

(g) Tickell's preface.

(h) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. IV. p. 317.

[A] From the church register.] One may justly wonder, that in the account given of Mr Addison in Wood's history of the Oxford writers, his true age should be set down (1), and yet that it should escape Mr Tickell (2). This is of some importance, because it changes the whole chronology of the life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of seventeen (3). Is not the bare relation of this the highest panegyrick on Mr Addison? It was here he became acquainted with Mr Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promising genius too, since we find a translation of part of the first Georgick of Virgil, inserted in the Examen Poeticum, for the year 1693 (4), the same volume in which Mr Addison's first English verses appeared; and as Mr Addison's verses were addressed to Mr Dryden, so Mr Sacheverell's translation was dedicated to him. Those who remember Mr Addison at college, affirm, that his temper was the same it appeared ever afterwards, that is to say, his abilities were exceeded by nothing, but his modesty.

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(2) Preface to Addison's works.

(3) Wood, ubi supra.

(4) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. III. p. 145. Wood, ubi supra.

[B] The reputation of a great poet.] It is not very certain at what age our author wrote some of the Latin poems which have been published; however, they were certainly written very early, and they still retain that high esteem which was first conceived of them. They were published in the second volume of *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecæ, seu Poemata quedam melioris notæ, seu hætenus inedita, seu sparsim edita* (5). They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. i. e. Peace under the auspice of William restored to Europe. 2. *Barometri Descriptio*, i. e. A description of the Barometer. 3. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΓΕΠΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ, *five Prælium inter Pigmæos & Græcos commissum*, i. e. A battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes. 4. *Resurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* i. e. A Poem upon the Resurrection, being a description of the painting over the altar in Magdalen College at Oxford. 5. *Sphæristerium*, i. e. the Bowling-Green. 6. *Ad D. D. Hannæ insignissimum Medicum, & Poetam*, i. e. To Dr Hanne, an excellent Physician and Poet, an ode. 7. *Machina gesticulantes, Anglice, A Puppet Show*. 8. *Ad insignissimum Virum D. T. Burnetum, Sacræ Theoriæ telluris auctorem*, i. e. To the celebrated Dr Thomas Burnet, author of the Theory of the Earth, an ode (6). These poems have been translated into English, by Dr George Sewell, of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Mr Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurst, Esq; both of Oxford (7).

(5) Printed in two Vols, 8vo.

(6) They are inserted with the dedication to the Lord Halifax, in the first volume of Mr Tickell's edition.

(7) See these poems collected and published together in 12mo.

would be equally tedious, and impertinent, to dwell in these notes on every little piece published by our author. It is a kind of charity to illustrate the beauties of an obscure author, but to us it appears a sort of detraction, to suppose that the worth of any of Mr Addison's poems, should be unknown to our readers. We will therefore confine ourselves to such parts of his works, as have any circumstances relating to them which ought to be preserved, as a kind of historical commentary, for the use rather of posterity, than of the present times. Mr Tickell, in his preface to the works of Mr Addison, expresses a kind of surprize, that Mr Dryden, who so readily owned the version of the fourth Georgick sent him by Mr Addison, should not take notice of his having communicated the Essay on the Georgicks, since it came from the same hand. Sir Richard Steele took occasion to vindicate Mr Dryden (8), by shewing, first, that the Essay upon the Georgicks, is the same with the preface prefixed to those poems, in Mr Dryden's translation of Virgil's works; which, (9) secondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whose name is not mentioned, because he desired to have it concealed (10). If any one should enquire, why Mr Addison was content the world should know he translated one of Virgil's Georgicks, and at the same time, desired to conceal his writing, what Mr Dryden placed as a preface to his translation of the Georgicks, it will be no difficult thing to satisfy him. The version was what many people had done, and any body might do, but the essay was an untried strain of criticism, which bore a little hard on the old professors of that art, and therefore was not so fit for a young man to take upon himself. In this light Mr Dryden's justice, and Mr Addison's prudence, are alike conspicuous. The former was above assuming unjustly the praise of other people's writings, and the latter was remarkable for keeping so strict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the start of his wisdom.

(8) Dedication of the Drummer.

(9) Dryden's Virgil, Vol. III. p. 822.

(10) Ibid.

[D] Directed to Mr H. S.] Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greatest English poets, to Mr Henry Sacheverell, nor will a judicious reader find more pleasure in reading any of his works, than in perusing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predecessors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he spoke more freely than he would have afterwards done, must always be considered as a curiosity. I should not however have stopt at this poem, had it not been to quote some lines from it, which, if carefully considered, seem to carry in them some memoirs of our author's life. Towards the conclusion of the poem he says (11),

(11) Addison's Works, Vol. I. p. 36.

[C] One of the justest pieces of criticism.] It

themselves in a poem to King William, on one of his campaigns, addressed to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Somers). That judicious statesman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity, took Mr Addison thenceforward into the number of his friends, and gave him, upon all occasions, signal proofs of a sincere esteem (i). He had been very pressingly solicited, while at the university, to enter into holy orders [E], which he seemed once resolved on, probably in respect to his father, but his great modesty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from this choice (k), and having shewn an inclination to travel, his beforementioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as respect to Mr Addison, procured him from crown an annual pension of three hundred pounds, which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, the latter end of 1699 (l). His Latin poems dedicated to Mr Montagu, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed before his departure in the *Muse Anglicanae*, and were as much admired abroad, as they could possibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau [F], who spoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge, and one incapable of partiality (m). In 1701, Mr Addison wrote from Italy an epistolary poem (n) to (Montagu) Lord Halifax, this was very justly admired as a most finished piece in it's kind, and indeed some have pronounced it the very best of Mr Addison's performances (o) [G]. On his return, he published an account

(i) Tickell's preface.

(k) Tickell's preface. Steele's epistle to Congreve, prefixed to the second edition of the *Drummer*, in 1722, 4^{to}, p. 12.

(l) Tickell's preface.

(m) See note [C].

(n) Addison's works, Vol. I. p. 43.

(o) See the note of [G].

Congreve whose fancy's unexhausted store
Has given already much, and promis'd more,
Congreve shall still preserve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muse shall in his friend survive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming and wou'd fain give o'er,
But justice still demands one labour more:
The noble Montagu remains unnam'd,
For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.
To Dorset he directs his artful muse
In numbers, such, as Dorset's self might use.
How negligently graceful he unreins
His verse, and writes in loose familiar strains.
How Nassau's godlike acts adorn his lines,
And all the hero in full glory shines.
We see his armies set in just array,
And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the sea.
Nor Simois choak'd with men, and arms, and blood,
Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
Shall longer be the poet's highest themes,
Tho' gods and heroes fought promiscuous in their
streams.
But now to Nassau's secret councils rais'd,
He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on these lines; the first, that Mr Congreve about this time, had introduced Mr Addison to the acquaintance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard Steele informs us (12); the other, that Mr Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the Revolution, otherwise his friend would not have writ to him in these terms. This is very honourable for our author, since it makes it clear, that when he differed afterwards with this gentleman (13), he did not differ from himself, but adhered to those principles which Sacheverell had deserted.

[E] *To enter into holy orders.*] This conduct of Mr Addison, with respect to the priesthood, hath occasioned some dispute. Let us first support what is advanced in the text, viz. that he had once made a kind of resolution to go into orders. His own words will best prove this. He concludes the poem to Mr Sacheverell thus:

I've done at length, and now, dear friend, receive
The last poor present, that my Muse can give.
I leave the arts of poetry and verse,
To them that practise them with more success.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And so at once, dear Friend, and Muse, farewell (14).

Mr Tickell, speaking of these lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this resolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that design. 'His remarkable seriousness and modesty, which might have been urged as powerful reasons for his choosing that life, proved the chief obstacles to it. These qualities by which the priesthood is

so much adorned, represented the duties of it as too weighty for him, and rendered him still more worthy of that honour, which they made him decline (15).'
Sir Richard Steele, speaking to Mr Congreve of this passage, says, 'These, you know very well, were not the reasons which made Mr Addison turn his thoughts to the civil world; and as you were the inducement of his becoming acquainted with my Lord Halifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm instances that noble Lord made to the head of the college, not to insinuate upon Mr Addison's going into orders; his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of business, who wanted liberal education; and I remember, as if I had read the letter yesterday, that my Lord ended with a compliment, that however he might be represented as no friend to the Church, he would never do it any other injury, than keeping Mr Addison out of it. The contention for this man in his early years, among the people of the greatest power, Mr Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleased to ascribe to a serious visage, and modesty of behaviour (16).'
This last remark is equally ill-natured, and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr Addison's visage; but the seriousness Mr Tickell spoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr Addison's quitting his resolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it (17). Both the accounts might be true, but there was no necessity for inserting either in the text of the life, though it would have been wrong, not to have acquainted the reader with so remarkable a passage.

(15) Preface to Addison's Works.

(16) Dedication of the *Drummer*, p. 12.

(17) The reader will easily discern the truth of this observation, by comparing these passages.

[F] *The great Boileau.*] It is from Mr Tickell that we learn this circumstance in relation to Boileau, it is proper the reader should see his own words. 'His country owes it to him (Mr Addison) that the famous Monsieur Boileau, first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry, by perusing the present he made him of the *Muse Anglicanae*. It has been currently reported, that this famous French poet, among the civilities he shewed Mr Addison on that occasion, affirmed, 'That he would not have written against Perrault, had he before seen such excellent pieces by a modern hand. Such a saying would have been impertinent and unworthy Boileau, whose dispute with Perrault, turned chiefly upon some passages in the *Antients*, which he refused from the misrepresentations of his adversary. The true and natural compliment made by him, was, that those books had given him a very new idea of the English politeness; and that he did not question, but there were excellent compositions in the native language of a country, that possessed the Roman genius in so eminent a degree (18).'

(18) Tickell's preface.

[G] *The very best of Mr Addison's performances.*] This poem was translated by the Abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek professor at Florence, into Italian verse; which translation is printed with the original, in Mr Tickell's quarto edition of Mr Addison's works (19). It is not to be wondered that this poem is in the highest esteem in Italy, since there are in it the best turned compliments on that country, that are perhaps to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians must naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourselves, on account of their familiarity

(19) Vol. I. p. 45.

(12) Dedication of the *Drummer*, p. 12.

(13) Addison's Works, Vol. IV. p. 346.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 45.

of his travels, which he dedicated to his first patron, the Lord Somers [H]. He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper person to attend Prince Eugene, who then commanded for the Emperor in Italy, which employment he would have been well pleased with; but the death of King William intervening, caused a cessation of his pension, and his hopes (p). He remained at home a very considerable space of time (his friends being then out of the ministry) before any occasion offered, either of his farther displaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any suitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both. In the year 1704, the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin, happened to complain to the Lord Halifax, that the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, had not been celebrated in verse in the manner it deserved; intimating that he would take it kindly, if his Lordship, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon so elevated a subject. Lord Halifax replied with some quickness, that he was well acquainted with such a person, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long seen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the publick, while persons of too much modesty, with great abilities, languished in obscurity. The Treasurer said very coolly, that he was sorry his Lordship had occasion to make such an observation, and that for the future, he would take care to render it less just than it might be at present; but that in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, whoever his Lordship should name, might venture upon this theme without fear of losing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon, named Mr Addison, but insisted that the Treasurer himself should send to him, which he promised. Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr Boyle (afterwards Lord Carlton) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to go in his name, to Mr Addison, and communicate to him the business, which he accordingly did in so obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the task (q). The Lord Treasurer Godolphin, saw the poem before it was finished, when the author had written no farther than the famous simile of the Angel, and was so well pleased with it, that he immediately made him a Commissioner of Appeals,

(p) Tickell's Preface.

(q) Fugdell's Memoirs of the Family of Boyle, p. 140.

familiarity with the objects therein described. It may likewise be observed, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful, and alike honourable, for the writer and the patron.

While you, my Lord, the rural shades admire,
And from Britannia's publick posts retire;
Nor longer her ungrateful sons to please,
For their advantage, sacrifice your ease;
Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,
Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;
Where the soft season, and inviting clime,
Conspire to trouble your repose with rhyme (20).

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the Commons in Parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own use; and farther charged, with cutting down and wasting the timber in his majesty's forests, and with holding several offices in the Exchequer, that were inconsistent, and designed as checks upon each other; the Commons had likewise addressed the King, to remove him from his counsels and presence for ever (21). These were the causes of his retiring, and Mr Addison's address at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a lasting monument of his good sense. In four lines he has handled a topic, the nicest that could be, and in four more makes a transition to his subject naturally, and without precipitation.

[H] *His first patron Lord Somers.* In our author's dedication of his travels, to the Right Honourable John, Lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his Lordship one of the finest and best turned compliments that ever entered a dedication, inasmuch, as in a single paragraph, the patron, the subject, and the client, are all connected with the greatest propriety in point of thought, and the greatest beauty in regard to style. 'I had, says he, a very early ambition to recommend myself to your Lordship's patronage, which yet increased in me, as I travelled through the countries, of which I here give your Lordship some account: for whatever great impressions an Englishman must have of your Lordship, they who have been conversant abroad, will find them still improved. It cannot but be obvious to them, that though they see your Lordship's admirers every where, they meet with very few of your well-wishers at Paris, or at Rome. And I could not but observe, when I passed through most of the

Protestant governments in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, for the common cause, rose or fell with your Lordship's interest and authority in England (22).' In his preface, Mr Addison gave his reader plainly to understand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having observed, that Burnet had in his travels, masterly and uncommon observations, on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laffells might be useful in giving the names of such writers as had treated of the several states through which he passed; that Mr Ray had published many valuable remarks in respect to Natural History; and that Mr Mifson particularly excelled in the plan of the country, he goes on thus: 'For my own part, as I have taken notice of several places and antiquities, that nobody else has spoken of, so I think I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either set in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care particularly, to consider the several passages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places and curiosities that I met with; for before I entered upon my voyage, I took care to refresh my memory among the Classic authors, and to make such collections out of them, as I might afterwards have occasion for. I must confess, it was not one of the least entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine these several descriptions as it were upon the spot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the landscapes the poets had given us of it (23).' Notwithstanding this introduction, this piece was not at first understood, and consequently could not succeed; but by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became so great, that the price rose at last to five times its original value, before there was a second edition printed (24). It has ever since maintained its reputation, most of the virtuosi who have travelled through Italy since, having given it high commendations (25), and which is perhaps a sincere proof of their approbation, have chose to tread in the same track. It hath been translated into French, and makes usually the fourth volume of Mifson's travels in that language. The two great points laboured in these travels, are the recommending the Classic writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty. These points had been before pursued in the Epistle to Lord Halifax, and therefore Mr Tickell has very justly and judiciously observed, that this poem may be considered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment (26).

(20) Addison's Works, Vol. II.

(21) Mr Addison's Preface, ubi supra.

(22) Tickell's Preface.

(23) See Brevall, in his Preface to his Travels, printed in Two Volumes, 1710, 1726; and Mr Wright's Preface to Observations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c. 4to. 1730.

(24) In his Preface.

[I] *The*

(20) Addison's Works, Vol. I. p. 43.

(21) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 818.

(r) Tickell's Preface, Budget as above.

(s) Addison's Works, Vol. 1. p. 65.

(t) Nicéron Memoirs des Hommes illustres, Vol. XXXI. p. 71.

(u) Tickell's Preface.

(w) Addison's Works, Vol. 1. p. 89.

(x) Sir Richard acknowledges this, Spectator, No. 555.

(y) Addison's Works, Vol. 1. p. 140.

(z) Tickell's Preface.

(a) Preface to the Fourth Volume of the Tatlers.

(b) Tickell's Preface.

Appeals, in the room of Mr Locke, who was promoted to be one of the Lords Commissioners for Trade, &c. (r). His poem intituled *The Campaign* (s), was received with loud and general applause; however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the Duke of Marlborough reaped from it, since, if on the one hand, it set his conduct in the fairest light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for in all probability, the poem will be admired [I], as long as the victory is remembered. In 1705, our author attended the Lord Halifax to Hanover (t); and in the succeeding year, he was made choice of for Under-Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed Secretary of State. In the month of December in the same year, the Earl of Sunderland succeeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr Addison in the post of Under-Secretary (u). Operas being at this time much in vogue, many people of distinction and true taste, importuned Mr Addison to make a trial, whether sense and found, were really so incompatible as some admirers of the Italian pieces would represent them. He was at last prevailed upon to comply with their requests, and composed his inimitable *Rosalind* (w). This piece was inscribed to the Dutchess of Marlborough, and though it did not succeed on the stage, it has been, and everlastingly will be, applauded in the closet. The many, looked upon it as not properly an Opera, and the few joined with them in their opinion; for having considered what a number of miserable things had borne that title, they were scarce satisfied that so excellent a piece should appear by the same. About the same time, our author assisted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele, in his play called *The Tender Husband* (x), to which our author wrote a humorous Prologue (y). Sir Richard, whose gratitude was full as warm as his wit, surprized him with a dedication, which may be considered as one of the few monuments of praise, not unworthy of him to whose honour it was erected. In 1709, the Marquis of Wharton being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr Addison into that kingdom, in the quality of his secretary. Her majesty also was pleased, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the salary annexed to the place of Keeper of the Records in that kingdom, and to bestow it upon him (z). While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr Steele published the *Tatler* [K], which appeared for the first time, on the 12th of April, 1709; Mr Addison discovered the author by an observation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This discovery led him to afford farther assistances, inasmuch, that as the author of the *Tatlers* well expressed it, he fared by this means like a distressed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid (a), that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the superiority of Mr Addison's genius, and so true a taste the town then had of correct and fine writing. Upon the change in the ministry, our author being more at leisure engaged oftener in that work, until it's conclusion on the second of January, 1711 (b). Immediately after the *Tatler* was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the *Spectator*, the plan of which he concerted with Mr Addison. The first paper appeared on the first of March, 1711, and in the course of that celebrated work, Mr Addison furnished the greater part of those papers which were most admired. It was finished on the 6th of September, 1712; and Mr Addison, to prevent any disputes, or mistakes, which might have otherwise happened, took care to distinguish his papers through the whole, by some letter in the name of the Muse CLIO [L].

When

[I] *The poem will be admired.* The Campaign is addressed to the Duke of Marlborough, and contains a short view of the military transactions in the year 1704, with a very particular as well as poetical description of the two great actions at Schellenberg, and Blenheim. Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the same subject, particularly Mr J. Phillips, and Mr Euken, who was afterwards Poet Laureat. However, Mr Addison's was by far the most admired (27), and some of his warmest friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the rest of his works, perhaps this is a partiality to the subject, rather than to the piece itself, which however fine, could not be the most excellent of Mr Addison's performances, because of it's natural irregularity. All things considered, without question, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to it's subject. For though the world allowed Mr Addison to exceed others therein, yet no true judge of poetry will admit that he excelled himself.

[K] *Mr Steele published the Tatler.* It would be very improper to enter farther into the history of the *Tatler*, than as it concerns Mr Addison. Mr Tickell observes, and Sir Richard Steele confesses, that the paper was set on foot and dropt without Mr Addison's knowledge (28): of course the history of the *Tatler* belongs properly to another article. The papers written by Mr Addison, were not distinguished in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the request of Mr Tickell, pointed them out to him (29), and not only so, but shewed him such as they were jointly concerned in; and these, as well as those, are printed in the second volume of Mr Ad-

dison's works. It must be allowed that many of these little essays are not only exquisite, but incomparable. It is impossible to be serious, while we read such of them as are humorous; or not to be grave on the perusal of such as are of an opposite cast. The images are so striking, the language so graceful, the turn so natural, the rallery so lively, and at the same time so innocent, that not to be charmed with these pieces, and to be absolutely without taste, must be for ever synonymous terms.

[L] *Name of the Muse CLIO.* The affinity between the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, makes it unnecessary to enter minutely into the merit of such papers as Mr Addison contributed, in the carrying on the two last undertakings (30). In the *Spectators*, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr Addison's affairs, that he was so tender of this character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publishing a *Spectator*, wherein he had made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple Cloisters (31), and would not part with his friend, until he had promised to meddle with the old Knight's character no more. However, Mr Addison to make sure, and to prevent any absurdities, which the authors of subsequent *Spectators* might fall into, resolved to remove that character out of the way, or as he pleasantly expressed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that nobody else might murder him (32). As to the marking of the *Spectators*, it was our author's own act and deed; but Mr Tickell, in his preface to his works, having expressed this in very strong terms, saying, that Mr Addison had here-

(27) See an excellent Criticism thereon, in the *Tatlers*, No. 43.

(28) Tickell's Preface.

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) See *Spectator*, No. 410, in the Sixth Volume.

(32) The *Boe*, No. 1. p. 26, 27, by Eu. Budget.

by

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared, which though written by men of wit and genius, did not succeed, and they had the good sense not to push the attempt too far. Without question, the original Spectator will be always esteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with so much applause. Posterity must have a high idea of the manners and good sense of the British nation, when they are informed that twenty thousand of these papers were sometimes sold in a day (c). The *Guardian*, a paper in the same taste, and, which is saying much more, in the same spirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714; Mr Addison had a large share therein, and his papers were particularly relished (d): and he also wrote once or twice in the *Lover* (e). It was necessary to speak of these performances together, which has carried us somewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return therefore, to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato. He took up the design of writing a tragedy on that subject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed design of bringing it on the stage (f). But some friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cause of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the stage, which he accordingly did, by adding the greatest part of the last act. When it appeared it was gazed on as a wonder, all parties applauded, it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the best judges declared in its favour when they had read it, with the same passion the pit had done when it was first seen (g). Mr Pope wrote the Prologue, which is sublime. Dr Garth the Epilogue, which is humorous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verses prefixed to it, among which, the sincerity of Mr Steele, and the genius of Mr Eusden, deserve to be distinguished. Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed, it is one of those few performances which cannot receive more honour than it deserves [M].

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) His Papers are in the Fourth Volume of his Works.

(e) No. 10, and No. 59.

(f) Tickell's Preface.

(g) Steele's Dedication of the Drummer, p. 15. *Guardians*, No. 33; 43; 64. *Lover* 49. Pope's Works, 12mo. Vol. V. Letters to Sir W. T. p. 7.

by removed the least possibility of mistake in the most undiscerning reader (33); Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that preface, remarked severely on this passage, and speaking thereof to Mr Congreve, uses these words. 'I have observed, that the editor will not let me, or any one else, obey Mr Addison's commands, in hiding any thing he desired should be concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumstance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know until I had done with the work, I made my own act, because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend; and thought since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me, than the author himself; the real state of which, this zealot rashly and injudiciously exposes. I ask the reader whether any thing but an earnestness to disparage me, could provoke the editor, in behalf of Mr Addison, to say that he marked it out of caution against me, when I had taken upon me to say, it was I that did it out of tenderness to him (34).' It must be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator (35), had said all that could be expected, if not more, with respect not only to the distinction, but also in regard to Mr Addison's character particularly; there did not therefore seem to be the least occasion for these precautions, with respect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wished, and a much warmer than these cautious people seem to have any idea of.

[M] *Cannot receive more honour than it deserves.* As to the tragedy of Cato, we shall here present the reader with some circumstances relating to its first appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope, Esq; to Sir William Trumbull, dated April 30, 1713. 'As to poetical affairs, I am content at present to be a bare looker on, and from a practitioner, turn an admirer, which is (as the world goes) not very usual. Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it thought a party play, yet what the author once said of another, may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion.

Envy itself is dumb, in wonder lost,
And factions strive who shall applaud him most.

The numerous and violent claps of the whig-party on the one side of the theatre, were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern, to find

their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the case too of the Prologue writer, who was clapped into a flanch whig, at almost every two lines. I believe you have heard that after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and presented him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgment (as he expected it) for defending the cause of liberty so well against a Perpetual Dictator. The whigs are unwilling to be distanced this way, and therefore design a present to the same Cato, very speedily; in the mean time they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former, on their side: so betwixt them it is probable, that Cato (as Dr Garth expresses) it may have something to live upon after he dies (36). Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intitled, *Observations upon Cato*. This was written by Dr Sewell, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet. The design of this piece was to shew, that the applause this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit; it is a very accurate and entertaining criticism, and contributed not a little to the securing our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience (37). We are not however to suppose that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enow, who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it. Amongst these, the formidable Mr Dennis had the courage to attack it. First in a pamphlet (38), and again in a subsequent work, wherein he employed no less than seven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces; and saying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable share of wit, might be able to say, against the best written piece in the world (39). Another gentleman, who called himself a scholar of Oxford, considered the play in quite a different light, that is, he considered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to serve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, *Mr Addison turned Tory* (40); and it is written with great spirit and vivacity. Dr Fiddes also took some exception at the following lines.

In spite of all the virtues we can boast,
A woman that deliberates is lost.

The doctor thinks these reflect on the fair sex (41), but this seems a very forced construction, the sentiment is just and natural, and all strokes of this sort ought to be considered not as censures, but as cautions. The best judges, however, declared unanimously on the side of Mr Addison, and, as occasion offered, vindicated

(36) Pope's Letters in the Fifth Volume of his Works, printed in 12mo. for J. Roberts, 1737, p. 8. in the Letters to Sir W. Trumbull.

(37) Observations on the Tragedy of Cato, by Mr Addison. In a Letter to * * * printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1713, 4to.

(38) Printed for B. Lintot, 1713, 8vo.

(39) Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, by Mr Dennis, Vol. II. printed for W. Mears, 1721, 8vo. p. 303.

(40) In 1713, 4to.

(41) Preparatory Epistle to some Remarks to be published on Homer's Iliad, addressed to Dr Swift, London, 1714, 12mo. p. 101.

(33) In his Preface.

(34) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 11.

(35) No. 555.

It was translated more than once into French, obtained two Italian versions, and has been either translated or imitated in the German language (b). But the greatest honour that was ever done thereto, was the putting the soliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the noblest thing in our language, into a Latin dress, which might have been read with admiration, even by the critics in the court of Augustus. Fame has attributed this to the late Bishop Atterbury (i), and as it was superlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and so it proved. This excellent tragedy did not escape the minor criticks, as the reader will find in the notes, for we cannot think of perplexing the text with things, of which nothing but the fear of being thought ignorant could tempt us to take notice. Her majesty Queen Anne, was not the last in doing justice to our author, and his performance. She was pleased to signify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author published it without a dedication, because, as it is said, he had proposed to dedicate it elsewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour (k). If in the subsequent part of his life his leisure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, *The Death of Socrates* (l). But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived posterity of this promised labour. Upon the death of the Queen, the Lords Justices appointed Mr Addison their Secretary, which took him off from a design he had formed, of composing an English dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one (m). There was some thoughts of making him Secretary of State at that time, but he was at pains to decline it (n), and accepted a second time, under the Earl of Sunderland, the post of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for on the Earl's being removed, he was made one of the Lords of Trade (o). In 1716, he married the Countess of Warwick (p); and on the first breaking out of the rebellion, he published the *Freeholder*, which is a kind of political Spectator [N]. There were just fifty-five papers in all; the first was published on the twenty-third of September, 1715, and the last on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. These pieces were exceedingly admired, and, which was more the author's aim, were of great use at the time they were written (q). He published also about this time, some little pieces of poetry, such as verses to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the King's picture, and another copy to the Princess of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717 (r), his majesty King George I, was pleased to appoint our author one of his Principal Secretaries of State. His health, which had been before impaired by an asthmatick disorder, suffered exceedingly by an advancement so much to his honour, but attended notwithstanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather suspecting, that it might be prejudicial to the publick business, he resigned his office (s). Having thus procured for himself a

(b) Tickell's preface.

(i) Spectator, Vol. III. No. 628.

(k) Tickell's preface.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Ibid.

(n) E. Budgell in his letter to Cleomenes King of Sparta.

(o) Tickell's preface.

(p) Ibid.

(q) Addison's works, Vol. IV, p. 357, --- 357.

(r) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 385, --- 388.

(s) Tickell's preface.

vacancy

vindicated the merit of this tragedy, against all opponents. Mr Boyer translated it into French, the same year it was published; but very indifferently. Abbe du Bos made an excellent version, of which, however, only the three first scenes were printed (42). Abbot Salvini translated it into Italian, his translation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applause, and he afterwards published it at Florence (43); it is not known whether Signior Valetta's translation was ever printed; he was a young Neapolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amusement (44). The Jesuits at St Omer translated it into Latin, and caused it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewise sent Mr Addison a copy of their translation (45). In France, a poet named Des Champs having seen this tragedy, wrote another with the same title, and dedicated it to the Duke of Orleans. This was first excessively cried up in France, then translated into English blank verse, and published with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Mr Addison, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be established (46). Mr Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr Addison by turns, and in respect to the Cato, he admires and censures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows superior to any before brought upon the stage; but for all the love scenes he will have them absolutely inspid; which may be allowed him when he shall prove another of his assertions, viz. that Cato was the first regular tragedy, that ever appeared on the English stage (47).

[N] *A kind of political Spectator*. The Freeholder is particularly mentioned in the text, because it was a work written by Mr Addison entirely, and upon his own plan (48). Some indeed have supposed, that he was assisted in this work by Mr Phillips (49). But there seems to have been no foundation for this report, since neither Mr Tickell says any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themselves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the

most uniform, and, the greatest part of them, the most out of every man's way of writing but Mr Addison's, that can be imagined. There is one thing to be said in respect to the *Freeholder*, which, as it will certainly be said by posterity, I can see no reason why it should not be said here; The *Freeholder* is, without question, the most indubitable proof of the use a man of true wit, and reasonable application, may be of to any administration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Estrange, were all calculated either to make the people laugh, or to put them in a passion. Dr Welwood's periodical papers were all politicks, and, consequently, too dry for the generality of readers. During the reign of the Queen, polemick writings were not only sharp, but bitter, and their authors studied rather to make their adversaries feel the quickness of their reproaches, than to persuade them by sound arguments, much less to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The *Freeholder* hath avoided all these faults, and, with an inexhaustible fund of humour, mingles sometimes the gravest reasonings, and at others the kindest expostulations. Beautiful descriptions, exquisite allegories, visions almost more than human; and, in fine, whatever might please, whatever could move, whatever seemed fitted to attract, is to be found in those inimitable essays; and one may speak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the best turned papers, with a view for the purpose for which they were written, that were ever penned. Mr Addison without question wrote them in consequence of his principles, out of a desire of removing prejudices, and from a strong inclination to settle the government, and make his country happy. The making him Secretary of State therefore, was but doing him justice for so extraordinary and well-timed a service, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected against his own performance, his being no speaker in the House of Commons.

(42) Nouvelles Litteraires Octobre 17, 1716.

(43) In 4^{to} 1716.

(44) Tickell's preface.

(45) Memoirs des hommes illustres, Tom. xxxi. p. 81.

(46) Parallel between the French Cato and Mr Addison's, Lond. 1716, 12mo.

(47) These remarks are in his discourse on tragedy addressed to Lord Bolingbroke. His Dedication of Zayre, to Mr Falkener; and his eighteenth letter on the English nation.

(48) Tickell's preface.

(49) Memoirs des hommes illustres, Vol. xxxi. p. 80.

vacancy from business, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-established. In these leisure moments he applied himself steadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the first part whereof, scarce finished, is preserved and printed in his works (t). He likewise intended to have paraphrased some of the Psalms of David (u); but a long and painful relapse broke all his designs, and deprived the world of this excellent person, on the seventeenth of June, 1719, when he was entering the fifty-fourth year of his age. He died at Holland-house near Kensington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the Countess of Warwick (w). After his decease, Mr Tickell, who had the author's commands and instructions, collected and published his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are several pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is necessary we should speak. The first in order of time is the *Dissertation upon Medals*, which, though published after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digest them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702 (x). These dialogues are every way worthy of Mr Addison; the design is just and useful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taste of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good sense and masculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are discoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains in translating the Latin quotations, and the verses prefixed to it by Mr Pope, are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itself is in prose. In November, 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, *The present state of the war, and the necessity of an augmentation considered*. It is now printed among Mr Addison's works (y), and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The spirit in which it is writ, the weighty observations contained therein, on the strength and interest of foreign nations, and the comprehensive knowledge, shewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand. The *Whig Examiner*, came out on the fourteenth of September, 1710, for the first time (z). There were five papers in all attributed to Mr Addison. These are by much the severest things he ever wrote. Dr Sacheverell (a), Mr Prior (b), and many other persons are in them very harshly treated. The Examiner had done the same thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed design of this paper was to make reprisals. In 1713, there was published a little pamphlet, intitled, *The late trial and conviction of Count Tariff* (c). It was intended to expose the Tory ministry, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewise a very severe piece. These are all that are included in Mr Tickell's edition, which were published in the life-time of Mr Addison, without his name; as also was the *Drummer*, or the *Haunted House*, a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but published afterwards as Mr Addison's by Sir Richard Steele [O]. Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following pieces

(t) Of the Christian religion, Vol. IV. p. 561.

(u) Tickell's preface.

(w) Ibid.

(x) Tickell's preface.

(y) Vol. IV. p. 299.

(z) Ibid. p. 331.

(a) Whig Examiner, No. iv.

(b) Ibid. No. i.

(c) Vol. IV. p. 323.

[O] *As Mr Addison's by Sir Richard Steele.* The *Drummer* was first published without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been some years in the hands of the author, and falling under his perusal, he thought so well of it, that he persuaded him to make some additions and alterations and let it appear on the stage. He owns that it was not well received, or at least, not so well received as it deserved, which he accounts for, by observing that the strokes therein are too delicate, for every taste in a popular assembly; and he adds, that his brother sharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the strokes were not strong enough to appear at a distance (50). Mr Tickell publishing Mr Addison's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele so much resented, that he quickly after published a second edition of it, with an epistle to Mr Congreve thereto prefixed; in this epistle he asserts, that he recommended the play to the stage, and carried it to the press; he likewise tells us the price it was sold at, viz. fifty guineas. He refers himself to his former preface, for a proof of his zeal on that occasion, which he observes could flow from nothing else, than his affection for the author. For as to the share that any one else had in it, he is positive it very little exceeded that of an amanuensis. 'But indeed, continues he, had I not known it, at the time of the transaction concerning the acting on the stage and sale of the copy, I should, I think, have seen Mr Addison in every page of it; for he was above all men in that talent called Humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful, than any other man ever possessed. They who shall read this play, after being let into the secret that it was written by Mr Addison, or under his direc-

tion, will probably be attentive to those excellencies, which they before overlooked, and wonder they did not till now observe, that there is not an expression in the whole piece, which has not in it the most nice propriety and aptitude to the character which utters it; there is that smiling mirth, that delicate satire, and genteel raillery, which appeared in Mr Addison when he was free among intimates; I say when he was free from his remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit, and his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed. The *Drummer* made no great figure on the stage, though exquisitely well acted; but when I observe this, I say a much harder thing of the stage than of the comedy: 'When I say the stage in this place, I am understood to mean in general, the present taste of theatrical representations; where nothing that is not violent, and, as I may say, grossly delightful, can come on without hazard of being condemned or flighted.' Nothing can be more just than Sir Richard's sentiments on this matter (51). The *Drummer* may be perhaps established as a test of true taste, he who likes it, has it, he who disapproves this piece, hath it not. Experience justified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted at Drury-Lane, was, when much worse performed, loudly applauded at Mr Rich's house, merely because it was then known to be Mr Addison's. How honourable this for our author! how dishonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr Addison, but if his writings should ever reach an age, so stupid or so barbarous as not to relish them, that will not alter their nature, they will still remain as excellent as before, though not in the eyes of those Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpose, and yet to what purpose do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of taste, and to preserve

(50) The first edition of the *Drummer*, was printed for J. Tonson.

(51) Epistle to Mr Congreve, prefixed to the *Drummer*, the second edition in 4to; 1722, p. 4.

pieces have been ascribed to our author. *Dissertatio de insignioribus Romanorum poetis*, i. e. A Dissertation upon the most eminent Roman poets (*d*). This is supposed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many useful observations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr Addison's. *A Discourse on ancient and modern learning* (*e*); the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preserved amongst the manuscripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joseph Jekyl, being publicly sold, this little piece came to be printed, in 1739, and was as well received as it deserved. To these we must add, *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and 2 [*P*], pamphlets written in defence of the Peerage Bill, 1719. It is not easy to account for the not inserting of these papers amongst his works, unless we suppose that the publication of them following immediately the disappointment of that design, made it improper to discover how much our author had it at heart. It would lead us into too long a digression, should we consider here the occasion of those papers, which, however, shall be done in the Notes. Thus we have run through the history of this great man's life and writings, who as he was superior to most of his contemporaries in other things, so he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances are equally perfect [*Q*]; nothing puerile in the most early, nothing below his genius in the last; constant to his principles, and to his friendships; he died as he lived, esteemed and revered by the great [*R*], without raising

preserve from the inclemency of savage times, those wreaths which men of merit have deserved.

[*P*] *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and No. 2.] In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of the year 1719, the Peerage Bill began first to be talked of, and the scope of that bill was this. That instead of the sixteen Peers sitting in Parliament as Representatives of the Peerage of Scotland, there were for the future to be twenty-five hereditary Peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then sixteen sitting Peers. That six English Peers should be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the Crown being restrained from making any new Lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary scheme, is what we have no business here to inquire into. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great spirit were written against it; amongst the rest, one called the *Plebeian*, said to fall from the pen of a member of the House of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele (51). To this several answers were published, and abundance of pieces written in support of this project, none of which, however, were very favourably received. At length came forth the *Old Whig*, No. 1. on the state of the Peerage, with remarks on the *Plebeian*. A 4to pamphlet (52), written with great perspicuity, in a nervous style, not without some severe reflections on the *Plebeian*. The author of that paper did not suffer it to remain long unanswered. In his second number he replied to all the arguments therein made use of, treating the author with a good deal of asperity, alledging amongst other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, seeming so old as to have forgot his principles (53). There does not appear however, any thing in the first *Old Whig*, which betrays the author's knowledge of the *Plebeian* coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the second *Plebeian*, which intimates the writer's having the least suspicion, that the *Old Whig* was Mr Addison's. Though there was at the latter end of the last mentioned paper, an intimation of it's author's superior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the secret of this affair. For the *Old Whig* first declared that his majesty had given his consent, which he styles an act of unparalleled goodness (54); of which fact the *Plebeian* doubted, or at least affected to doubt (55). The second *Old Whig* was written in support of the first, and in answer to the second *Plebeian*. It is a very judicious, and at the same time a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at least was resolved to consider Sir Richard, as the writer of the *Plebeian* (56). He styles him a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him *little Dicky* in another, tells him, he has made the most of a bad cause in a third, and advises him as a friend in the close, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer. The fourth *Plebeian* contains

an answer to the second *Old Whig*. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the rest of the papers; his conclusion is very remarkable. Authors, says he, in these cases are named upon suspicion, and if it is right as to the *Old Whig*, I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance with his other writings; and I shall say no more of what is writ in support of vassalage, but end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian (57),

Remember, O! my friends, &c.

MR ADDISON'S Cato.

This is sufficient to shew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body questioned the truth of his conjecture. The Peerage Bill went off notwithstanding for that session, and Mr Addison died before it came on again, in the latter end of the same year. It may not however be amiss to observe, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the House of Commons, for committing the Peerage Bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, against 177 (58).

[*Q*] *His performances are equally perfect*] In the text itself, we have endeavoured to do some justice to our author's character, and especially to that distinguishing part thereof, the ease and readiness with which he wrote, notwithstanding the accuracy and correctness of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought best supported by proof, which therefore we shall give in this note. The following Epigram (which is not inserted in his works) was written when he was a member of the *Kit-Cat Club*, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctness to recommend it.

On the Lady MANCHESTER.

When haughty Gallia's dames that spread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red;
Beheld this beauteous stranger there,
In native charms, divinely fair;
Confusion in their looks they shew'd,
And with unborrow'd blushes glow'd (59).

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the most perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele says of his Cato; he tells us, that the last act was written in less than a week's time. 'For this,' continues he, was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room and dictate it into language, with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down; and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated (60).'

[*R*] *Esteemed and revered by the great*] To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr Addison, would be an endless labour; and yet, to say nothing of those who distinguished Mr Addison, at the same time that they were themselves persons of the first distinction,

(*d*) Printed in Latin and Eng. in 12mo.

(*e*) Printed in 8vo, for T. Osborne, 1739.

(57) *Plebeian*, p. 67.

(58) Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 391.

(59) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. V. p. 92.

(60) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 16.

(51) These Papers were collected into an 8vo Pamphlet, printed for S. Popping at the Raven in Pater-noster-Row, London, 1719, price 1s.

(52) Sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane, price 6d, No. 2. the same.

(53) *Plebeian*, p. 23.

(54) *Old Whig*, No. 1. p. 5.

(55) *Plebeian*, p. 43.

(56) *Old Whig*, No. 2. p. 1, 4, 15.

raising any enemies, except such as were so on account of party; and even these expressed their enmity with reluctance [S], such was their admiration of his virtues.

inction, would be an unpardonable omission. We have already taken notice of Lord Somers, whose friendship to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewise mentioned Mr Addison's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels, after that Nobleman had been impeached in the reign of King William; and was actually when he dedicated to him in disgrace with Queen Anne. We are yet to remark, that as Mr Addison out-lived him, so in one of his Freeholders he paid such a tribute to his memory, as must endear his own to every man of honour (61). The celebrated Earl of Halifax maintained also an inviolable friendship throughout his whole life for our author; to whose reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illustrious foreigners who subscribed for his works, which not only does honour to him, but to our nation. They were the Queen of Sweden, his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans Regent of France, the Great Duke of Tuscany, the Great Prince of Tuscany, the Duke of Modena, the Duke of Parma, the Prince of Modena, the Prince of Parma, the Doge of Genoa, the Duke of Guastalla, Prince Eugene, Cardinal del Giudice, Cardinal du Bois, and Marshal d'Estrees (62). To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to transcribe the lists of our nobility, and therefore we shall rest this point here, preferring that in few other lives it will be carried further.

[S] *Expressed their enmity with reluctance.* The author of a celebrated poem, intitled *Faction Displayed*, who died but lately, and was justly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill nature, began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Mountague, there characterized by the name of Bathillo, describe him thus;

On Addison we safely may depend,
A pension never fails to gain a friend;
Through Alpine Hills, he shall my name rebound,
And make his patron known in claffick ground (63).

Mrs Manley, in her sequel to the *Atlantis*, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro, what she says of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured Apostrophe, on seeing him in Sergius's gallery. 'O pity, that politics and 'for did interest, should have carried him out of the 'road of Helicon, snatched him from the embraces of 'the Muses, to throw into an old withered statesman's 'arms, &c. (64).' This withered statesman, whom she had before called Sergius, is the same Lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the severest attack that ever Mr Addison felt, was from the following verses, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blasting.

ADRIAN IV. (Pope) was an Englishman, and the only one that ever had the honour of sitting in St Peter's Chair (a). His name was NICOLAS BREKESPERE (b), or BREKSPERE (c), or BREAKSPEAR (d), in Latin *Hastifragus*. He was the son of one Robert de Camera (e), a man of learning but poor (f); and was born at Langley (g) near St Alban's in Hertfordshire. His father having left his family, and taken the habit in the monastery of St Alban's, young Nicolas was reduced to the necessity of frequenting that house, and submitting to the lowest offices, for his daily support. After some time he desired to take the habit in that monastery; but being rejected by the Abbot Richard [A], he resolved to try his fortune in another country

[A] *He was rejected by the Abbot Richard.* Matthew Paris informs us, that young Breakspear was refused admission into the monastery of St Alban's for insufficiency, or want of learning. 'Qui cum examinatus & insufficiens inveniretur, dixit ei Abbas fatis civilliter; *Expecta, filii, & adhuc scolarum exerce, ut aptior habearis* (1). — *Who being examined, and found insufficient, the abbot, civilly enough, said to him; 'Wait, my son, and go to school a little longer, till 'you are better qualified.'* Gulielmus Neubrigenfis tells quite another story. 'Ille vero (*says that author*) 'adolescens ingressus, cum propter inopiam scholis 'vacare non posset, idem monasterium quotidianè stipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbifque mordacibus socordiam ejus increpitans, omni

Peace to all such! but were there one whose fires,
True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires:
Blest with each talent, and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease:
Shou'd such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts, that caus'd himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise; assent with civil leer;
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer:
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers besieg'd,
And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd:
Like Cato, gives his little senate laws,
And sits attentive to his own applause:
While wits and templars ev'ry sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise.
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he (65).

An author in *Mist's Journal*, gives the following account of this transaction. 'Mr Addison raised this 'author, i. e. Pope, from obscurity, obtained him 'the acquaintance and friendship of the whole body 'of our nobility, and transferred his powerful interest 'with those great men to this rising bard, who frequently levied by that means unusual contributions 'on the publick. — No sooner was his body 'lifeless, but this author, reviving his resentment, libelled the memory of his departed friend; and what 'was still more heinous, made the scandalous 'lick (66).' In answer to this, it is said, that the whole is false, that Mr Addison never introduced Mr Pope to any nobleman, or procured him the subscription of one gentleman; as to the libel, persons of integrity are appealed to, who saw and approved the foregoing verses, in no wise a libel, but a friendly rebuke, sent in the author's own hand to Mr Addison himself, and never made publick by him, until printed by Curl and others (67). There is indeed, a letter of the Bishop of Rochester's extant, wherein these verses are highly commended, but this is seven years after Mr Addison's death (68); and there is another letter of Mr Pope's to Mr Craggs, written near four years before Mr Addison's death, wherein most of the same thoughts appear in prose (69).

(65) These Lines have been often printed, but we transcribe them from Pope's Works, in 12mo, Vol. II. p. 86. in an Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

(66) June 8, 1728.

(67) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. p. 51.

(68) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 197.

(69) *Ibid.* p. 84.

(d) Pits. de Illustr. Angl. Script. an. 1159.

(e) M. Paris. ib.

(f) Guliel. Neubrigenf. de Rebus Anglicis, l. 2. c. 6.

(g) *The ancient seat of the family was in Middlesex upon the river Cole.* Cambden's Britannia, by Bp Gibson, last edit. Vol. I. p. 365.

(2) Gulielmus Neubrigenfis, de Rebus Anglicis, l. 2. c. 6.

(3) Comment. de Script. Brit. Vol. I. p. 220.

(4) De Script. Brit. Centur. II. n. 90.

'folatio destitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit (2).
'— *Being now a youth, and unable, thro' poverty, to frequent the schools, he went daily to the monastery for his support. His father grew ashamed of this idle course of life; and perpetually chiding his son, in the severest terms, for his want of industry, obliged him to quit the monastery, destitute of all assistance.*
Leland has adopted the narrative of Matthew Paris (3): But Bale will have it, that he was rejected because he was a bastard (4). Pits affigns no reason for this repulse: but if the character he gives of young Breakspear be a true one, Abbot Richard deserves blame for rejecting a person, who would have done great honour to his house. 'Erat adolescens corpore pulcher, facie venustus, incessu compositus, ingenio acutus, lingua 'promptus,

(61) No. 39.

(62) See the finishing List of Subscribers, at the End of the fourth Volume, of the 4th Edition, printed for J. Tonson, 1721.

(63) A quarto Poem printed at London in 1704, without the name of Author or Printer. The former however, is supposed to be Mr Shippen.

(64) Memoirs of Europe, towards the close of the VIIIth Century, Vol. II. p. 153.

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britann. Vol. I. p. 220.

(b) Matth. Paris. Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(c) Leland, *ibid.* & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. II. n. 90.

(1) Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(b) G. Neubrig, ubi supra.

(f) Leland, ubi supra.

(k) G. Neubr. ib.

(l) Leland, ib.

(m) G. Neubr. ib. & Histoire Generale des Cardinaux par Aubrey, Vol. I. p. 168.

(n) Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Hadriano IV.

(o) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. Waldense, an. 1154.

(p) Anastasius sat but one year 4 months, and 24 days. Platina, ubi supra.

country (b). Accordingly he left England, and went to Paris; where, tho' poor and destitute, he applied himself with great diligence to his studies, and laid in a wonderful stock of learning (i). But having still a strong propensity to a religious life, he quitted Paris, and went into Provence, where he became a Regular Cleric in the monastery of St Rufus [B]. Here he made such a progress in literature, and distinguished himself so remarkably for his piety, and strict observance of the monastic discipline, that, upon the death of the Abbot, he was unanimously chosen superior of that house (k); and we are told (l), that he repaired, or rather re-built, that convent. He did not long enjoy this abbacy: for the monks, growing weary of the government of a foreigner, accused him of certain pretended crimes before Pope Eugenius III; who, having examined the matter of their complaint, and heard Nicolas's prudent and modest defence of himself, declared him innocent. However his Holiness, being sensible of our abbot's great merit, and thinking he might be more serviceable to the Church in a higher station, gave the monks leave to choose another Head [C], and created Nicolas Cardinal-Bishop of Alba in 1146 (m). In the year 1148, Pope Eugenius sent him into Denmark and Norway, in quality of Apostolical Legate; where, by his diligent preaching and instructions, he converted those barbarous nations to the Christian faith (n). It is said, he erected the church of Upsal into an archiepiscopal see (o). The time of his legation being expired, he returned to Rome, and was received with great marks of honour by the Pope and Cardinals. And not many days after his return, Pope Anastasius, who succeeded Eugenius, being dead (p), our bishop of Alba was unanimously advanced to the papal chair, in November 1154, and took the name of ADRIAN (q). The news of this promotion reaching England, King Henry II sent Robert abbot of St Alban's, and three bishops, to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election [D]; upon which occasion Adrian granted

(q) G. Neubrig, ubi supra.

(3) Matth. Paris; ubi supra, p. 71.

' promptus, eloquio facundus, sermone cautus, judicio jam pene maturus, in actionibus prudens & dexter, moribus urbanus, comptus, elegans, zelo divinæ gloriæ, idque secundum quandam scientiam, plenus, omnibus denique tum corporis tum animi melioribus dotibus ita præditus, ut in eo dona Dei naturam, pietas educationem, judicii maturitas & aliæ perfectiones superarent ætatem (5). — He was a beautiful and graceful young man; witty and eloquent; circumspæct in all his words and actions; courteous, neat, and elegant; full of zeal for the glory of God, and that according to some degree of knowledge; so possessed of the best endowments both of mind and body, that in him the gifts of heaven exceeded nature; his piety, his education; and the soundness of his judgment, and his other qualifications, the tenderness of his years.'

[B] He became a Regular Cleric in the monastery of St Rufus.] He was not presently admitted to take the habit, but passed some time in recommending himself to the Monks by a diligent observance of all their commands. This obsequious behaviour, joined with the beauty of his person, and his prudent conversation, rendered him so acceptable to those Religious, that after some time they entreated him to take the habit of the Canonical Order. Est autem in illa regione Monasterium nobile Clericorum Regularium quod dicitur S Rufi. Ad quem locum ille veniens, & subsistendi occasionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obsequiis iisdem fratribus se commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jucundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger, placuit omnibus, rogatusque Canonici Ordinis suscipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem resedit (6).

[C] The Pope gave the Monks leave to choose another Abbot] ' Utrique ergo parti (says Gulielmus Neubrigenis) pie & prudenter prospiciens; Scio, inquit, fratres, ubi sedes sit Satanæ; scio quid in vobis suscitaret procellam istam. Ire, eligite vobis patrem, cum quo pacem habere possitis, vel potius velitis: iste enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri (7). — The Pope, piously and prudently consulting the good of both parties, said; I know, brethren, where the devil makes his abode: I know what has raised this storm among you. Go, choose a superior, with whom you may, or rather will, live in peace: as for this man, he shall be no longer a burthen to you.'

[D] The King sent an embassy to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election.] The Embassadors, according to Matthew Paris, were exposed to perils both by sea and land: for in their voyage they met with a violent storm, from which they narrowly escaped by invoking the assistance of St Margaret; and, after they came ashore, they were several times in danger of robbers, before they arrived at Beneventum, where the Pope then was. His Holiness received them with great marks of respect; and, when they had executed their commission, the three Bishops returned home,

leaving Abbot Robert behind them (3). King Henry sent the Pope a letter by those Embassadors, the purport of which is as follows. After some compliments upon his advancement, the King proceeded to express his good wishes, and how desirous he was, ' that this prelate might answer the expectations of his station.' And here, in terms of great deference and respect, he chalked out a sort of plan, together with some general directions for his Holiness's conduct. He suggested to him, ' that since providence had transplanted him, as it were, into paradise, it was expected he should improve in proportion to the richness of the soil; and that, being raised to so high a station, it was his duty to act vigorously for the interest of Christendom, and so to govern the Churches of God, that all succeeding generations might esteem him an honour to the country, which gave him birth.' He proceeded to express his hopes, ' that that tempestuous spirit, which disturbs the air, and often beats strongest upon places of the highest situation, might never shake his Holiness, or make the eminence of his station an occasion of his greater ruin.' And ' since the superintendency of the universal Church belonged to him,' he entreated him ' to proceed immediately to the promotion of such Cardinals, as were both able and willing to share the burthen with him, and assist him in the government.' And here his Highness recommended to him ' to avoid being biased by any secular regards in his choice; not to be swayed by the motives of relation, quality, or wealth; but to pitch upon such men as feared God, and hated covetousness; such as were remarkable for their integrity, and most zealous for the salvation of men's souls.' And, ' since the unworthiness of the clergy is the greatest disservice to the church,' he besought his Holiness, ' to be very careful in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, that the patrimony of our blessed Saviour might not be invaded and misapplied by any unqualified person.' From hence the King proceeded to mention the calamitous condition of the Holy Land, and how miserably it was harassed by the incursions of the Infidels; and desired ' his Holiness would apply his thoughts to find out some serviceable expedient for that part of Christendom.' He put him in mind likewise of the declension of the Greek Empire, and expressed his hopes, ' that the universal Pastor would extend his care in proportion to his jurisdiction, and that every part of the Christian Church would share the blessings of his government; that since God had raised him to the top of spiritual grandeur, he would take care to shine forth in an exemplary conduct; that his government would be so commendable and just, as to become not only a general blessing in his life-time, but that future ages might be the better for his memory, and his native country might congratulate her own happiness in producing so glorious a prelate.' The King concluded

(5) Pits, de ill. lustr. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1159.

(6) Gul. Neubrig, ubi supra.

(7) Id. ib.

very considerable privileges to the monastery of St Alban's [E]. The next year, King Henry having solicited the Pope's consent that he might undertake the conquest of Ireland, Adrian readily complied, and sent him a Bull for that purpose [F]. His indulgence to that prince was so great, that he even consented to absolve him from the oath he had taken not to set aside any part of his father's will [G]. This Pontif was soon made sensible of the cares and disquietudes attending so high a station ; and

concluded his letter with desiring his Holiness's prayers for himself, his court, and his kingdom (9).

[E] Pope Adrian granted very considerable privileges to the monastery of St Alban's.] It was observed in the last remark, that, after the discharge of the embassy, the three bishops returned home, and abbot Robert staid behind at Beneventum. It seems, he thought this a favourable opportunity of recovering some dignities and privileges belonging to his abbey, which had been invaded by the Bishop of Lincoln ; and to this end he had brought with him several valuable presents for his Holiness, and among the rest three rich mitres, and some sandals, the workmanship of Christina Prioress of Markgate. In a conference he had with the Pope, his Holiness would only accept of the mitres and sandals on account of their excellent workmanship, but refused the other presents, saying in a jesting way ; *I will not accept your gifts, because, when I desired to take the habit in your monastery, you rejected me. Sir, said the Abbot, we could by no means receive you, it being repugnant to the will of God, whose providence reserved you for greater things.* The Pope replied ; *I thank you for this polite and obliging answer; and added, Dearest Abbot, ask boldly whatever you desire ; I shall always be ready to serve St Alban, who am myself his disciple* (*).

(*). The quibble in the original (suis Albanensis) arising from the resemblance between the names Alban and Alba, could not be preserved in the translation.

[*] Devotionem et urbanitatem ipsius commendavit, et jocose ait, Abnuo recipere munera tua, quia me aliquando ad alas religionis domus tue confugientem, et habitum monasticum charitative postulantiem, recipere renuisti. Cui Abbas: Domine, vos nequaquam potius recipere, voluntas enim Domini repugnavit, cujus prudentia vitam vestram direxit ad altiora. Et respondit Dominus Papa ; Eleganter et civiliter respondisti, et complacuit ei responsonis verbum ; et addidit, Abbas charissime, audacter pete quod vis, non poterit beato Albano deesse suis Albanensis (10). The Abbot hereupon distributed the rest of his presents among the Cardinals and the Pope's domestics, ' knowing (says my ' author) the insatiable avarice of the Romans.' Sciens ipsos Romanos esse insatiabiles sanguisugæ filios, pecunie sitibundos. One day, as he was in private conversation with the Pope, he let fall some hints concerning the various oppressions of the bishop of Lincoln, mingling his complaints with tears and sighs ; which so moved his Holiness, that he granted to the church of St Alban's the noble and singular privilege of being exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, excepting that of the See of Rome ; with many other valuable liberties and immunities (11). Soon after abbot Robert's return, he dispatched two messengers to Rome with a pair of golden candlesticks, which he had promised the Pope when he was at Beneventum. Adrian received them very graciously, and deposited them in St Peter's church, in perpetual memory of the English Protomartyr St Alban. And, in return for this present, his Holiness sent, by the same messengers, to the church of St Alban's the relics of the Thebaean Legion, a fine pall given him by the Emperor, some sandals, a ring, and other donations to a considerable value (12).

[F] He sent King Henry a Bull for the conquest of Ireland.] That instrument is extant in Matthew Paris (13), Giraldus Cambrensis (14), Radulphus de Diceto (15), and in Rymers's Fœdera (16). To satisfy the curiosity of the meer English reader, I shall here give a translation of it. *Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear Son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, sends greeting and apostolical benediction. Your Magnificence is very careful to spread your glorious name in the world, and to merit an immortal crown in heaven, whilst, as a good catholic prince, you form a design of extending the bounds of the Church, of instructing ignorant and barbarous people in the Christian Faith, and of reforming the licentious and immoral ; and, the more effectually to put this design in execution, you desire the advice and assistance of the holy See. We are confident that, by the blessing of God, the success will answer the wisdom and discretion of the undertaking. You have adverted us, dear Son, of your intended expedition into Ireland, to reduce that people to the obedience of the Chris-*

lian Faith ; and that you are willing to pay for every house a yearly acknowledgment of one penny to St Peter, promising to maintain the rights of those churches in the fullest manner. We therefore, being willing to assist you in this pious and laudable design, and consenting to your petition, do grant you full liberty to make a descent upon that island, in order to enlarge the borders of the Church, to check the progress of immorality, and to promote the spiritual happiness of the natives. And we command the people of that country to receive and acknowledge you as their sovereign lord ; provided the rights of the churches be inviolably preserved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. For indeed it is certain (and your Highness acknowledges it) that all the islands, which are enlightened by Christ the Sun of righteousness, and have embraced the doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St Peter's right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the holy Roman Church. If therefore you resolve to put your designs in execution, be careful to reform the manners of that people, and commit the government of the churches to able and virtuous persons ; that the Christian Religion may grow and flourish, and the honour of God and the salvation of souls be effectually promoted : so shall you deserve an everlasting reward in heaven, and leave a glorious name to all posterity. We may observe from the contents of this Bull, how far the Popes of that age stretched their pretensions with respect to the dominions of princes. For here we see Adrian very freely presenting King Henry with the crowns of the Irish Kings, and commanding their subjects to transfer their allegiance from their lawful Sovereigns to a foreign Invader. However King Henry, though encouraged by the Pope's Bull, postponed the Irish expedition, and made no attempts upon that island till about fourteen years after.

[G] He absolved King Henry from the oath he had taken not to set aside any part of his father's will.] The case was this : Geoffrey Plantagenet, late earl of Anjou, had issue, by the empress Maud, three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William. This prince, being sensible that his own dominions would of course descend to his eldest son Henry, and that the kingdom of England, and dutchy of Normandy, would likewise fall to him in right of his mother, thought fit to devise the earldom of Anjou to his second son Geoffrey. And, to make this settlement the more firm, he took an oath of the bishops and nobility, not to suffer his corps to be buried, till his son Henry had sworn to fulfil every part of his will. The earl being dead, Henry came to attend his father's funeral. But when the oath was tendered to him, he refused for some time to swear to a writing, the contents of which he was not pre-acquainted with. However being pressed with the scandal of letting his father lie unburied, he took the oath, tho' with great reluctance. After the funeral, the will was broken open and read ; and tho' the contents displeas'd Henry, he conceal'd his resentments for the present. But after his accession to the throne, upon his complaint to Pope Adrian that the oath was forced upon him, he received a dispensation from his Holiness, absolving him from the obligation he had laid himself under (17). The author, cited in the margin, would fain justify the King and the Pope in this affair, upon that loose maxim, that oaths extorted are not obligatory. *Et quoniam extorta sacramenta vel vota non obligant, nisi forte ex subsequenti consensu convalescant, facile (ut dicitur) ab illo sacramento absolutionem imperavit* (18). But if King Henry's oath was void of course, as this writer supposes, what occasion was there for the Pope's dispensation ? And if it remained in full force, it is hard to imagine which way the Pope could release it. Had the matter of the oath been unlawful, there would have been some sense in the absolution from it. But, in promising not to alter the disposition of his father's will, Henry only run the risk of suffering in his right, and swore to nothing but what was in his power to make good. This instance alone is sufficient to shew, that Adrian, tho' a man of good understanding and integrity, was none of the safest guides in matters of conscience. It may be proper to tell the reader, that, in consequence

(9) Baron. Anal. T. 12, an. 1154.

(*) The quibble in the original (suis Albanensis) arising from the resemblance between the names Alban and Alba, could not be preserved in the translation.

(10) Matth. Paris, ubi supra.

(11) Ibid. & P. 71.

(12) Ib. p. 73.

(13) Hist. Angl. p. 95. V. l. edit. 1640.

(14) Hibern. Expugn. lib. 11. c. 6. A. D. 1155.

(15) Ymagin. Histor. apud X Scriptores. p. 529.

(16) Tom. I. P. 15, edit. 1727.

(17) Gulliel. Nubr. De Reb. Angl. l. ii. c. 7.

(18) Id. lib. 11.

(r) Platina, ubi supra.

(s) Vol. I. col. 550.

(t) Ubi supra.

(u) Concl. T. x. p. 1143, 1153; Baluz. Miscell. T. ii. p. 223.

and he made warm complaints thereof to his countryman Johannes Sarisburiensis [H]. The rest of his life and actions, having no connexion with the civil or ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, shall be briefly thrown together in a note [I]. He died [K], September 1, 1159, in the fourth year and tenth month of his Pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's church, near the tomb of his predecessor Eugenius (r). The learned Editor of Camden's Britannia tells us (s), Adrian had been rector of Tydd in Lincolnshire; and Dr Cave informs us (t), that he left his mother to be maintained by the alms of the church of Canterbury. There are extant several letters written by Pope Adrian (u), and some homilies (w).

(w) Leland, ubi supra.

of this dispensation, Henry dispossessed his brother Geoffrey of the dominions of Anjou, allowing him only a yearly pension for his maintenance.

[H] He made warm complaints to Johannes Sarisburiensis. Baronius informs us (19), that, in the very first year of Adrian's reign, his countryman, and old friend, Johannes Sarisburiensis, or John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, paid him a visit; and that his Holiness complained to him in the strongest terms of the uneasiness of his station. He assured him, 'That all the former hardships of his life were mere amusement to the misfortunes of the popedom; that he looked upon St Peter's chair to be the most uneasy seat in the world, and that his crown seemed to be clapped burning on his head.'

[I] The rest of his life and actions shall be briefly thrown together. In the beginning of his pontificate, he boldly withstood the attempts of the Roman people to recover their ancient liberty under the consuls, and obliged those magistrates to abdicate their authority, and leave the government of the city to the Pope. In 1155, he drove the heretic Arnold of Bresse, and his followers, out of Rome. The same year, he excommunicated William King of Sicily, who ravaged the territories of the Church, and absolved that prince's subjects from their allegiance. About the same time, Frederic King of the Romans having entered Italy with a powerful army, Adrian met him near Sutrium, and concluded a peace with him. At this interview, Frederic condescended to hold the Pope's stirrup whilst he mounted on horse-back: After which his Holiness conducted that Prince to Rome, and in St Peter's church placed the imperial crown on his head, to the great mortification of the Roman people, who assembled in a tumultuous manner, and killed several of the Imperialists. The next year, a reconciliation was

brought about between the Pope and the Sicilian King, that Prince taking an oath to do nothing farther to the prejudice of the Church, and Adrian granting him the title of King of the Two Sicilies. This Pope built and fortified several castles, and left the papal dominions in a more powerful and flourishing condition than he found them (20).

[K] His death. Gulielmus Neubrigenfis says nothing of the manner of Pope Adrian's death: but Matthew Paris tells us (21), he was poisoned out of spite by the Romans, because he had refused to consecrate a citizen's son a bishop, who was unworthy of that station. *Post hos autem paucos dies, idem Papa Adrianus, quia cujusdam potentis civis Romani filium indignum, in episcopum, timore repressus divino, creare & consecrare noluit, preventus insidiis, potionatus, veneno infectus, & interfectus est.* We have another account of his death in Bale, who tells us, upon the authority of Joannes Funccius, that Pope Adrian being one day walking with his attendants, a fly got into his throat, and, the surgeons not being able to extract it, he was suffocated (22). Fuller tells the same story with a small variation. 'As he was drinking (says that author) he was choaked with a fly, which, in the large territory of St Peter, had no place but his throat to get into: but since a fly stopped his breath, fear shall stop my mouth, not to make uncharitable conclusions from such casual-ties (23).' It is remarkable, that Platina is silent as to the manner of Pope Adrian's death; which surely he would not have been, had it really been attended with such extraordinary circumstances. And what shall we say to the silence of the learned Antiquarian Leland in this matter, but that he gave no credit to the reports concerning the manner of our Pontiff's death?

(20) Vide Platina, de vit. Pontif. in Adriano IV.

(21) Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 74.

(22) Baleus, de Scriptur. Britan. Centur. II. n. 64. in appendice.

(23) Fuller's Worthies of England, Hertfordshire, p. 20.

T

ADRIAN (DE CASTELLO,) Bishop of Bath and Wells in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII, and Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church, was descended from a mean and obscure family called by the name of the Castelli, and born at Cornetto (a), a small town in Tuscany (b). Having distinguished himself by his parts and learning, he obtained several employments at the court of Rome. In 1488, he was sent by Pope Innocent VIII, in quality of his Nuntio extraordinary, to appease the troubles in Scotland: but, upon his arrival in England, being informed that his presence was no longer necessary in that kingdom, where the commotions had been ended by a decisive battle, he set himself to execute some other commissions, with which he was charged, particularly that of collecting the Pope's tribute or Peter-pence, his holiness having appointed him his Quæstor or Treasurer for that purpose. He stayed some months in England, and, during that time, had the address to insinuate himself into the good graces of Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who recommended him so effectually to the King, that his majesty thought fit to employ him as his agent for the English affairs at the court of Rome, and, as a recompence of his faithful services, promoted him first to the bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells (c). The Pope's bull, in virtue of which he was collated to the see of Hereford, is dated August the second, 1504. He received the temporalities of Bath and Wells at Rome, in consequence of the King's letters dated October the thirteenth, the same year: on the twentieth, he received the spiritualities from the Archbishop by his Proctors; and the same day was enthroned at Wells by his proxy, who was the celebrated historian Polydore Vergil, at that time the Pope's sub-collector in England, and afterwards appointed, by Adrian, Archdeacon of Wells. Our Prelate let out his bishopric to Farmers, and afterwards to Cardinal Wolfey, himself residing at Rome (d); where he built a magnificent palace, on the frontispiece of which he caused to be inscribed the name of his benefactor Henry VII, leaving it, after his decease, to that Prince, and to the Kings of England his successors. In the mean time, Alexander VI, who succeeded Innocent VIII, had appointed our Adrian his principal Secretary, and Vicar-General in spirituals, and temporals; and, as a farther mark of esteem and confidence, created him a Cardinal-Priest, with the title of St Chrysgonus, the thirty-first of May, 1503 (e). Two or three months

(a) Called by the ancients *Castrum novum*.

(b) Aubery, Histoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4to, Tom. III, p. 76.

(c) Polyd. Vergil. Hist. Angl. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, l. xxvi. p. 736, 737. & Aubery, ubi supra, p. 76, 77.

(d) Continuat. Hist. de Episc. Batbon. & Wellens. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 576.

(e) Aubery, ibid, p. 77.

months after his creation, he narrowly escaped losing his life by poison [A], at a feast, to which he was invited, with some other Cardinals, by the Pope and his son Cæsar Borgia (f). Under the pontificate of Julius II, who succeeded Alexander, Cardinal Adrian, having taken some disgust, or because he distrusted that Pope, who was a declared enemy of his predecessor, voluntarily banished himself from Rome [B], and did not return 'till the holding a conclave for the election of a new Pope; into which, though it was already shut, he was admitted, by consent of the sacred college, and probably gave his voice for the election of Leo X (g). Soon after, he was unhappily privy to a conspiracy against that Pontif [C], into which he was the more easily led, by too fondly crediting the prediction of a Cunning-woman, or Fortune-teller, who had assured him, ' That Leo would be cut off by an unnatural death, and that he would be succeeded by ' an elderly man named Adrian, of obscure birth, but famous for his learning, and whose ' virtue and merit alone had raised him to the highest honours of the Church.' This prophecy, which our Cardinal foolishly and rashly applied to himself, was exactly verified in the election of Adrian VI, who succeeded Leo X. The conspiracy being discovered [D], Cardinal Adrian was condemned to pay twelve thousand five hundred ducats, and to give a solemn promise that he would not stir out of Rome. But, whether he was unable to discharge so heavy a fine, or apprehended farther severities, he withdrew privately from that city: whereupon, in a consistory held the sixth of July, 1518, he was declared excommunicated, and deprived, not only of the cardinalate and all his benefices, but even of his ecclesiastical orders (b). Near four years before this time, he had been removed from his office of the Pope's Collector in England, at the request of King Henry VIII, and through the instigation of Cardinal Wolfey [E]. The chief

(f) Aubery, p. 75.

(g) Id. ib. p. 78, 79.

(b) Ibid. p. 80. There is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (Vol. XIII. p. 607.) a Letter from the Cardinal de Medicis, acquainting King Henry VIII with Cardinal Adrian's degradation.

heads

[A] He very narrowly escaped losing his life by poison. Pope Alexander having invited some of the most distinguished members of the sacred college to a sumptuous entertainment; his son Cæsar Borgia resolved to take this opportunity to remove out of the way such of the guests, whose grandeur and riches he chiefly envied; and to this purpose he prepared some poisoned wine: but the Cup-bearer, providentially mistaking one flaggon for another, administered the poisoned liquor to the wicked contriver of this black design, who drank it off without suspecting the mistake (1). For the particulars and consequences of this horrid attempt, which cost the Pope himself his life, the reader is referred to the historians, who have written the lives of Alexander VI, and his son Cæsar Borgia. As to what concerns Cardinal Adrian, who was present at this fatal banquet, and one of the destined victims of Borgia's inhuman malice, M. Aubery informs us (2), that having inadvertently tasted the poisoned wine, he was seized with most excruciating pains in his bowels, which brought on frequent convulsions, and afterwards a kind of lethargy; that he was obliged, for some ease and refreshment, to rowl himself quite naked in cold water poured on the floor of his chamber; that he escaped indeed with life, but not without casting his skin, which, through the violence of the poison, peeled off from all parts of his body.

[B] He voluntarily banished himself from Rome. This circumstance of the Cardinal's life, M. Aubery tells us (3), is not agreeable to the opinion of Raphael de Volaterra, who (4) extols his great skill and address, in constantly supporting the credit and reputation he had acquired at the court of Rome, and in always finding the means happily to extricate himself from the most dangerous conjunctures, and such as had proved fatal to others. But the express testimony of Paris de Grassi, master of the ceremonies, and what Guichardin remarks (5) of the King of France, who ordered Cardinal Adrian's name to be inserted, as having been one of those who had convened the synod of Pisa, prove plainly enough, that he met with no better treatment, under the pontificate of Julius II, than the other favourites of Alexander VI, and that he had some occasions given him of discontent, or at least that he did not think himself safe under the power of the new Pope. My author says farther, that his Holiness, not knowing to what he should ascribe the Cardinal's extreme fear and voluntary exile, began to imagine, that it might be owing to remorse of conscience for having made some attempt upon his authority or his life.

[C] He was unhappily privy to a conspiracy against Pope Leo X. I call it a Conspiracy, after M. Aubery, who informs us, that Cardinal Petrucci was the chief of the conspirators, and Adrian one of those, to whom he imparted the secret of his wicked designs, and whose indiscrete or malicious silence rendered them ac-

complices of his guilt (6). But, according to Polydore Vergil, this conspiracy was nothing more than the intemperate rage of an angry Cardinal, who was a perfect master of the *Roman freedom of speech* (7). The affair, as that historian relates it (8), was briefly this. The Pope had taken under his protection the inhabitants of Sienna, and deprived Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, and his family, of the principality they had long enjoyed there, in order, as his Holiness declared, entirely to root out the seeds of faction, with which that city was disturbed. This proceeding highly incensed the Cardinal against the Pope, whom he charged with ingratitude, in thus repaying the assistance he had lent him, in bringing about his election: he complained openly of the injury done him, publicly expressed his detestation of that Pontif, and imprecated a thousand deaths on him. He happened once to vent his rage in the hearing of the Cardinals, Adrian, and Francis Volaterran, who reproved him severely, but did not think they had sufficient grounds for an information against him. However Petrucci, in the heat of his passion, went away from Rome, and soon after, upon an assurance of indemnity, returned; but still continued his resentment, and abusive language against the Pope; who was so exasperated thereby, that he ordered him to be apprehended, and thrown into prison, where soon after he died.

[D] The conspiracy being discovered. Let us hear M. Aubery. His Holiness, he tells us (9), having caused the three principal conspirators to be arrested, learned from their depositions, that the Cardinals Soderini (10) and de Castello were their accomplices, having been present at very secret conferences with them. A consistory was thereupon held, in which those two Cardinals, after much reluctance, especially on the part of the latter, were induced to make a public confession of their fault, and Adrian owned, he had heard Petrucci say, that he would kill the Pope, but that he paid no regard to what he said on account of his youth.

[E] He was removed from his office of the Pope's Collector at the request of King Henry VIII, and through the instigation of Cardinal Wolfey. Wolfey, aiming at the dignity of a Cardinal, employed Adrian as his Solicitor at the court of Rome; but finding that he betrayed him, and did him ill offices, he made use of his interest with the King, to get him turned out of his post. There is extant in Mr Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (11) a letter from Leo X, dated at Rome, October the thirty-first, 1514, in answer to one from King Henry to his Holiness. The Pope therein tells him, ' That ' he had condescended to remove the Cardinal from ' the office of Collector, for no other reason, but ' because the King had desired it; and that he would ' do even more for him, if it was not plain that he ' acted only at the instigation of another, and not of ' his own accord.'

(6) Aubery, Ibid. p. 79.

(7) Romana loquendi licentia eruditus.

(8) Hist. Angl. l. xxvii. p. 45, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 8vo.

(9) Ubi supra.

(10) The same, whom Polydore Vergil (*see the preceding remark*) calls Franciscus Volaterranus; for Cardinal Soderini was Bishop of Volaterra.

(11) Vol. XIII. p. 467.

(1) Aubery, Histoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4to, T. III, p. 78.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Anthropol. l. xxii. f. 236.

(5) l. x. p. 538.

heads of his accusation, drawn up at Rome, were; 'That he had absented himself from that city in the time of Julius II, without the Pope's leave; that he had never resided, as he ought to have done, at the church of St Chryfogonus, from which he had his title; that he had again withdrawn from Rome, and had not appeared to a legal citation; and that he had engaged in the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci, and had signed the league of Francis Maria, Duke of Urbino, against the Pope (i).' He was at Venice, when he received the disagreeable news of his condemnation (k); but what became of him afterwards, or when and where he died, we know not, though it is pretended he took refuge some where in Asia among the Turks (l). Cardinal Wolfey secured to himself the vacant see of Bath and Wells, which he had farmed of Adrian (m). There is to be seen, we are told (n), at Riva, a village in the diocese of Trent, a Latin inscription on one Polydorus Casamicus [F], the Pope's Janitor, written by Cardinal Adrian; at the end of which he deploras his own wretched condition, and exalts the happiness of his friend, whose death had put an end to his miseries. Polydore Vergil and M. Aubery give us a very advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate [G].

(i) Id. *ibid.*

(k) Polyd. Verg. ubi supra, l. xxvii. p. 45.

(l) Aubery, *ib.* p. 81.(m) Polyd. Verg. *ibid.*(n) Aubery, *ib.*

[F] A Latin inscription on Polydorus Casamicus.]

(10) Aubery, *ib.* It is as follows (10). p. 81.

POLYDORO. CASAMICO. ROMANO.

SUMMI. PONTIFICIS. OSTIARIO.

VIXIT. ANN. XXIV.

HADRIANUS. CARDINALIS. S. CHRYSOGONI.

FAMILIARI. CARISS. POS.

Exultat HADRIANUS: tu jam, POLYDORO, quiescis, Æternumque vales; nobis dira omnia restant.

[G] An advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate.] Polydore Vergil highly extols him for his various and uncommon learning, his exquisite judgment in the choice of the properest words, and the truly classical style of his writings, in which he was the first, since the age of Cicero, who revived the purity of the Latin language, and taught men to draw their knowledge from the sources of the best and learnedest authors. *Erant in eo plurimæ literæ, non vulgares, sed reconditæ, ac summum bono-*

rum verborum delectu judicium; qui memoria nostra primus omnium, post illud disertissimum Ciceronis sæculum, suis scriptis mortales excitavit ad perfectas literas de doctissimorum autorum fontibus hauriendas, docuitque modum purè, nitidè, ac luculenter loquendi, sic ut, eo doctore, in præsentia ubique gentium Latinitas ab integro renascatur (11). He was of a gay and cheerful disposition; and, as if he would imitate Cicero in this point, as well as in purity of style, he took great pleasure in rallying or bantering, of which we have the following instance. Disputing one day about precedence with Cardinal Caruajal, who maintained, that, since he had been restored by the Pope to the Cardinalate, he ought to hold the same rank as if he had never been degraded from it; Adrian resolved at last to give him place, but not without one stroke of raillery upon his antagonist, to whom he said, making a low bow, *Your most reverend lordship may go before me, if you please, since biscuit (*) has always been preferred to common bread*, reproaching him thereby with his former rebellion, and the disgrace he was forced to undergo, before he could be promoted a second time to the dignity of a Cardinal (12). T

(11) Polyd. Verg. ubi supra, *lib.* xxvi. p. 737.

(*) Bread twice baked.

(12) Aubery, *ibid.*

ÆLFRED, ALFRIDE, ALDFRID, or ELDFRID, was the illegitimate son of Ofwi, King of Northumberland. He was educated as became the son of a King, and, as Beda tells us, studied amongst the Scots, and acquired a great knowledge in the scriptures, and in all solid and useful learning (a). On his return into his father's kingdom, he behaved himself with great wisdom and prudence, and it is particularly related of him, that he persuaded his brother-in-law, Peada, the son of Penda, King of the Mercians, to renounce Heathenism, and to embrace the Christian Religion. On the death of his father Ofwi, Egfrid, his brother, who succeeded in the throne, persecuted him with implacable malice, merely because he was a prince of great parts, and there had been some talk of raising him to the throne. To avoid his fury, Ælfred retired into Ireland, though some say into Scotland, where, conversing only with the learned, he led a philosophic kind of life; being distinguished from other private men only by the virtues of the mind (b). Yet even here, his brother could not let him rest, but most injuriously making war on those who had given him refuge, was slain in battle (c). Hereupon, the nobility of the kingdom of Northumberland unanimously invited Ælfred to take possession of the vacant throne, which he accordingly did, in the year 686 [A]. He found the kingdom in great confusion, and by his wisdom and piety soon brought it into order; eased the people of the oppressive taxes his brother had laid upon them, and, by a strict administration of justice, rendered them perfectly easy and happy. He distinguished himself by his learning as much after he became King, as he had done before; for which reason, not only scholars flocked to his court, but even the learned in other countries paid tribute to his abilities, by dedicating their books to him; as did the famous Scottish Abbot Adamanus, and Adelmus, Bishop of Sherburn (d). It is however admitted, that as he was no martial Prince, so his dominions were more straitened than they had been in the days of his ancestors. He is censured for persecuting

(a) Bed. H. E. *lib.* iv. c. 24, 27. *lib.* v. c. 12. Henr. Hunt. *Hist.* *lib.* iv.(b) Bed. H. E. ubi supra. Polyd. Verg. *Hist.* *lib.* iv.

(c) Chron. Saxon. p. 45.

(d) Bed. H. E. ubi supra. Bal. *Illust.* Major. Brit. *Script.* fol. 43. 44, 45.

[A] Which he did in the year 686.] The life of this Prince certainly merits a place in this work, as well on account of his being a King of great fame, a man learned himself, and commended as an encourager of learning by venerable Bede, but chiefly, because he is taken notice of by foreign writers. There is an article of him in a late edition of Moreri (1); and shall it be said there are any more careful of the fame and credit of Englishmen, than we our selves are? It is true, this Prince was no King of England, he was

King only of a very small part of it. He did honour, however, to the whole, nay, and to Scotland, and Ireland too; in the former country he was educated, in the latter he long resided, and for his eminent virtues was admired and beloved in both. Some epistles to the learned men in both countries he left behind him, but it is not known whether they are still preserved or not. This however we know, that his learning, wisdom, and piety, is celebrated by many of our ancient authors, as the margin will shew (2).

(2) Leland, *Comment. de Scriptor. Britan.* p. 83. Balzeus *Illust.* Major. Brit. *Script.* *Centur.* prima, fol. 45. Pitæus de *illust.* Angl. *Scriptor.* p. 116.

(1) See this Article in the first Volume of the Edition printed at Basil, 1731.

[B] Perse-

cuting Bishop Wilfrid [B], in whose room he caused John, of Beverly, a man famous for piety and learning, to be consecrated Bishop of Hexham, in Northumberland, whom he afterwards exalted to the Archbishoprick of York. He governed with great reputation the kingdom of Northumberland, nineteen years, and dying on the 24th of December, in the year 705 (e), was buried at Drifeld. He married Cyniburg, or, as some call her, Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, by whom he had Osrede, his son and successor; but in nothing like his father, the remembrance of whose virtues induced the people to make this son of his King, though he was at that time a child of eight years old (f).

[B] *Persecuting Bishop Wilfrid.* Most of our historians mention the differences between this Prince and Wilfridus, Archbishop of York, very concisely; and those who have written the life of this King, do it still more obscurely. The ecclesiastical historians, to whom it properly belongs, treat it, however, very copiously, and from them we shall give the reader a succinct account of it. This Wilfridus at the time of Alfred's accession to the throne, was beyond the seas, expelled from his archiepiscopal see of York, by the King's brother and predecessor. In the second year of this Prince, which was 687, Wilfridus returned with mandatory letters from the Pope, for his resto-

ration. With these the King in part complied, for he promoted John, of Beverly, who was then Bishop of Hexham, to the Archbishoprick of York, and offered Wilfridus his bishoprick, which he accepted. There he sat quietly five years, but, in 692, he was again expelled, not so much by the King's will, as on account of disputes among the clergy. Upon this he went abroad again, applied himself a second time to the Pope, and, after thirteen years attendance, obtained a sentence in his favour; whereupon he returned into England, after Alfred had been dead some years (3).

(e) Chron. Saxop. p. 50.

(f) Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. p. 91. Bromton. Chron. Regn. Northumb. p. 794.

(3) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 12. lib. v. c. 20. Chronic. Sancti Crucis Edinburg. ad ann. 687, 705. Gul. Malmfb. de Pontific. lib. iii. See also the Article W I L F R I D U S.

Æ L F R E D, or A L F R E D (*the Great*) by some also called Elfred, and by others Alured, was the youngest son of Æthelwolf, King of the West Saxons; he was born at Wannating, or Wanading, which some take to be Wantage in Berkshire, then a royal seat, A. D. 849 (a). His father, who was a very wise and religious Prince, believing that he saw in him a brighter and more promising genius than in his other children, sent him, while yet an infant, that is, in the fifth year of his age, to Rome, where Pope Leo IV, adopted him, and anointed him (b), which some assert to have been a regal unction, though others think he was only confirmed (c) [A]. His father in the decline of his life going to visit the holy see, took this favourite son of his along with him, whereby he had an opportunity of seeing and hearing many things, which made such strong impressions on him, as were not to be worn out during his whole life (d). On his return to England, his parents were no less tender of him than before, yet this tendernefs was not of much service to Ælfred (e), since it estranged him from learning, and consisted too much in the indulging of idleness, and a pursuit of youthful pleasures. On his father's death, he had an appanage bequeathed to him by will, but his brothers, who succeeded in the throne, put him off with fair words, so that his possessions remained narrow enough. However, as he had a very grave philosophick spirit, and began now to think of recovering the time he had lost in his nonage, he readily admitted these excuses, and would willingly have been content with his books and his ease (f). But it was not long he enjoyed even these small comforts, the Danes invading the

(b) Affer. Menevensi. p. 7. Chron. Saxon. Oxon. 1692, 470. p. 75. Simeon. Dunelm. ap. X Script. p. 139. Mattb. Westm. A. D. 834.

(c) Affer. Menevensi. ubi supra. Leland. de Script. p. 145.

(d) Affer. Menevensi. p. 8.

(e) Id. p. 12, 15.

(f) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 147. Ethelred. Reival. de Gen. Reg. Angl. ap. X Scriptor. p. 352. Affer. Menevensi. p. 16.

[A] *Though others say he was only confirmed.* There are many reasons why the anointing Ælfred to be King, is scrupled (1). 1. He was his father's younger son; and had three, at least, if not four, brethren between him and the crown. 2. He was but five years old, and therefore it is not likely that his father should intend him for a Vice-King. 3. Such an unction could have had no other consequence, than that of making him obnoxious to his brethren. But notwithstanding these exceptions, it seems pretty clear, that he was really anointed in order to vest him with a royal character. Many reasons have been offered in support of this opinion, but, for the sake of cutting things as short as possible, we will shew that the foregoing objections are not very cogent, and that there is indubitable authority on the other side. As to his distance from the throne, that is no objection at all, if the custom of the times, and his father's will, be considered (2); from both which it appears, that great Princes made all their sons Kings, and that this was what Æthelwolf both designed and in part effected. With respect to the second point, it is evident that a great part of Wales was conquered that year (3); and it is therefore very probable, his father intended, when he was of an age fit to govern, to make Ælfred King of Demetia, or South Wales (4), as he had before invested two of his other sons with royal titles. The last objection really answers itself, for the fact fell out so. The brethren of Ælfred grew jealous of him, and defeated him not only of the kingdom which his father intended him, but likewise of the small portion that Prince left him, after he had altered his former purpose (5). A multitude of authors speak of Ælfred's journey to Rome, and of his unction, yet there are two whose testimonies in many respects seem prefer-

able to the rest. The first of these is Affer, Bishop of Sherburn, who was intimate with King Ælfred, and who, in the memoirs he wrote of that Prince, and dedicated to himself, hath under the year 853, these words (6), *The same year King Æthelwolf sent his son Ælfred to Rome, attended by many of the nobility and persons of lower rank, Leo IV, then possessed the Apostolick See, who anointed the said infant Ælfred as a King, confirmed him, and adopted him as his own son.* This author, therefore, plainly affirms he was both crowned and adopted. The other writer is Æthelred, a Monk of the royal family, who lived very near these times, who says, that after Leo had consecrated him King, he, from that act, stiled him his son, as Bishops at the time of confirmation are wont to call those little ones their children (7). Robert, of Gloucester (8), says expressly, that he was crowned King, and that he was the first of our Princes who was anointed, which is also asserted by Thomas Rudborne (9). In this, however, they seem to be mistaken, for not only the Monk of Malmbury (10), who was well acquainted with these things, asserts, that in 790, Offa, King of Mercia, caused his son Egbert to be anointed King in his life-time: But also Gildas (11), the most ancient of our historians, speaks of unction as a thing common in his time amongst the British Princes. Hence it is clear, that he was not the first of our Kings, nor even the first of our Saxon Kings consecrated by unction. Sir Henry Spelman (12), after mentioning some of these authorities, concludes justly, that he was anointed King. But Alford (13), the Jesuit, seems to be more in the right, who alleges he was both anointed King, and confirmed by Pope Leo, and that, in respect to this second ceremony the Pope was his godfather.

(6) De Reb. Gest. Ælfred. p. 7.

(7) Ubi supra.

(8) In his Chronicle published by Hearne, p. 264.

(9) Hist. Maj. Winton. in tit. cap. vi. p. 206.

(10) De Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. 4. p. 33.

(11) De Excid. Britan. c. 19.

(12) In Coaciliis, p. 378. See also Sir John Spelman, in his life of Alfred, p. 20.

(13) Annal. Tom. III. p. 66.

(a) Annales rerum gestarum. Ælfredi Magni, Auctore Asserio Menevensi. Oxon. 800. p. 3. Roger. Hoved. Annal. apud Rerum Anglicarum Script. post Bedam. Francf. 1661. p. 414. Alford. Annal. Tom. III. p. 66. Matth. Westm. A. D. 849.

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 145.

(2) See Note [B].

(3) Chron. Saxon. p. 75.

(4) Enderbie's History of Wales, lib. i. p. 216.

(5) Vid. Testament. Ælfred.

the kingdom, he was constrained to abandon a contemplative for an active life, serving his brethren both with his counsels and in person, till at length they being all dead [B]. He in the two and twentieth year of his age, *anno dom.* 871, became King in his own right (g), which dignity, however, he assumed with much reluctance, not only on account of his love to a retired life, but also because he knew that the crown was a very heavy burthen, and that though it was adorned with jewels, yet it was at the same time lined with cares (h). He had scarce leisure to attend his brother's funeral, when he was forced to fight for the crown he had so unwillingly accepted. At Wilton he engaged the Danish army, and in the beginning of the battle had the advantage; but, in the pursuit, the Danes discovering his weakness, rallied, and drove him out of the field (i). We need not wonder at this, since besides their deficiency in numbers, the Saxons must have been excessively harassed, since there had been eight or nine battles that year (k). Soon after the engagement at Wilton, there followed a treaty, this, however, they observed but indifferently, roaming up and down, and pillaging wherever they came. At last they put an end to the kingdom of Mercia, and forced it's monarch not only to leave his dominions, but the island (l). The next year after this, they acted in such a manner as gave Ælfred to understand, that he had nothing to trust to but arms; for this reason he took pains to fit out a fleet, which was to guard the coasts, and keep these rovers from landing. Some effect this design of his produced, for a squadron of five Danish ships coming on the coast, one of them was taken (m). However, a great army of Danes, commanded by several of their Kings, marched as far as Grantbridge, and quartered thereabouts, the best part of the year, and the next summer they advanced to Werham; there King Ælfred met them with all the forces he could raise, but not finding himself strong enough to fight them, he concluded a peace, not without the interposition of money; if some of our historians deserve credit (n). However it was, a peace he made, and the Danes swore never to invade his dominions; but, according to their wonted custom, broke their faith in a few months [C]. The next year, being 876, the barbarous Danes committed new and greater hostilities, which compelled the

[B] *Till at length they being all dead.* It would have taken up too much room in the text, to have entered into the transactions of Ælfred in his noage. However, as the knowledge of them is in some measure requisite to the thorough understanding of several circumstances of this article, we shall say as much as is necessary of them in this note. His father Æthelwolf, according to the best accounts we have, had five sons and a daughter (14). Of these Æthelstan the eldest, was King of Kent, in his father's life-time, and died before him. Æthelbald, the second son, raised a rebellion against his father, when he came back from Rome, and that good natured Prince, to avoid any effusion of blood, consented to divide with him his dominions (15). He did not long survive this, but, before his death, he, by a full and distinct testament, endeavoured to settle all the claims of his children in such a manner, as might prevent their disturbing the publick peace. By this will, Æthelbald and Æthelbert, had his kingdoms divided between them; his private estate, he left to his younger sons Æthelred and Ælfred, together with what money was found in his coffers (16). As for his daughter, she married Burthred, King of Mercia, and being with her husband expelled her country by the Danes, went into Italy, and, after his death, lived a nun at Padua. Æthelwolf deceased in 858, when Ælfred was but ten years old (17). Æthelbald succeeded him, and governed two years and a half. On his demise, Æthelbert seized the crown, which he held for five years, during which space he was continually vexed by the Danes, against whom he fought with undaunted courage, though with unequal success. He died in 866 (18), and was succeeded by his brother Æthelred, who having reason to be dissatisfied with the King his brother's conduct, while he was a private man, solemnly promised his younger brother Ælfred, he would do him that justice which had been denied by the two former Kings, in giving him what his father had by will bequeathed him. On his accession, Ælfred demanded a performance of his promise, but the King excused himself on account of the troublesome times, but assured him, that if he kept every thing to himself at present, yet at his death he would leave him all (19). With this Ælfred was satisfied, for being inclined to follow his sports, fond of domestick pleasures, and extremely addicted to literature, he inclined rather to have led a retired life; but having given some proofs of his courage in the former King's reign, Æthelred would never part with him, but made use of him as his first minister, and general in chief of his armies. In this capacity it was, that he rashly engaging the

Danish army, which was very numerous, and then lay near Reading, was in great danger of being totally defeated, had not the King come in to his assistance with a fresh body of men, which changed the fortune of the day, inasmuch, that the Danes lost the field, and therein one King, nine of their chiefs, whom the Saxons called Ears, and a prodigious number of common soldiers (20). This however, did not hinder the Danes from attacking and defeating the two brothers a fortnight after, followed very suddenly by another such disaster, wherein King Æthelred (21), received his mortal wound.

[C] *Broke their faith in a few months.* All our ancient historians, and especially those who lived in their times, unanimously agree in charging the Danes with most horrid acts of perfidy (22). Considering however, the pains taken by these authors, to justify their countrymen in all things, and their evident partiality in such points as regard the ancient Britons, we might well enough doubt their sincerity in this respect, if it was not confirmed by facts, and by the authority of foreign writers. To say the truth, the perfidy of the Danes was the result of their barbarism, from making it their constant practice to burn and destroy whatever they could not carry away: they were quickly straitened in their quarters, and thus being obliged to shift them often, they soon found themselves in such a situation as to have no means of subsistence, without obtaining it by force, from those with whom they had lately made peace. To these wrong steps of theirs, was owing the wretched condition in which this whole island then was; all it's best towns, many of it's finest monasteries, and the far greater part of it's villages, being but so many heaps of ruins. The want of cultivation also produced dreadful famines, and these, as usual, were followed with consuming plagues, as we read in Aferius, and other ancient writers (23): we need not wonder therefore that Ælfred was desirous of getting some time to breathe, or that being just seated on the throne, he should be willing to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state both of his dominions and his people: Instead therefore of attributing this treaty of his with the Danes, to indolence, or want of spirit, we ought to conclude it the effects of his foresight and great prudence, which inclined him to seek some means for restoring and strengthening his decayed state, before he engaged in fresh wars, with a fierce and barbarous people, who by continual accessions of new comers, thrived by fighting, and gained ground even by defeats.

(g) Affer. Meneven. p. 24.
Chron. Saxon. p. 82.
Simeon. Dunelm. p. 144.
Jean. Bromton. p. 809.
MS. Chron. Godstov. p. 72.

(h) Affer. Meneven. ubi supra.
Ælfred. Magn. in Testam.

(i) Affer. Meneven. p. 25.
Chron. Saxon. p. 82.
Simeon. Dunelm. p. 145.

(k) Chron. Saxon. p. 82.

(l) Affer. Meneven. p. 26.
Jean. Bromt. p. 809.

(m) Affer. Meneven. ubi supra.
Chron. Saxon. p. 83.

(n) Affer. Meneven. p. 28.
Chron. Saxon. p. 84.
Jean. Bromton. p. 311.

(14) Affer. Meneven. p. 12.
Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(15) Affer. Meneven. p. 8, 9.

(16) Testament. Ælfredi.
Affer. Meneven. p. 12.

(17) Affer. Meneven. p. 13.
Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(18) Chron. Saxon. p. 78.

(19) Testament. Ælfredi.

(20) Affer. Meneven. p. 22, 23.
Chron. Saxon. p. 81, 82.
Aldred. Beverl. p. 50.

(21) Affer. Meneven. p. 24.
Chron. Saxon. p. 81.
Aldred. Beverl. p. 51.
Thom. Spott. Chron. p. 69. col. 1.
Hisor. Maj. Wint. p. 206.

(22) Affer. Meneven. Chron. Petrib. Hisor. Elicn. Chron. Mailrofs, &c.

(23) Affer. Meneven. Chron. Sax. &c.

the King to march against them, with what forces he could get together. He found them in Exeter, where, for some time, he held them besieged (o). While things were in this situation, his fleet successfully engaged part of the enemy's, though it consisted of a hundred and twenty sail, sunk many, and dispersed the rest, which attempting to gain some of the English ports, by a storm were driven on the coasts, and all miserably perished (p). This so terrified the Barbarians, that they once more made peace and gave hostages. However, in 877, having obtained new aids, they came in such numbers into Wiltshire, that the Saxons, quite tired out, could not be persuaded to make head against them. Many to avoid them fled out of the kingdom, not a few submitted themselves, and the rest suffering fear to supersede their duty, fled every man to the place wherein he might be best concealed. In this distress, Ælfred conceiving himself no longer a King, laid aside all signs of royalty, and, to secure his person, took shelter in the house of one who kept his cattle (q). While he remained in this retreat, a little adventure happened, of which several of our histories take notice. The good woman of the house having one day made some cakes, put them before the fire to toast, and seeing Ælfred sitting by, trimming his bow and arrows, she thought he would of course take care of the bread; but he, it seems, intent on what he was about, let the cakes burn; which so provoked the woman, that she rated him roundly, telling him he would be glad to eat them, and ought therefore to have looked after their toasting (r). The King however did not continue long in this wretched situation; for observing that a part of Somersethire was so enclosed by the waters of the Parrett and the Thone, as to form a morass, which it was almost impracticable to force. He in the centre thereof, where there was about two acres of firm ground, built a fort, for the security of himself, his family, and the few faithful servants that repaired thither to him (s). This place he named Æthelingeay, or rather Æthelunga-ige, that is, the *Isle of Nobles*, now called Athelney (t) [D]. There he continued some months, fallying frequently out upon the Danes (especially when they thought themselves secure and lay carelessly) with incredible secrecy and success. After almost a year spent in this manner, understanding that some of his subjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their Chiefs or Kings, and taken their magical standard (u) [E]; he issued his letters to acquaint them with the place where he was, and to invite the nobility to come thither and consult with him. This they accordingly did, and shewed a great alacrity, when the King proposed taking the field with an army, and no longer acting only by stealth as it were, against the Enemy (w). However,

[D] *Now called Athelney.* The distress the King was in when he took shelter in this island, is very strongly painted by Asserius Menevensis, who very probably heard what he relates from the King's own mouth. We are told that St Neolas, his kinsman, predicted to him this misfortune. That wife and good man, it seems, discerning in the two first years of Ælfred's reign, a greater inclination to the employments and recreations of a private life, than to attend the affairs of state, and discharge the function of a King, took upon him to reprove Ælfred, and in the end, when he found his discourses wrought not much, foretold him, that the time was at hand, when God would severely chastize him for his negligence, and when he should have enough of that privacy, which he now seemed so much to covet (24). Among other singular accidents which befel him in this retreat, the following is much insisted upon by some of our historians, though not mentioned by Asserius. It happened one day in the winter, that the King having sent all his attendants out to search for fish and other things in the island, was left alone with his Queen in the fort. This leisure he employed, as he was wont, in reading, but was quickly disturbed by the voice of a poor man, who with great earnestness begged for somewhat to satisfy his hunger. Ælfred thereupon desired his wife to examine their cupboard, wherein the finding only one small loaf brought it to him, and told him it would scarce suffice his servants when they came home from fishing. The King, however, directed her to give half to the poor man, whose name was Nider, trusting as he said, that God would send more. She did as he was directed, and the King returning to his book, read till he was sleepy, whereupon he went to his couch to slumber away his cares. In his sleep he had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he saw St Cuthbert, the famous Bishop of Holy Island, who told him, that God having punished the sins of the Saxons by the sword of the Danes, now pitied their calamities, and looking with an eye of favour on his late act of charity, had determined to restore him to his throne; and of the truth of this, the return of his servants with a large quantity of fish, should serve him as a token. The King waking called to the Queen, who was also fallen asleep, and told her his dream, which she no

sooner heard, than she assured him she had dreamed the same thing. Immediately after his servants returned with a vast quantity of fish, which greatly encouraged the King, and put him upon those great and glorious undertakings, which restored the lustre of the Saxon diadem (25). We have omitted a great many miraculous circumstances, with which a certain author graces the story we have just now recited, and have followed Spelman in calling the lady who was with the King, his Queen, and not his mother, who died long before his father. But it may not be amiss to observe, that the Abbot of Rievall says, that the King directed his servant to bestow these alms, without mentioning any lady at all (26).

[E] *Their magical standard.* It will be proper to make use of Sir John Spelman's explication of this dark point. *In this defeat, says he, there was taken that famous Danish standard, called Reafan, or the Raven, the great confidence of those Pagans. It was a banner, with the image of a raven, magically wrought by the three sisters of Hingvar and Hubba, on purpose for their expedition, in revenge of their father Lodebrock's murder, made they say, almost in an instant, being by them at once begun, and finished in a noon tide, and believed by the Danes to have carried great fatality with it, for which it was highly esteemed of them. It is pretended, that being carried in battle, towards good success it would always seem to clap the wings, and make as if it would fly; but, towards the approach of mischance, it would hang down, and not move. Whatsoever it was, the impostor was now betrayed; for being taken by surprise, they had lost their oracle, before they had time to consult with it (27).* That this story, however fabulous, is no invention of our writer's, is evident from what we meet with in the history of the northern nations by Olaus Magnus, wherein there are very prolix accounts of the like nature (28). It should seem, that either the Danes redeemed this standard, or got another of the same sort wrought, since on one of the coins of Anlaf, King of Northumberland, there is a raven, which he bore in his banners (29), and from one of the coins of King Canute, it appears to have given original to a family, one of the Monetarii to that King, being called Resen (30).

[F] *Extremely*

(o) Asser. Menev. p. 29. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 175.

(p) Asser. ibid.

(q) Asser. Menev. p. 30. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Ethelred Rieval. p. 355. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

(r) Asser. Menev. p. 30.

(s) Chron. Saxon. p. 84. A. 878. Chron. Petriburg. ap. Hist. Angl. Scrip. var. Lond. 1723, p. 22.

(t) Camden. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4^{to}, p. 160.

(u) Asser. Menev. p. 32. Chron. Saxon. ubi supra. Ethelred Rieval. p. 355. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Alured. Beverl. p. 42.

(25) Simeon. Dunelm. in vit. S. Cuthbert. ap. X. Scrip. p. 72. Joan. Bromt. Chron. p. 811. W. Malmbr. l. xi. p. 43.

(26) Ethelred Rieval. col. 353; 354.

(27) Life of Alfred, p. 61.

(28) Hist. de gent. septent. l. iii. c. 15, 16, edit. Rom.

(29) Hickeys's Theaur. Vol. I. p. 363, Tab. iii. 3.

(30) Ibid. Tab. iv. 12.

(w) Asser. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811, c.

(24) Asser. Menev. p. 21, 22.

(x) Ingulph. ap. Rer. Ang. Scrip. Veter. Oxon. 1684, p. 26. W. Malmf. p. 43.

(y) Affer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 878. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811. Chron. Petriburg. p. 22. Ingulph. p. 26. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Roger. de Hoved. p. 417, 418. Camd. Brit. p. 179. Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. vii. p. 52.

(z) Chron. Saxon. ubi supra. Affer. Menev. ubi supra.

(a) Affer. Menev. Chron. Saxon. Ingulph. ubi supra. Chron. Godtiov. MS. p. 72.

(b) Affer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(c) Affer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 86. Joan. Bromt. p. 813.

(d) Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Roger. Hoved. p. 418.

(e) Affer. Menev. p. 36. Chron. Saxon. p. 87.

(f) Affer. Men. p. 37. Chron. Saxon. p. 87. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Joan. Bromt. p. 812. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350.

(g) Chron. Sax. p. 87.

(31) Archæon. Joan. Bromt. col. 828.

(32) Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 170.

However before they came to a final resolution, Ælfred, that his subjects might not hazard too much, exposed his own person in a most extraordinary manner. For putting on the habit of a harper, he went into the enemy's camp, where, without suspicion, he was every where admitted, and had even the honour to play before their Princes. This having furnished him with an exact knowledge of their situation, he returned with like secrecy to his nobility, whom he directed to go to their several homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could, with which, at a day prefixed, he was to come to the great wood, now called Selwood, in Wiltshire (x). This they punctually performed, and the Danes, with no small surprize, heard that King Ælfred, whom they looked upon as a fugitive, was about to attack them with a royal army. The King, taking advantage of the terror they were in, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthendune, now Eddington (y). Those who escaped from this battle, possessed themselves of a neighbouring castle or fort, almost ruined, which they fortified immediately, and wherein they were quickly besieged by the victorious Saxons. After a long and close siege, the Danes were forced to surrender at discretion. But Ælfred dealt by them like a merciful Prince, giving up to such of them as should embrace the Christian religion the whole kingdom of the East Angles, on condition that they should oblige the rest of their countrymen to quit the island, and prevent, as far as in them lay, the landing of any more foreigners therein (z). For the performance of these articles he took hostages, and when, in pursuance of the treaty, Guthrum, the Danish Captain, or as some called him King, came with thirty of his chief officers to Ælfred, who lay then encamped at Aalre, now Auler, a small village in Somersetshire, to be baptized, the King answered for him at the font, gave him the name of Æthelstan, and adopted him for his son. He then entertained him and his friends twelve days, or, to speak in the stile of our Saxon ancestors, twelve nights, at his house at Wedmore or Wetmore, after which he dismissed them with royal presents (a). This certain advantage the Saxons got by the Danes turning Christians, that now they kept their oaths, and removing the next year from Chippenham to Cirencester, and about a twelvemonth after into the country assigned them, where for the present they sat down, and settled themselves very quietly (b). The same year a new swarm of Danes came up the river Thames, and wintered at Fullouham, now Fulham, but Ælfred was so well provided, that they thought proper to go off again, and try their fortunes in France (c). The Saxon fleet also performed great things at sea, and the King depending much thereon, spared neither pains nor cost to keep it constantly in good order (d). In 884, the Danes landed in Kent in great numbers, and laid siege to Rochester, but the inhabitants made so stout a resistance, that the King came time enough to their relief, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and return once more to France (e). A little after, his fleet had the good luck to beat a very considerable one of the Danes, destroyed thirteen ships, and, according to the King's orders, gave no quarter to any of the men on board (f). Yet within a short space after this, they themselves were defeated, but that defeat turned to their advantage, since it made them extremely vigilant for the future (g) [F]. Ælfred having now some leisure, resolved to repair, re-fortify, and re-people the ancient city of London, which he had lately recovered from the Danes, and meant to keep as a frontier. Accordingly he re-edified it, placed a garrison therein, and established as the Governor thereof, Æthered, whom he had created Earl of Mercia, and to whom he gave his daughter Æthelfleda in marriage (h). This Earl was not only an excellent officer, but also a great statesman, and a very worthy man, for which reason, not only all the Saxons who had submitted to the Danes, but such also of the Danes themselves as began to learn the Saxon manners, submitted to him and settled in London, and the other places under his obedience (i) [G]. After some years of rest, Ælfred was called again into the field ;

(b) Affer. Menev. p. 51. Chron. Saxon. p. 89. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(c) Affer. Menev. p. 52. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150.

for

[F] *Extremely vigilant for the future.*] It may seem strange, that the King having so lately made peace with the Danes, and received them for his subjects, should be obliged to take so much pains to defend his country against them; for there is no doubt at all, that these very Danes were part of those who had submitted to King Ælfred. In order to clear this difficulty, we must enter minutely into the situation of the Danes under King Guthrum. We have still extant, two treaties, or articles of capitulation, between King Ælfred, and Guthrum King of the Danes (31). The first is very short, and appears to have been the articles agreed on, at the immediate surrender of the Danes, when they had not time to be very explicit. The latter is larger, and takes in all that the Danes bound themselves to, in consideration of the lands bestowed upon them by King Ælfred; and from thence it appears, that they had granted them the kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumberland, which, however, were still dependent upon Ælfred, who concurred with King Guthrum in his charters (32). But notwithstanding all these engagements, Guthrum was far from being true to the King; on the contrary, he executed what he had promised very slowly, received many new comers under his protection, and

connived at their fitting out such pyratral fleets, as this was, to plunder King Ælfred's dominions; pretending, however, when any complaint was made, that they were a wild lawless crew, who for a while indeed had remained under his jurisdiction, but were now revolted, and therefore he was not accountable for their behaviour. This action happened in the dead of the night, so that the King's fleet was rather surprized than beaten, and all the use the enemy made of this little advantage, was to procure a new treaty with the King, who, for his own ease, was once again pleased to grant them peace (33).

[G] *Under his obedience.*] The Danes had possessed themselves of London, in the time of his father, and had held it till now as a convenient place for them to land at, and fortify themselves in, neither was it taken from them but by a close siege (34). However, when it came into the King's hands it was in a miserable condition, scarce habitable, and all it's fortifications ruined. The King, moved by the importance of the place, and the desire of strengthening his frontier against the Danes, restored it to it's ancient splendor. The method he took to fill it with inhabitants was altogether worthy of his consummate prudence. For observing that through the confusion of the

(33) Chron. Sax-on. p. 86.

(34) Ibid. p. 88.

for the Danes being heartily beaten in the West of France, came with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail on the East coast of Kent, and landing fixed themselves at Appletree. Shortly (*l*) after came another fleet up the Thames, consisting of eighty vessels, and having discharged the soldiers on board them, they built a fort at Middleton. Ælfred, in this situation, drew together a considerable army, but before he marched towards the enemy, he forced the Danes, settled in Northumberland and Essex, to give him hostages for their good behaviour (*m*). Then he moved towards the invaders, and very prudently chose a camp between their armies, thereby preventing their junction. A great body, however, moved into Essex, and from thence, crossing the river, came into Surrey, where at Farnham the King's forces met them, and defeated them (*n*). In the midst of these confusions, the Danes settled in Northumberland, in breach of their oaths, and, notwithstanding the hostages they had given the King, equipped two fleets, the one of a hundred, and the other of forty vessels, and, after plundering both the northern and southern coasts, sailing about, came to Exeter and besieged it (*o*). The King no sooner received information of their perfidious behaviour, than he resolved to march directly to Exeter, leaving behind him a great body of Welsh. Before his arrival, the Danes were possessed of the place, but he shut them up therein, and, notwithstanding they made many desperate sallies, kept them effectually blocked up. The body of the Welsh he had left behind him, believing it neither their interest nor their duty to be idle, marched to London and joined the citizens, they had not been long at London, before news came that Hæsten, one of the Kings of the Danes, was marched out with the bulk of his forces to forage, and had left his family and his riches at Beamsfleet, where he had built a fort, whereupon, they resolved immediately to attack it in his absence. In this expedition they had all the success they could wish, not only taking the place, with the wife and children of the Danish King, but also all the riches they had collected by many years rapine; Hæsten, when he received the news was so much troubled thereat, that he sent to Ælfred, then before Exeter, to beg a peace, which the good King granted him upon very reasonable terms, and which he, like a true Dane, broke as soon as it was concluded; particularly, he plundered the district belonging to Earl Æthered, though he had been godfather to one of this Prince's sons, and, after all, joining the other Danish army, he marched with them to Shobury in Essex, where they built another castle, thence passing the Thames with such as joined them from Northumberland, and the territories of the East Angles, they marched on to Severn, wasting all in their way. On the banks of this river, *viz.* at the Buttington in Montgomeryshire, Ælfred's generals gave them a check, and encamping on the other side of the river, hindered them from passing for many weeks (*p*). In the mean time, the King had brought those he besieged in Exeter to such extremities, that, having eat their horses, they were ready to devour each other. Despair therefore rendering them desperate, they sallied on the King's forces, but were beaten, though with great loss on the King's side. The remnant of this body of the Danes fled into Essex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ships (*q*). But before the King had any leisure to recruit himself, another Danish leader, whose name was Laf, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and destroyed all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the West, which some take to be Chester; there they remained the rest of that year, the next they invaded North Wales, which they plundered and destroyed, and when there was nothing more to be taken, they divided, one body returning into Northumberland, and another into the territories of the East Angles; whence proceeding into Essex, they seized upon a small island called Merefig (*r*). Thence, some time after, they parted, some sailing up the river Thames, and others up the Lee Road, where drawing up their ships, they built a fort about twenty miles from London, which proved a great curb upon the citizens: the Londoners, unable to bear this restraint with any patience, went in a great body and attacked the fort, but they were repulsed with considerable loss, which obliged the King about harvest time, to encamp with a body of troops in the neighbourhood of that city, in order to cover the reapers from the excursions of the Danes. While he was thus employed, Ælfred one day riding by the side of the river Lee, began to entertain an opinion, that by cutting certain trenches, the Danish ships might be laid quite dry; this therefore he attempted, and succeeded in it so well, that the Danes abandoned their fort, and marched away to the banks of the Severn, where having built a fortress, at a place called Quatbrig, they sat down and wintered. Such of the Danish ships as could be got off, the Londoners carried in triumph into their own road, and the rest they burnt and destroyed (*s*). During these three years, the English were not only vexed with the continual irruptions of this barbarous

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. v. 97, 92. Affer. Menevens. p. 54. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(*m*) Chron. Saxon. p. 92.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93-95. Joan. Bromt. col. 812.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon. ubi supra. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Ran. Higden. Polychr. p. 259.

(*r*) Chron. Saxon. col. 96. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 151. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 896. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351. Ran. Higden. Polychr. p. 259.

the times, many, both Saxons and Danes, lived in a loose disorderly manner, without owning any government; he, commiserating their misfortune, necessity having first driven them to this way of life, offered them now a comfortable establishment, if they would submit and become his subjects. This proposition was even better received than he expected, for multitudes growing weary of a vagabond kind of life, joyfully accepted so unmerited an offer. These advantages

were greatly improved by his son-in-law, the new Earl of Mercia, who so perfectly answered the King's intentions, and by his wisdom and mildness procured the people such advantages, that numbers of the more civilized Danes, made it their choice to retire into his territories, there to live by their industry, and enjoy the benefit of those laws, which Ælfred had made for the good of all his subjects (35).

(35) Roger. Hoved. p. 420.

barous people [H], but suffered likewise by a dreadful plague, which affected alike, both men and cattle (t). The Danes ever unquiet, in a short space, began again to invade the territories of the West Saxons, both by land and sea, but did more mischief as pirates, than as robbers; for having learned how to build long and large ships, they were in a manner masters at sea, and of consequence depopulated all the coast. Ælfred having long thought of the best method how to remedy these disorders, contrived to build still larger and better ships, than those used by the Danes, which having effected, he sent these galleys on the coasts of the isle of Wight, and of Devonshire, which were miserably infested by six piratical vessels. Ælfred's squadron performed all that could be expected, driving two of these pirate ships on shore, sinking three, and suffering one only to escape. But this was not performed without great loss on the King's side, especially of officers. Such of the Danes as landed when their ships ran on shore, were taken prisoners, and brought to the King at Winchester, where he gave judgment upon them, that they should be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind (u). In the subsequent part of the King's life, viz. in the years 898, and 899, there happened nothing very remarkable [I], save, that the King employed that peace and leisure which he then had, in effectually establishing that government which with much care and pains he had framed, not more for the security of himself and successors, than for the ease and benefit of his subjects in general, of which constitutions here, as in their proper place, we think necessary to give a succinct account. Before the reign of Ælfred, though there were many Kings who took the title, yet was there none who could with propriety be called monarch of the English nation. For notwithstanding there was always after the time of Egbert, a Prince who held a kind of pre-eminence over the rest, yet had he no direct dominion over their subjects, as in the latter part of his reign Ælfred had, for to him, all parts of England, not in the possession of the Danes, submitted, and so did also a great part of Wales; neither was this great power attained by the sword, or through his ambition of ruling, but rather through the fame of his wisdom and mildness (w). We have already spoken of the laws he made, of which, though there remain but few [K], we have any assurance are truly his, yet are we well informed, that to his

[H] *Continual irruptions of this barbarous people.*

In order to have a clear idea of these disturbances, it is necessary to observe, that Guthrum, King of the Danes, dying in 890 (36); King Ælfred took all the pains imaginable, to secure the obedience of his subjects, which they promised, and in 894 gave hostages (37); but when by the coming of numbers of their countrymen into this island, they thought themselves strong enough to escape punishment for perjury, they broke without scruple their agreement, and were as troublesome and cruel as any of the new comers. The King's contrivance in draining the river Lee, is thought to have produced that noble meadow lying between Hertford and Bow, for at Hertford, was the Danes fort, and thence, we may easily conceive, kept the inhabitants of London in continual terror by frequent excursions (38). Authors are by no means agreed, as to the method the King pursued in laying dry the Danish ships, one author (39) tells us, that he did it by straitning the channel, which seems very improbable; but Henry of Huntington (40), with a greater appearance of truth, alledges, that he cut several canals, which exhausted it's water. His indefatigable endeavours not only to defend his kingdom against all invaders, but also to punish those perfidious Danes, who had submitted to him, succeeded so well, that he appointed Guthred (41) a Saxon, though of Danish original, King of Northumberland, and took all Essex from the kingdom of the East Angles, which had been yielded to the Danes, appointing one Birtheolf (42) to be Earl thereof, who proved a new and great check to his restless and pilfering neighbours, so long as he lived; but he, together with many other of Ælfred's prime nobility, was carried off by the plague, mentioned (43) in the text, and which seems to have been chiefly owing to the depopulation made by the Danes.

[I] *There happened nothing remarkable.* It would be both tedious and troublesome, to set down all that we find in modern writers, concerning Ælfred, and therefore we chuse to confine ourselves in this latter part of his life, where we have not the assistance of Asserius, to the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient authors. The stories which we have relating to miracles and apparitions, seem to be the fabrick of later times, though some of them are disguised under the name of ancient authors. It looks like debasing the great actions of this excellent Prince, to intermix with them the dreams of monkish writers, who, taking occasion from lands granted to a monastery, or some such

circumstance, frame such strange tales, as nothing but the excessive blindness of succeeding ages could render credible. What lesser exploits were performed in his time against the Danes, as they belong rather to the particular articles of those who performed them, or to the general history of those times, so we pretend not to insert them here, where the personal history of Ælfred is properly concerned; but whoever would see things of this nature in the fullest light, may consult Dr Walker's version of Sir John Spelman's life of Ælfred, where, in the notes and appendix, he will find matter sufficient to exercise his curiosity.

[K] *There are but few.* There seems to be good reason to believe, that the complete body of laws formed by King Ælfred, is either lost, or else not distinguishable at this day, to which opinion we are led by many reasons. Several laws are mentioned as made by Ælfred, which are not extant among those laws that we have. In the Mirror of Justices, a book written in the reign of Edward I, or rather revised then by Andrew Horne; there is mention made of a body of his laws, and even of a collection of his judgments then in publick use, of which we know nothing at this day; though it appears by Harding's chronicle (44), that they were used in Westminster-Hall, in the reign of Edward IV. Mr Lambard, who published the laws we now have, takes notice in his epistle to the reader, that other laws of King Ælfred there were, which he was not without hopes of recovering. That all are not lost is owing in some measure to the industry of John Bromton (45), or whoever penned the chronicle which goes under his name, where we find them with those of other Saxon Kings. They consist of three distinct chapters, the first of which is entitled, the Laws of King Ælfred, the second is the shorter, and the third the longer treaty between him and the Danish King of the East Angles, who is therein called Godrinus. Before those which are filed the laws of Ælfred, and which are in number fifty-one, there is a preface (46), wherein the King recites many things concerning the excellency and use of laws, the apostolick canons, and the decalogue; in the close the King tells us, that he had collected out of the laws of his ancestor King Ina, out of those of Offa, King of Mercia, and of Æthelbert, the first Christian Saxon King, such as appeared to him most just and reasonable, and having communicated them to the learned men of his kingdom, he, with their assent, published them to be the rule of his people's actions. Some think that this

(t) Chron. Saxon. p. 97.

(u) Chron. Saxon. p. 98, 99. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 352. Roger. de Hoved. p. 421.

(w) Chron. Saxon. p. 99. After. Menev. p. 49.

(36) Chron. Saxon. p. 90. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 891.

(37) Ibid. p. 92. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 894.

(38) Dugdale's History of Imbanking and Draining, p. 74.

(39) Flor. Wigorn.

(40) Hist. lib. v. p. 351.

(41) Ingulph. p. 27.

(42) Chron. Sax. p. 97.

(43) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 897.

(44) Fol. 111, b. Dugdal. Mon. Tom. 1. p. 32. sub An. 872. vid. etiam p. 40.

(45) Joan. Bromt. Chron. col. 819.

(46) This preface differs from that published by Lambard.

his constitution we owe many of those advantages, which render our constitution dear to us; for instance, trials by juries (*) [L]. If we rely on Sir John Spelman's conjecture, his institutions were the foundation of what is called the Common Law, so styled, either on account of it's being the common law of all the Saxons, without respect to the different kingdoms in which they lived, or because it was common both to the Saxons and the Danes (y). It is indeed a disputed point, whether he was the first who divided the kingdom into shires; but it seems to admit of no dispute, that he settled those boundaries and lesser distinctions which remain at this day (z) [M]. In consequence of which he framed

is a direct confutation of what Harding and others have written concerning King Ælfred's laws, viz. that they were collected from those of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Danes, &c. But to this two answers may be given, first, that these are not perhaps the laws to which those writers refer, but rather the compleater code, which, as we have remarked, is not extant that we know of. Secondly, it may be insisted on, that these very laws were so collected, because for this there is direct proof. King Ælfred asserts, that he collected from the laws of King Ina, and if we will believe King Ina (47) himself, his laws were many of them taken from the British constitutions, and those, if we will believe their authors, were excerpts from the Greek and Trojan laws. Without all question, these institutions are very wise, and well suited to the times and purposes they were given for. But Sir John Spelman (48) seems to be mistaken, when he asserts, that they were milder than the antient Saxon laws, to which this nation were obedient when in Germany, because the contrary appears by comparing them. What led Sir John into this opinion, was the commutations settled by these laws for capital offences. For though death was the punishment of many crimes, yet in most cases the offender might be redeemed for a certain sum of money. For the life and limb of every man, from the peasant to the prince, was valued at a certain rate; so that if any killed or maimed him, he was to make recompence according to that valuation. In case of slaughter, this fine was called wircgild; and, when paid, the King had one part, which was called frithbote, for the breach of his peace and the loss of his subject. The Lord had another stiled manbote, for the loss of his man; and the relations of the party slain had the other third, called magbote or cengild, for the injury they had sustained. If this fine was not paid, the kindred of the person slain, might punish him who slew him with death. If the offender fled, then his relations or townsmen paid the wircgild. In cases of maim, the punishment was according to *Lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, unless the offender was in a capacity of commuting with money at the settled price (49). Amongst these laws there is one only relating to inheritance, and that provides, that if a man left his land to his next relation, under a condition that he should not dispose of it, then he should be incapable of felling it, except to his next relation, even though the limitation was not expressed in writing, if proof could be made thereof by a lawful witness (50). It is very clear from this system of laws, that things were not yet in a very settled condition, since there are grievous penalties inflicted on such as fought in the King's house, in the presence of the Archbishop, in the Alderman's court, or in lesser judicatures (51). We may also discern that the manners of the people were very corrupt, from all which, as well as from the silence of these laws with respect to hundreds and tythings, we may well enough conclude, that this collection of ordinances was made pretty early in the King's reign, and before he had brought things to that regularity, which he afterwards did (52). The first treaty between King Ælfred and Guthrum, or Godrinus, King of the East Angles, consists of seven articles, all which relate to the peace of both their dominions, and consists of articles, for preventing the subjects of either Prince, from injuring the subjects of the other (53). The second treaty or capitulation, which in Mr Lambard's edition bears the title of *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrum*, is however Ælfred's without all doubt, for Guthrum, or Godrinus, died ten years before Edward came to the crown. In the Saxon edition it consists but of twelve articles, but Bromton in his Latin translation makes them seventeen (54). They relate most of them to religious matters, and the whole drift of them seems to be, the reducing all the Danes settled in England, to the belief and practice of the

Christian religion. Considered in this light they are certainly an excellent system, and one thing is very remarkable, that the priests were punished by these laws in the King's courts, besides suffering spiritual penance, according to the canon law (55), which is a plain proof, that the power to which the Pope afterwards pretended, of exempting the clergy from all secular jurisdiction, was not as yet heard of, or at least admitted. It also deserves notice, that by the eleventh law in the Saxon edition, and the sixteenth in the Latin, fortune-tellers, &c. are punished, and all people are forbid to entertain them (56), the Danes being especially addicted to sorcery, as all the northern Pagans were, and still are. Alford (57) the Jesuit hath published most of Ælfred's laws in his Annals, more methodically as he would have us believe, than elsewhere they are to be met with. But this is so far from being true, that the manner in which he has published them is by no means satisfactory. For in the first place they are divided into laws ecclesiastical and civil, so that Ælfred's first collection is distracted, so that no connection appears between the laws as they follow. But besides this, the Jesuit interposes his own commentary at every turn, in order to refute Spelman; so that the reader must redress the inaccuracy of the author, before he can apprehend any thing of the sense of Ælfred's laws. Alford takes the same step in relation to the treaties between Ælfred and Guthrum; and it is for this reason, that we did not mention his edition, when we spoke of those of Lambard and Bromton.

[L] *Trials by juries.*] This is inferred from a law of Ælfred's, which obliged one of the King's Thanes to purge himself by twelve of his Peers, as the purgation of another Thane, was by eleven of his Peers, and one of the King's Thanes. He also is said to have devised the holding men to good behaviour, by obliging them to put in sureties; as also the calling a voucher to prove a property in goods at the time of sale, which, in the sale of horses, is actually revived by the statute of 31 Eliz. which is still in force (58). It certainly deserves admiration, that the difficulties which Ælfred had to struggle with, should prove the cause of so much good to this nation. For it was the mighty disorders occasioned by the barbarity of the Danes, and the corruption of the Saxons, that put the King upon making these laws, as we see plainly from the laws themselves, and yet they were so nicely contrived, and had such a connection with each other, that they were received and admired by posterity, and are the basis of the best laws which we have even at this time. So that even war and confusion afford good men opportunities of conferring benefits on their country, to which all the favours of providence, cannot invite men of narrow or ambitious spirits.

[M] *Remain to this day.*] The curious reader may meet with the principal arguments used on both sides of this controversy, in Mr Hearne's collection of discourses on British antiquities (59). What is ascribed to Ælfred, is not a bare division of the country, but the settling a new form of judicature, which he did thus: he divided his whole dominions into shires, settling their boundaries very exactly, then he divided each shire into three parts, called trythings, which, though now grown out of date, yet are there some remains of this antient division in the ridings of Yorkshire, the laths of Kent, and the three parts of Lincolnshire. Each trything was divided into hundreds, or wapen-takes, and these again into tythings, or dwellings of ten householders. Each of these householders stood engaged to the King, as pledge for the good behaviour of his family, and all the ten householders were mutually pledges for each other; so that if any one of the tything was suspected of an offence, if the Head-Boroughs, or Chiefs of the tything, would not be security for him, he was imprisoned,

(x) Spelman's Posthumous Works, p. 52.

(y) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 107.

(47) See note [D] in the article I N A.

(48) Life of Al-fred, p. 101. This mistake will be visible to any one, who compares the laws of this King and those of the antient Saxons, published at Francfort, 1613, in folio.

(49) Bromt. col. 827.

(50) L. xlvii. ap. Bromt.

(51) L. viii. xvii. xli. ap. Brompt.

(52) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(53) Bromt. col. 829.

(54) Ubi supra.

(z) Ingulph. Hist. p. 28. Joan. Bromt. col. 818. Chron. W. Thorn. apud X Scriptor. col. 1777. W. Malmsh. p. 44.

(55) Ford. Ælfred. & Godrin. j

(56) Bromt. col. 831.

(57) Tom. III. p. 171.

(58) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 106, 107.

(59) Pag. 29, 44, 47, 43.

(a) Vid. leg. Edv. in Prefat. & cap. viii.

(b) W. Malmfb. P. 44.

(c) *Mirror aux Justices*, cited by Sir E. Coke, in his preface to his ninth Report.

(d) *Affer. Menev.* P. 70.

(e) *Hardyng's Chronicle*, f. 108. b.

(f) *Affer. Menev.* p. 44.

(g) G. Malmfb. lib. ii. c. 5.

(h) *Chron. Sax.* A. D. 897.

(i) *Affer. Menev.* p. 69.

(k) *Ingulph. Hiftor.* p. 27.

(l) *Affer. Menev.* p. 66.

framed a book, called the book of Winchester, which contained a survey of the kingdom, and of which the Doomes-day-book still preserved in the Exchequer, is no more than a second edition (a). He likewise made use of this division for the proper distribution of justice so happily, that whereas he found the kingdom in the utmost confusion, and the people therein so indigent, and so given to rapine, that it was equally difficult to acquire wealth, or to keep it when acquired: yet before his death he brought all things into such order, as that never any kingdom was better governed, and so effectually tamed the covetous spirit that induces one man to take from another, that money or jewels might be left on the publick roads, and no passenger attempt to touch it (b). In the management of affairs of state, he, after the custom of his ancestors the Kings of the West Saxons, made use of the great council of the kingdom, consisting of Bishops, Earls, the King's Aldermen, and his Chief Thanes or Barons, these in the first part of his reign he convoked as occasion served, but when things were better settled, he made a law, that twice in the year at least, an Assembly or Parliament, if I may be allowed so to call it, should be held at London, there to provide for the well-governing of the commonwealth; from which ordinance his successors varied a little, holding such assemblies not in any place certain, but wherever they resided, at Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide (c). As to extraordinary affairs, and such emergencies as would not admit of calling great councils, the King acted therein by the advice of such Bishops, Earls, and officers in the army, as happened to be about his person (d). In respect to military concerns, there hath been already so much said, as makes it unnecessary to add much here. Let it however be observed, that though this nation could never boast of a greater soldier than he, since he fought fifty-six set battles by sea and land, and of these eight in one year (e): Yet was he so far from being of a cruel, blood-thirsty, or ambitious temper, that he never willingly made war on any, or refused to grant peace whenever it was desired (f). His troops he rendered by degrees invincible, through just and regular discipline, and appointed such methods of raising, recruiting, and distributing them in winter quarters, that his subjects and his militia were synonymous terms, every man who could bear arms being a foldier, and no man serving but in his turn, and according to law (g). His coasts he secured by guard-ships, making his navy his peculiar care (h). His frontiers were covered by castles well fortified, which, before his time, the Saxons had never raised. Add to all this, that his instructions and example raised numbers of able officers, whose abilities the King constantly cherished by proportionable rewards (i). In respect to other affairs, Ælfred was no less knowing and industrious, as appears by his repairing the cities throughout his dominions demolished by the Danes, erecting new ones, and adorning and embellishing such as were in a mean and low condition (k). One would think that a more distinct account might easily be given of this matter; but the truth is, that the writers who lived in and near his time, found it so difficult to mention them all, that they contented themselves with general expressions, excepting what they say of London and Winchester, the latter of which was the royal seat of the West Saxon Kings. However there is a certain circumstance preserved, whereby we may guess at the great things he performed in this way; since it is affirmed, that one sixth part of his clear revenues was applied to the payment of his workmens wages, who had besides meat and drink at the King's cost (l). Lucky accidents, and the painful researches of antiquaries, have justified this conjecture by various discoveries [N]. In respect to religious foundations, as this prince was exceedingly remarkable for his piety, so he excelled most of his predecessors in his care on this head. For besides re-edifying and restoring almost every monastery in his dominions, which

either

soned, and if he made his escape, the tything and hundred were fined to the King. Each shire was under the government of an Earl, under whom was the Reive, his Deputy, since, from his office, called Shire-reive, or Sheriff; and besides these, there were Wites, or Wife-men, who were a kind of Justices, who sat to hear causes in the county court, where such things were determined, as came by appeal from the inferior or hundred courts (60). It would draw this note into too great a length, should we insist on the many advantages flowing from these regulations; and besides, if we only consider, that by this method the King had security for every one of his subjects, for none was accounted a liege-man, or entitled to the protection of the laws, who did not belong to some tything or other; we cannot but confess, that it is the wisest plan of government, which is perhaps any where extant.

[N] *Justified these conjectures by various discoveries.* Afferius Menevensis, and Florence of Worcester (61), treating of this subject, break out thus: What can be said of the cities he restored, and of those built by him, where there were none before! plainly intimating, that it seemed to them an infinite work. Time hath discovered, that he was the founder of Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire; for as William of Malmfbury informs us, there was dug out of the ruins of old walls, a stone with this inscription;

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 880,

Ælfredus Rex fecit hanc urbem, regni sui 80 (62).

That is, A. D. 880. being the eighth of his reign, King Ælfred founded this city. The same author farther tells us, that it was much decayed in his time. He is also said to have been the founder of Middleton and Balford, in Kent, as also of the Devizes in Wiltshire, and of Ælfretton in Derbyshire. Malmfbury also being burnt and ruined by the Danes, he restored and re-built it (63). There is also a coin of his, which seems to intimate, that he did as much for the city of Norwich. This coin was first published by Speed (64), and has been since inserted in Sir Andrew Fountain's Tables. On one side is a head, which Mr Walker and Sir Andrew seem to think belongs to Ælfred, King of Northumberland, though it much resembles those of Ælfred the Great, published by Mr Walker himself. On the reverse is a monogram, which Mr Edward Thwaites, who wrote notes on those coins, ingeniously guessed to signify *Civitas Northuicum* (65). Now this seems plainly to prove, that this cannot belong to Ælfred of Northumberland, for as Mr Camden well observes, Norwich was not a place of great consideration in his time (66). It is therefore more probable, that Speed was in the right, and that this piece of money belongs to Ælfred the Great, and refers to his restoring that city.

[O] *Though*

(60) Vid. leg. Edward. Reg. in Prefat. Selden. *Analect.* lib. ii. c. 5.

(61) *Affer. Menev.* p. 58. Florent. Wigorn.

(92) De Gest. Pont. Angl. p. 251. Camd. Britan. p. 151.

(63) Hearne's Notes on Spelman, p. 164.

(64) Chronicle, p. 384.

(65) Hicke's Thesaur. Vol. I. p. 368. Tab. 1.

(66) Britan. p. 361.

either the prevailing poverty of the times, or the sacrilegious fury of the Danes, had brought to ruin, he built many, and improved more, besides other acts of munificence towards the Church, which were perhaps as useful and honourable to the full, though it would take up too much room to insist on them here (m) [O]. As to his founding the university of Oxford, it is a matter so warmly disputed, and has employed so many learned pens, that it by no means becomes us to decide it. Thus much, however, is certainly due on that head to King Ælfred, that he restored and settled that university, endowed it with revenues, and fought out and placed there the most famous professors in several sciences, as will be shewn in a note (n) [P]. A King who was so careful of his people, might well allow something to his royal magnificence, especially since in all he did of this sort, he was ever mindful of his subjects honour, as well as careful of their ease. He repaired all the royal palaces, which the confusion of the times before his reign had brought to decay, adorned the houses of pleasure in the country, and built many from the ground, in such places as were either tempting by situation, or stood so as that he thought the royal presence might be sometimes necessary thereabout (o). As he had always a very numerous court, and, above all things, took pleasure in seeing his nobility about him, so he struck out a method of doing all this without prejudice to the publick; which ought not to be forgotten. He framed three different households, each under a separate Lord-Chamberlain, these waited in their turns, a month every quarter, so that in the year, each of the King's menial servants was four months at court, and eight at home (p). In all other respects, he was extremely careful to keep up both the

(p) Affer. Men.
p. 65.
Ingulph. p. 28.

[O] *Though it would take up too much room here.*

There never was a Prince more cautious than Ælfred, that no one part of his duty, should withdraw his attention from the rest. When his misfortunes compelled him to take shelter in the isle of Athelney, he built upon the two acres of firm ground which lay in the midst of the marshes, a strong fort, and on the other side of the narrow path which led to it, he built a redoubt, to prevent the enemy from making themselves masters of it. As soon as his victories had delivered him from an apprehension of retiring thither again, he demolished the castle, and with the materials restored an ancient monastery, which he adorned and beautified, as far as his own and the nation's circumstances, which scarce afforded either materials or workmen, would permit (67). When he had finished it, he was at a loss for persons to reside in it; this forced him to send for an Abbot out of Saxony, to invite several Monks from France, and, to make up the number, he added English youths, chusing rather to place there such as might be instructed in learning, than old lazy drones, who neither had, nor would acquire any (68). The next religious house he founded, was a nunnery in his new city of Shaftsbury, at the East gate thereof; this house he filled with nuns, who were all of them noble by descent, and made his daughter Æthelgeof, their Abbess (69). In conjunction with his Queen Ælfwith, he founded a nunnery at Winchester, and a little before his death, he designed, and laid the foundation of a monastery, called the New Monastery there (70): this house was very unluckily situated, for abutting on the cathedral, the King was forced to pay the Bishop a mark of gold, for every foot of land which he took in for the use of his monks, neither did this put an end to these difficulties, as will be seen in another place (71). He was a benefactor to the bishoprick of Durham, by confirming the grant made by Guthrum, King of Northumberland, of all the country between the Tine and Tise, to that church (72). He likewise granted much to the abbey of Glasterbury (73); and sent to the cathedral church of Sherburn, several precious stones, which were brought to him from the Indies (74). The abbey of Wilton, was a royal foundation before his time, for an abbeys and twelve nuns, he increased their number to twenty-six, on account of a victory he obtained over the Danes, in the neighbourhood of that place (75). There is also a charter of his extant, whereby he granted the profits of a wharf in London, to the cathedral church of Worcester (76). He took care besides all this, to send his alms constantly to Rome, as appears from various passages of the Saxon chronicle, wherein we find the names of the persons by him intrusted on such occasions (77). Yet it does not appear, that he was slavishly addicted to that court, but, on the contrary, that he supported the dignity of his crown and it's supremacy; though, according to the reigning opinion of those times, he willingly paid all possible marks of reverence and duty to the Bishops of that See, who,

on the other hand, were never wanting in their compliments and addresses to him.

[P] *As will be shewn in a note.* Whoever desires to be fully acquainted with this controversy, may meet with a very succinct account thereof in Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and the very learned notes written thereupon, by the laborious Mr Hearne. There is also some curious things on this subject, in a discourse added by Mr Wise, to his edition of Aferius Menevensis. But the author who has insisted most fully on this, and all other controversies relating to Oxford, is the celebrated Anthony Wood, to whose account of this matter, little can be added. The schools erected by Ælfred at Oxford, were the Great Hall, the Lesser Hall, and the Little Hall. In the Great Hall was taught Divinity only, and on this foundation there were twenty-six scholars; in the Lesser Hall they taught Logick, Musick, Arithmetick, Geometry, and Astronomy, on this foundation there were also twenty-six scholars; in the Little Hall there was nothing taught but Grammar, however, there were twenty-six scholars also entertained here, as well as in each of the other foundations. The first Divinity professors were St Neotus, and St Grimbald. At the request of the former, it is said Ælfred erected these schools, and the latter he sent for from abroad, to preside in them. The first reader in Logick, Musick, and Arithmetick, was John, a Monk of St Davids, as the reader in Geometry, and Astronomy, was another Monk of the same name, who was companion to St Grimbald; and Affer, the Monk, read in Grammar, and Rhetorick (78). We have shewn in the text, how these schools were endowed, not by any grant of lands, but by an annual income out of the Exchequer, which, as well out of regard to the utility of these foundations, as from a deep respect for their first founder, was punctually paid by all the Saxon Kings, until, as some say, Harold (79), or, as others affirm, William the Conqueror, stopped and took them away (80). As to the time in which these schools were founded, it is not easily determined; very probably they were not all built at once, but rather by degrees, as the King's finances would allow, according to his established rule of so executing his new projects as not to prejudice his former designs. It is not however likely, that these schools were settled before he repaired London, and constituted his son-in-law Æthered, Earl of Mercia, because Oxford lay within his territories. There have also been some questions stirred as to these professors, the resolution of which cannot be expected here, but the inquisitive reader may be satisfied by consulting their several articles in this Dictionary. We shall close this note by observing, that Ælfred is universally acknowledged the founder of University College, at Oxford, and there is still a very ancient painting of this Prince in the master's lodgings, as there is a very old bust of him in stone over the door of the refectory in Brazen Nose College, in the same university (81).

(m) Affer. Men.
p. 58.
W. Malmf. lib.
ii. c. 4.

(n) Affer. Men.
p. 52.
Annal. Winton.
A. D. 836.
Ingulph. p. 27.

(o) Affer. Men.
ubi supra.

(p) Affer. Men.
p. 65.
Ingulph. p. 28.

(67) Affer. Men.
p. 64.
Alured. Beverl.
p. 52.
W. Malmf.
p. 44.
M. Westm.
A. D. 871.
Th. Rudb.
H. W. p. 208.

(68) W. Malm.
de Gest. Pontif.
lib. ii.

(69) Affer. Men.
p. 64.
W. Malmf.
ubi supra.
Thom. Rudborn.
Hist. Winton. p.
208.
R. Higd. Poly-
chr. 257.

(70) W. Malm.
ubi supra.
Annal. Winton.
p. 289.
Thom. Rudborn.
Hist. Wint. p.
208.

(71) See Note
[U].

(72) Vita Æl-
fredi Magni, p.
30.

(73) Johan-
Glastonien.
Chron. p. 112.

(74) W. Malm.
de Gest. Pont.
lib. ii.

(75) Leland.
Collect. Vol. II.
p. 195.
Monast. Angl.
Tom. II. p.
857.

(76) Spelman's
Life of Ælfred,
p. 170.

(77) A. D. 833,
887, 889.

(78) Ingulph.
Hist. p. 27.
Annal. Wint.
A. D. 836.

(79) Leland.
Collect. ubi
supra.

(80) MS. in the
Treasury of Uni-
versity College,
Oxford.

(81) There are
prints of all these
in the Reverend
Mr Wise's edition
of Aferius
Menevensis.

dignity and the lustre of his court; but whether he made use of an imperial crown enriched with jewels, is a point which may admit of much dispute. To conclude his character as a King, than which there is not a brighter in the English, or perhaps in any chronicles, we shall take notice of the manner in which he settled his revenue, to which he strictly and constantly adhered throughout his life. In the first place, he divided it equally, assigning the first to sacred, the second to civil uses. The former he divided into four parts, one to be bestowed in alms upon the poor in general, another he destined for the support of the religious houses of his own foundation, a third was given to the publick schools, and the fourth employed in rebuilding or in relieving monasteries, and other publick foundations at home and abroad. The other moiety of his revenue was divided into three parts, one for the support of his household, another for the payment of his workmen, and a third for the entertainment and relief of strangers (7). In his private life he was the most worthy, the most industrious, and the most amiable man in his dominions, of so equal a temper, that after he had once taken the crown, he never suffered either sadness, or unbecoming gaiety, to enter his mind; but appeared always of a calm, yet chearful disposition, familiar to his friends, just, even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. And to this account, we should add two things, *viz.* A description of that care with which he watched over his time, as also the pains he was at in dividing it, which however, would take up too much room here (r) [Q]; and the evidences he gave of his great learning, which must likewise be referred to a note [R]. Taking all his qualifications together, remembering the many virtues he had,

(7) Affer. Men.
p. 64.

(r) Affer. Men.
67, 68, 69.
Ingulph. p. 27.
Henr. Huntingd.

[Q] Which however, would take up too much room here.] We have two accounts of this matter, which at first sight seem to differ widely, but when seriously considered, agree well enough. The first is, that of Afferius, who lived with the King, and wrote what he saw (82). He asserts, that the King dedicated one half of his time to the service of God. Whereas, William of Malmshury (83) asserts, that dividing his time into three parts, he devoted the first to God, the second to the affairs of his kingdom, and the third to his natural rest and refreshment. But as Afferius qualifies his account, by telling us, that the King's vow was with many necessary restrictions, it brings the matter pretty near the other calculation. This division of his time, was as we have noted, in consequence of a vow, and that vow was made not in the time of his distress, but immediately after he had finished his monastery at Athelney, when he was in full spirits, and in the flower of his age. Afferius gives us also a very singular account of the method he took for dividing his time, and keeping his account of it. He caused six wax candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight, on these candles he caused the inches to be regularly marked, and having found that one of them burnt just four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who, from time to time, gave him notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were wasted by the impression of the air on the flame, he, to remedy this inconyeniency, invented lanterns, there being then no glafs to be met with in his dominions (84). That part of his time which he dedicated to sacred uses, he spent in hearing the publick offices of the Church, reading the scriptures and books of devotion, in meditation, and in writing. As to the publick affairs of his kingdom, he assisted regularly at councils, and performed every thing that was incumbent on him to do. At his leisure hours he conferred with men of learning, and such strangers as resorted to his court, of whom there were always not a few, or else he went to view his buildings, or, as the season of the year directed, to partake of those innocent diversions which were fit to recreate the mind of a man, and were at the same time not unworthy of a Prince, such as hunting, hawking, musick, in all which he was well skilled, and delighted much.

[R] Must likewise be referred to a note.] In order to give a full and perfect account of what Ælfred performed as a learned man, and a lover of learning, there would be at least as much room necessary, as we have employed in giving the memoirs of his life. If he had not been illustrious as a King, he would have been famous as an author; as, on the other hand, if we had no memorial of his writings, he must have been sufficiently remembered to posterity, as a protector of the Muses. In all probability, the first rise of his love for letters, was occasioned by his journey to Rome, for at home he could see little that looked this way. He tells us himself, in an epistle prefixed to

the translation of Gregory's Pastoral, that in those days there were very few on this side Humber, even amongst the clergy, who understood their own service, or could translate out of Latin into English, so much as an epistle (85). He was himself twelve years old (if there be no mistake in the MS.) before he could read his mother-tongue, and then he was allured to it by the Queen his mother. She had a book of Saxon poems which she often read to her sons, and perceiving they were mightily pleased therewith, she promised to bestow it on him who should first get it by heart; this task Ælfred undertook and performed, without instructor or assistant, and gave thereby an early and wonderful proof of his zeal and industry in acquiring knowledge (86). As his authority increased he made use of it to increase his skill in the sciences, for he invited to his court not only all the learned men that he could hear of in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, but also sent into France, and other countries, for persons famous for their skill either in the arts, or in languages, with these he conversed, heard them interpret authors, and as Afferius Menevensis, who was himself one of them, tells us, whenever he had a vacant hour, he employed it in reading to others, or in hearing others read (87). He also forbid all men to execute the functions of magistrates, if they were not well versed in learning, and that this might not bear hard upon posterity, he compelled by a law such as had competent fortunes, to give their children proper education (88). For the furtherance of this, he built and endowed schools all over the kingdom, inspecting himself into the conduct as well of those who taught, as of such as were bred up in those places; by these methods, before the end of his reign (as we learn from himself) he furnished every pulpit in the kingdom with a good preacher, and had as learned a set of Bishops and superior Clergy, as any of his predecessors, who yet were famous in their time for their felicity in this respect. We shall the less wonder at this, when we consider the great proficiency to which the King himself arrived in all sorts of learning, for he was a good Grammarian, an excellent Rhetorician, an acute Philosopher, a judicious Historian, a skilful Musician, understood Geometry, was an able Architect, and the Prince of the Saxon Poets (89). Of all this he left ample testimony to posterity, in a multitude of admirable works, and elegant translations, some of which, and the titles of many more, are yet remaining, of which, as it becomes us, we shall here give a concise account, lest we should be thought to have been sparing in our pains, where the fame of so great a man, and so good a Prince, was concerned. Bale (90), and Pits (91), have each of them a catalogue of this King's works, neither of which are very exact; however, the deficiencies may be supplied from other writers. The first book mentioned by Bale, is *Breviarum quoddam Collectum ex Legibus Trojanorum, &c.* lib. 1. that is, *A Breviary collected out of the Lawes of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, in one Book.* This seems to be that collection of

(85) Ap. Affer.
Men. p. 82.

(82) Affer. Men.
p. 68.

(83) De Gef.
Reg. Angl. p.
45.

(86) Affer. Men.
p. 16.

(87) Ibid. p. 44.

(88) Ibid. p. 70,
71.

(84) Affer. Men.
ubi supra.

(89) M. Westm.
A. D. 871.
Marianus, A. D.
884.
Ingulph. Hist.
p. 28.
W. Malmsh. p.
45.
Camden. Britan.
p. 89.

(90) Edit. Wesal.
1549. 4to. fol.
66.

(91) De illustr.
Angl. Scrip. p.
170.

had, and considering that he had few or no vices, we need not wonder, that he died univerfally lamented by his fubjects, as he lived admired and applauded both by them and by foreigners (s) [S]. This happened after a glorious reign of upwards of twenty-eight

(s) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

of laws which is now wanting, and perhaps many who know the credit of Bale and Pits, will think this but an indifferent proof, that ever there was fuch a work, let us therefore produce a better authority, which is that of Leland (92), who actually faw the book now in queftion, written in the Saxon tongue, at Chrif's Church in Hamphire. 2. Vifi-Saxonum Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Law of the Weft Saxons, in one Book*: Pits cites the firft line of it, and tells us, that it is in Bennet College library at Cambridge; it is in truth, that little fyftem of laws which is now extant, and of which we have already given an account (93). 3. Inftituta Quædam, lib. i. that is, *Certain Inftitutes*. This is not taken notice of in the firft edition of Bale, but it is mentioned by Pits, who cites the beginning of it, whence it fhould feem to be no other, than the fecond capitulation with Guthrum (94). 4. Contra Judices Iniquos, lib. i. that is, *An Inveftive againft unjuft Judges, in one Book*. That King Ælfred was very fevere againft fuch offenders is certain, fince Andrew Horne mentions the names of four, who with forty more were hanged by him in one year, for iniquitous practices in the execution of their office (95). 5. Acta Magistratum fuorum, lib. i. that is, *Acts of his Magiftrates, in one Book*. This perhaps is the book of judgments mentioned by Horne, and was, in all probability, a kind of Reports intended for the ufe of fucceeding ages. 6. Regum Fortunæ variæ, lib. i. that is, *The various Fortunes of Kings, in one Book*. 7. Diéta Sapientum, lib. i. that is, *The Sayings of wife Men, in one Book*. 8. Parabole & Sales, lib. i. that is, *Parables and pleafant Sayings, in one Book*. There feems to be fome doubt, whether this ought to be accounted a work of Ælfred's or not. There are various MSS. extant with this title, part of one is publifhed by Spelman in the life of this King (96), another fragment is to be found in a work of Dr Hicckes's (97), among Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS. there is another work of this fort, intitled, *Ælfred's Proverbs* (98). 9. Collections Chronicon, lib. i. that is, *Collections of Chronicles, in one Book*. 10. Epiftolæ ad Wulfifigum Epifcopum, lib. i. that is, *Epiftles to Bifhop Wulfifig, in one Book*. This book is mentioned by Pits, yet, in all probability, it is no more than the epiftle to Wulfifig, Bifhop of London, prefixed to the tranflation of Gregory's Paftoral, by this King (99). 11. Manuale Meditationum, lib. i. that is, *A Manual of Meditations*. This was no other than a book of memoranda, and we have in another place given an account, how it came into the King's head to collect them. The King called it very fignificantly in Saxon, Hand-Book, becaufe he had it always in or at hand (110). As to his tranflations they were thefe, 12. Dialogus D. Gregorii, that is, *A Dialogue of St Gregory's*. Pits fays that there is fuch a book extant in Bennet college library in Cambridge, but that it appears to have been written by Wrebert, Bifhop of Chefter, yet fome, from a paffage in Afferius Menevenfis, think it was tranflated both by the Bifhop and by the King, for which we fhall account hereafter. 13. Paftorale ejuſdem Gregorii, lib. ii. that is, *The Paftoral of Gregory, which ſome aſcribed to the aforeſaid Bifhop*. In the preſeratory epiftle before this work, addreſſed to the Bifhop of London, the King himſelf expreſſly fays, *That amidſt the various and arduous affairs of his kingdom, he undertook this tranſlation, which may in Engliſh be called The Herdman's Book, rendering it ſometimes word for word, at other times more freely, according as he received the ſenſe from Pledgmond his Archbiſhop, Aſſer his Biſhop, and Grimbald, and John, his maj's Priests* (101), for they conſtrued, and the King put their ſenſe into a florid dreſs. This explains the whole affair perfectly, and we need be in no manner of doubt, how far theſe pieces belong to this Prince or to other men. 14. Horneſtam Pauli Oroſii, lib. i. This tranſlation of Oroſius, is alſo attributed to another perſon (102). 15. Boetius de Conſolatione, lib. v. that is, *Boetius's Conſolations of Philoſophy, in five Books*. This ſome aſcribe to the Bifhop of Worceſter, others to Afferius Menevenſis. It was publifhed from Junius's tranſcript by Chriſtopher Robinſon, Eſq; at Oxford, in 1698, in

8vo. Dr Plot tells us, King Ælfred tranſlated it at Woodſtock, as he found in a MS. in the Cotton Library (103). 16. Afferii Sententiæ, lib. i. that is *The Sayings of Afferius, in one Book*. 17. Martiana Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Law of Queen Martia, widow of Guibelinus, in one Book*. 18. Molmutina Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Law of Malmutius, in one Book*. Theſe laws were firſt tranſlated out of the Britiſh tongue, by Gildas, into Latin, and from this Latin tranſlation, King Ælfred made his verſion, as we are told by Ralph Higden (104), who alſo obſerves, that Ælfred wrote another piece on the Saxon laws, as alſo a third of Dane law, and out of theſe three collections of laws, Edward the Confeſſor framed his laws, and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we read in Bromton (105). 19. Geſta Anglorum Bedæ, lib. v. that is, *The Deeds of the Engliſh by Bedæ, in five Books*, a copy of which is in the publick library at Cambridge, with this diſtich thereupon (106).

(103) Natural History of Oxfordſhire, ch. x. §. 118.

(104) Lib. i. c. 50.

(105) Chron. A. D. 1066.

(106) Spelman's Life of Alfred; p. 211.

Historicus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

*Me Beda firſt in Roman language wrought;
Me to the Saxons firſt King Ælfred brought.*

Mr Whelock, in 1644, publifhed this piece in folio. Whence it appears, that it is not ſo properly a tranſlation as a paraphraſe, as all the King's verſions were. 20. Æſopi Fabulæ, that is, *Æſop's Fables*, which it is ſaid he tranſlated from the Greek, both into Latin and Saxon. 21. Pfalterium Davidicum, lib. i. that is, *David's Pſalter, in one Book*. This was the laſt work the King attempted, death ſurprizing him before he had finiſhed it. It was however completed by another hand, and publifhed at London, in 1640, in 4to, by Sir John Spelman. Beſides all theſe, Malmſbury mentions his tranſlating many Latin authors (107), and the old hiſtory of Ely aſſerts, that he tranſlated the Old and New Testaments (108). Add to this, that John Fox, who had ſeen ſome memorial of Ælfred which are not now extant, ſpeaks of his Commentaries which he compiled under the title of *the Story of Ælfred* (109), and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we meet with, in the old chronicle called Brute of England.

(107) De Geſta R. A. p. 45.

(108) Hiſtor. E-licenſi, lib. ii.

(109) Acts and Monuments, A. D. 872.

[S] *Admired both by them and by foreigners.*] A bare recapitulation of what our beſt hiſtorians have ſaid, would draw this note into an extravagant length, without exhauſting the praifes which they have beſtowed upon him. In the margin however we have cited a few authors, that our apology may not be altogether deſtitute of proof (110). To this we ſhall add, as the proper buſineſs of this work, ſome facts which prove what we have advanced in the text, that Ælfred in his life-time, was equally admired and applauded by his own ſubjects and foreigners. As to the former, we are to conſider, that at Ælfred's acceſſion to the throne, he found them ſo dejected that they had no courage to fight, and ſo exhauſted that they had ſcarce any thing to fight for. Yet in a few years he ſo revived their hopes, and ſo fixed their affections to his perſon, that they were ready to attend him in all ſervices, and to ſubmit to whatever laws he thought neceſſary for their government; from being a lazy and barbarous, they became an active and polite people, and, in conſequence of theſe improvements, grew a greater and more potent nation than they had ever been (111). We have ſeen in the text many inſtances of this fort, and there is one which we have hitherto omitted, and which comes in very properly here. This King made a vow that he would ſend alms to the diſciples of St Thomas, in the Eaſt-Indies, and he performed it (112), to the admiration not only of thoſe who were his contemporaries, and ſaw the precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable effects, brought back by his ſhips from thoſe Eaſtern climates, but alſo ſuch as lived in ſucceeding ages, when both the courage and the conduct neceſſary to the undertaking ſuch expeditions being wanting, the remembrance of it was the more revered. So great

(110) Trithemius in Chron. Hirſaugienſi. Lelleus Hiſt. Scot. lib. c. 74. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. x.

(111) Ingulph. p. 27.

(112) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

(92) Comment. de Scrip. p. 150.

(93) Bromt. Chr. col. 819.

(94) Ibid. col. 829.

(95) Mirror aux Juſtices, cap. 20.

(96) Page 127.

(97) Theſaur. Ling. Septent. p. 222.

(98) At Oxford, No. 4. In his collection.

(99) Vid. Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 87.

(100) See the article of ASSERIUS.

(101) Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 87.

(102) See Somner's preface to his Gloſſary.

(1) Spelman's
Life of Alfred,
p. 216.

(u) Ingulph.
p. 28.
W. Malmfb.
Thom. Rud-
maje Hist.
Maj. Wint.
p. 208.

eight years, on the twenty-eighth of October, A. D. 900, as some writers inform us (1), though there is a great deal of variety in that point, even amongst our best historians [T]. There is likewise some discord about his place of interment, occasioned chiefly by accidents subsequent thereto (u) [U]. This King had to wife Ælswith, or Æthelwith, daughter to Earl Æthelred, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Of these Edward, the eldest, succeeded him in the throne, and is by most of our historians called Edward the Elder, to distinguish him from the Confessor. His second son was Æthelward, the youngest of all his children, and bred a scholar. His eldest daughter Æthelfleda, as Sir John Spelman well observes, was a woman of more than feminine spirit, and possessed such a measure of her father's virtues, as enabled her to be very useful by her

was the fame of this monarch for his knowledge in the art of navigation, and for his generous encouragement of all such as were arrived at any proficiency therein, that Oðher, a Dane or a Norman, who was excellently skilled both in the theory and practice of this noble art, repaired to the court of Ælfred, made him a tender of his services, and was actually employed, together with Wolltan an Englishman, in an attempt to discover the north-east passage. Of this voyage there was formerly an authentick account, in a MS. in Sir Thomas Cotton's library (113), which probably was the original of that still extant in Hackluyt's collection (114): but there is still a better account in being, which was given by the King's own pen, in his version of Orosius into Saxon; which account has been translated into Latin, and is to be seen in the appendix to Sir John Spelman's life, published by Mr Walker. The voyage of Abel, Patriarch of Jerusalem, into Britain, as it was wholly owing to, so it is a most noble testimony of the great virtues and extensive fame of this English monarch. Neither are we in any doubt concerning the fact, since it is related by Asferius, who saw and conversed with him, and read his letters credential (115). As for the European Princes, they had all correspondence with, and shewed a great esteem for Ælfred, particularly the Popes who lived in his time, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, Malmfbury's, and other authentick histories.

[7] *Even amongst our best historians.*] The Saxon Chronicle (116) places his death six nights before the feast of All Saints, or on the twenty-sixth of October, A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Peterborough (117), which seems remarkably exact, places the death of this King, in A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Mailrofs (118), assigns the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 901, for the day of the King's death. Simeon of Durham (119) tells us, he died the fifth of the Calends of November 899. Ralph de Diceto (120) says nothing of his death, but he places the accession of his son Edward to the throne, in the year 900. Bromton (121) who takes the same method, says that Edward succeeded in 901. Ingulphus (122) fixes his death to the year 900. Ralph Higden (123) hath the same date. Alured of Beverly (124) seems to place his death in 899, or 900, for he says, that he ascended the throne in 871, and that he reigned twenty-eight years and an half. According to William of Malmfbury (125) he died in 901. Roger Hoveden (126) informs us, that the King deceased on the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 899. Florence of Worcester (127), and Matthew of Westminster (128), agree on the twenty-eighth of October, 901. Robert of Gloucester (129) tells us, he reigned eight and twenty years, and as he places the beginning of his reign in 872, he must consequently have died in 900. Mr Walker, who is very exact, thinks the most certain date to be the feast of S. Simon and Jude, A. D. 901, in the fifty-third year of his age.

[U] *Occasioned chiefly by accidents subsequent thereto.*] The very history of the corps of Ælfred, is not without great singularities. One would have thought so great, so learned, so pious a Prince, might have found rest in his first grave, but it happened otherwise. He was first buried in the cathedral at Winchester, but the Canons of that church having a spite to his memory, pretended that they were disturbed by his ghost, whereupon his son and successor, Edward, caused his body to be removed to the new monastery, which was left unfinished at his death. This story we have both in Malmfbury's (130), and in the larger history of Winchester (131). Here it rested till the dissolution of monasteries, when the pious Dr Richard

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, caused the bones of all our Saxon King's to be collected, and put into chests of lead, with inscriptions upon each of them, shewing whose bones it contained, all which chests he took care to have placed on the top of a wall of exquisite workmanship, built by him to enclose the presbytery of the cathedral (132). Here one would have imagined they should have remained out of the reach of danger, so long as the wall stood, but it seems we have since had greater barbarians, than either Danes or Normans, who, for ought we know, never attempted to disturb the ashes of the dead, especially of Princes; whereas Sir William Waller, General of the parliament forces, after taking the city of Winchester, on the fourteenth of December, 1642, entered the cathedral, broke the glass windows, destroyed the fine monuments, threw down Bishop Fox's leaden chests, scattering most of the bones all over the church, and carried some of them in triumph to other places. Of these as many as could be collected, were brought to Oxford, and lodged in the Repository adjoining to the publick library (133). Henry of Huntington honoured the memory of this excellent Prince, with a copy of Latin verses (134), that comprize a just and elegant character of his many virtues; which induced the famous Leland to transcribe them into his account of Ælfred (135), and for this reason, we doubt not the reader's being well pleased to find them here.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitas honorem,
Arripotens Ælfrede, dedit; probitasque laborem;
Perpetuumque labor nomen; cui mixta dolore
Gaudia semper erant, semper spes mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sicca coram
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare probarunt:
Non fuit immensis quicumque per climata mundi
Cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret;
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum
Aut gladio potuit vitæ sibi laborem.
Jam post transactos vitæ, regnique dolores
Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne!

Of these Latin lines we have a very close, and, considering the time in which it was written, a very harmonious version by Sir John Spelman, which, for the sake of the English reader, we have thought proper to annex (136).

*Thy true nobility of mind and blood
(O warlike Ælfred) gave thee to be good.
Goodness industrious made thee; industry
Got thee a name to all posterity.
'Twas mixt mixed hopes and fears, 'twixt joy and grief,
Thou ever felt'st distress, and found relief.
Victor this day, next day thou dost ne'ertheless
I'the field dispute thy former day's success.
O'ercome this day, next day for all the blow,
Thou giv'st or tak'st another overbrow.
Thy brows from sweat, thy sword from blood ne'er dry,
What 'twas to reign, so to us signify.
The world cannot produce so much as one
That through the like adversities has gone.
Yet found'st thou not the rest thou sought'st here,
But with a crown Christ gives it thee elsewhere.*

[W] Which

(132) Speed's
Chronicle, p.
945.

(133) Hearne's
note on Spelman's
Life, p. 217.

(134) Hist. p. 352.

(135) Comment-
de Script. Britan.
p. 152.

(136) Spelman's
Life of Alfred,
p. 288.

(113) Spelman's
Life of Alfred,
p. 152.

(114) Vol. I.
p. 235.

(115) Aſſer. Me-
tev. p. 58.

(116) Chron.
Saxon. p. 91.

(117) Hist. Angl.
var. p. 24.

(118) Chron.
Mailr. p. 146.

(119) Simeon.
Dunelm. col. 151.

(120) Apud X
Script. p. 452.

(121) J. Bromt.
col. 831.

(122) Ingulph.
p. 28.

(123) Polychron.
p. 259.

(124) Alured.
Bever. p. 53.

(125) De Gest.
R. A. p. 46.

(126) Annal.
p. 421.

(127) Florent.
Wigorn. A. D.
901.

(128) Math.
Westm. A. D.
901.

(129) Chron.
p. 267.

(130) De Gest.
ubi supra.

(131) Thom.
Rudb. H. M. W.
p. 208.

her advice to her brother King Edward. She married Æthelred, Earl of Mercia, and, together with him, had the care of Æthelstan her nephew. Ælfred's second daughter was called Æthelgeow, or Æthelgora, who was Abbess of her father's new foundation at Athelney. His youngest daughter, called by some Ælfreda, by others Æthelwith, married Baldwin, Earl of Flanders (w). What care King Ælfred took in providing for these, and for all his relations, may be seen in an extract from his will, which we have placed in the notes (x) [W]. His fame and fortune considered, we need not wonder, that all our historians have been particularly careful, in transmitting the memory of his great achievements to posterity, or that many considerable persons, should compose special memoirs of his life. Amongst these the first was Asserius Menevensis, who wrote in the King's life-time, and dedicated his memoirs to Ælfred himself, as the reader may see in his article. Some would persuade us that St Neotus wrote also a life of Ælfred, the ground of which mistake we have shewn in the article beforementioned (y). In later times Sir John Spelman composed, in English, the life of this great Prince, which he deposited in MS. in the Bodleian library, where it remained a long time, before it was given to the publick in any shape; at last it came abroad in a Latin translation, by the ingenious Mr Christopher Wife, accompanied with a very ample comment, by the very learned and industrious Obadiah Walker, Master of University College (z). This served only to raise a desire of seeing Sir John Spelman's life, as he left it, which after much expectation was gratified, by the laborious Mr Thomas Hearne, who embellished his edition with learned and curious notes (a). Besides these there is a life of Ælfred, or rather a parallel between the life of Ælfred, and that of Charles I, written by one Mr Powell, with great ingenuity and learning (b). But after all, it would be doing this nation a very acceptable service, if a person equal to the task, would, from these, and other vast helps which might easily be met with, compose a new life of Ælfred, inserting his laws and other pieces, in their proper places, and illustrating them, as well as whatever passages might require it, with copious dissertations. This would not only place one of the most glorious periods of our history in a proper light, but would also give us a very amiable view of our ancient constitution, which, the more it is considered, and the better it is understood, will appear to have been the best contrived, for promoting the glory of the Prince, and the good of the subject, that ever the world saw, or in all probability ever will see, unless some future Ælfred should arise, and reform all the errors that time and accidents have brought into our system.

(w) Asser. Menevens. p. 42.

(x) Ibid. p. 73.

(y) See the article of ASSERIIUS (MENEVENSIUS).

(z) In a thin folio printed at the Theatre in Oxford. A. D. 1678. See also WALKER (OBADIAH) in this work.

(a) Oxford at the Theatre, 1709, 8vo.

(b) London, 1634, 8vo.

[W] Which we have placed in the notes.] This testament was first published by Archbishop Parker, and hath been since very correctly printed by Mr Wise, at the end of *Asserius de Rebus Gestis Ælfredi* (137). It begins thus: I Ælfred, by the divine favour, by the pains and care of Archbishop Æthelred, and by the assent and consent of the nobility of West Saxony, King of the West Saxons, &c. He first recites the will of his father Æthelwolf, whereby the crown was entailed on his brothers Æthelbald, Æthelred, and on himself. He then proceeds to show the treaties into which he had entered with the last possessor, and how the crown came to be legally his. Then he disposes of his lands, which descended to him from his ancestors, to his eldest son Edward; afterwards he bequeaths many estates therein specified to his younger son; he then gives distinct estates to each of his three daughters. To Athelm, his brother's son, he gives certain lands, and the like to Æthelwald, another brother's son, and to Offert, his kinsman, several townships. To Alfwih he gives three towns, he bequeaths each of his sons five hundred pounds, and to Alfwih and his three daughters, four hundred

pound, that is, a hundred pounds a piece. He gives to each of his squires a hundred marks. The same sum to each of his three relations beforementioned. To Æthelred, General of his forces, he gives a sword, and two thousand marks. To the Archbishop he gives a hundred marks. To three Bishops, of whom one is Asser, Bishop of Shireburn, an hundred marks each, to be distributed for himself and his father. He gives also two hundred pounds to fifty priests, fifty shillings to every religious person in his kingdom, fifty shillings, to be distributed to the poor, and fifty shillings to the church where he should be buried. These legacies he says would exhaust, in his opinion, all that he left behind him, but if it did not, he desires that the remainder might be employed to like uses. The latter part of his testament is spent in directing, that none should presume to hinder his grants from taking place; in entailing the several estates by him bequeathed, first to the heirs male of such as he left them to, and in case of failure, to his own relations, according to the limitations of his father's will; and many other things of a like nature, with many pious exhortations which conclude it. E

(137) Page 73.

ÆLFREDUS, ALFRÉDUS, ELFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, son to King Æthelred the Unready, by Emma his Queen, daughter to Richard I, Duke of Normandy (a). He was half brother to King Edmund, surnamed Ironside, and brother of the whole blood to King Edward the Confessor. He must have been born in A. D. 1003, and was indubitably elder brother to Edward, though Speed (b), and most our of historians, expressly stile him the younger son of King Æthelred, by Emma. His father's misfortunes falling heavy, it was judged proper to send the two young Princes, Ælfred and Edward, into Normandy, there to be bred up, in the court of their uncle Duke Richard. Accordingly, in 1013, thither they were sent, under the care of Bishop Ælfhun (c). The Norman historians take notice of this, but they tell us, that King Æthelred himself fled into Normandy, from the fury of King Suanus the Dane, and returning with large succours, left behind him his sons Ælfred and Edward (d). After the death of Æthelred, Queen Emma marrying King Canutus, her sons remained still in the Norman court, and were there carefully educated (e) [A]. Duke Robert was as kind to them, as either his father or brother had

(a) Ethelred Ab. Rieval. de general. Reg. Angl. int. X Script. p. 362---366.
(b) Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1623. p. 424.
(c) Stowe's Chronicle, by Howe, 1631, p. 91.
(d) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1003.

(d) W. Gemet. de Duc. Nor. apud Camd. Edit. Fran. 1603; p. 635. Croniques de Normandie, 1435. c. lxxvi, lxxvii.

(e) Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58.
H. Huntingd. ap. edit. Savil. lib. vi. p. 365.
R. Higden in Polychr. ap. edit. Gal. lib. vii. p. 438.

[A] Were there carefully educated.] There were Princes into Normandy. Æthelred had by his former Queen, Elgiva, six sons, and four daughters, most

had been, and perceiving that they were now grown up and fit to govern, he made such preparations for invading England, as alarmed the Danish monarch, and induced him to avoid the storm, by giving them a part of the kingdom of England, rather than run the hazard of letting them land with a Norman army, which might have given them all. But there followed small fruit of this agreement; for their generous protector, Duke Robert, going to the Holy-Land, the Dane thought no farther of his treaty (f) [B]. On the death of Canutus, however, Alfred a brave active Prince, resolved to venture somewhat for the recovery of his right (as he apprehended it) the English crown (g). Accordingly he embarked with a considerable body of Norman troops, and arriving in England, had bid fair for dispossessing Harold, surnamed Harefoot, the son of Canutus, of the throne, if the basest treachery had not prevented him. Godwin, Earl of Kent, undertook to King Harold, for his destruction, and effected it thus. He pretended to join him, and to assist him in his design, but perfidiously drew him and his Normans into an ambuscade, where, after a slight resistance, he and they were made prisoners. This was done in the neighbourhood of Guilford, where the poor Normans were decimated, and the remainder decimated again, excessive cruelties being used, in putting them to death. As for Alfred, he was carried prisoner to the isle of Ely. At Gillingham (h), his eyes were put out, by the direction either of Earl Godwin, or of Bishop Livingus (i), then lately promoted from the Abbey of Tavistock, to the see of Kirton or Crediton, in Devonshire. This cruelty once executed, he was committed to the monks of the monastery at Ely, with a strict charge to be watchful over him (k). He soon delivered himself and them, from all farther apprehensions, by yielding to death, which some, however, suspect to have been violent (l) [C]. Some place this event

(f) Thom. Walsingh. Ypod. Neuftriaz, edit. Franc. 1603. p. 432. W. Gemet. p. 647. Croniques de Norman. c. lxxx. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1031.

(g) J. Bromt. ap. X. Script. p. 934. T. Walsing. Ypod. Neuftriaz, p. 434. Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(h) Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 241.

(i) Speed's Chronicle, p. 422.

(k) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1013. W. Malmfb. lib. ii. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. R. Higd. Polychr. lib. vi.

(l) Speed, ubi supra.

(m) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1013.

(n) De Præfulibus, p. i. p. 231.

(o) Ibid. p. ii. p. 92.

(p) Chron. Saxon. p. 144. W. Malmfb. lib. ii. c. 10. M. Westmonast.

(q) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. lib. v. cap. 12. p. 647. Croniques, &c. de Normand. cap. lxxx. edit. 1435. Histoire d'Angleterre par Rapin. edit. 1733. Vol. I. p. 414, 415, 420.

(r) Rapin, ubi supra.

(s) Godwin de Præfulib. part. i. p. 455; 505.

(t) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. viii. p. 58. Chron. Godstov. MS. p. 79, 80. R. de Diceto. p. 472.

(u) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle published by Hearne. p. 327.

most of them grown up and married (1). The Danes were continually harrasing this island by their invasions, and the King, though he wanted not either courage or conduct, was sometimes driven to hard shifts (2). These were causes sufficient, to move him to secure his youngest children, as well from any unkind usage from his offspring by his first marriage, as from all hazard of their falling into the hands of the Danes. Normandy, again, was the natural retreat of these young men, their mother being stiled, by way of eulogy, *The flower of Normandy* (3). With the Princes, went Ælfhun, Bishop of London, and their mother, Queen Emma, as also a choice guard of 140 men (4). Godwin in his book *de Præfulibus*, splits this Bishop Ælfhun, into two. In his account of the Bishops of London, he makes Alhunus, the twenty-ninth, and all he says of him, is, *He educated the children of King Æthelred, and went with them into Normandy, A. D. 1013* (5). This is the truth, and accurate enough. But in the detail of the Bishops of Durham, he mentions Aldwinus, and tells us of him, that he bred up the Princes Alfred and Edward, and went over with them into Normandy, in *A. D. 1017* (6). Here therefore is an error in time, as well as in fact. As for Æthelred, he lay with a Squadron of ships at the Isle of Wight, till he heard of the kind reception Queen Emma met with from her brother, and then he sailed also into Normandy, and remained some time there (7).

[B] *Thought no more of his treaty.*] The Norman writers assure us, that Duke Robert assembled a very great army, embarked his forces, and put to sea with a very gallant fleet, but being tossed by the fury of the winds and seas, and perceiving that it would be impossible to land in England, he, with great grief of mind, put into his own ports, and relanded his forces. However, Canutus, who was a wife Prince, seeing that by this attempt Duke Robert was in earnest, that his own subjects retained still such an affection for the old line of their Kings, as that it would be unsafe for him to bring an army into the field, resolved to have recourse to a negotiation, which he began, by sending two ambassadors into Normandy, with the proposals mentioned in the text. This must have happened some time before 1030, because then, Duke Robert went to Jerusalem (8). It was no difficult thing for Canute, to set aside the agreement made with Prince Ælfred, and to assign plausible reasons for so doing. All the children of Edmund Ironside, and their descendants, were before Ælfred in right, and so were all the sons of Æthelred, by his first wife, and their representatives; and as to the right of conquest, which was the best title Canutus had, the succession founded thereon, was limited by his contract with Emma, to the children of that marriage, and, consequently, belonged to Hardiknute (9). It is not impossible, that Queen Emma might influence her sons after the departure

of Duke Robert, and induce them to wait some more favourable opportunity. This, however, is conjecture only, history, in this matter, affording no farther light.

[C] *To have been violent.*] The story of Ælfred's expedition, defeat, and death, is one of the most perplexed points in the English history. Most of our historians take as many circumstances as they have met with, digest them into a clear order, place two or three old chronicles in the margin, and then think they have saved themselves and their readers a great deal of trouble — only at the expence of a little truth. But as truth is all we aim at, we shall remark, I. the variations in point of time. 1. It is placed in 1036, by all the ancient abbey chronicles, and by the celebrated historians mentioned in the margin (10). Hence, we have ventured so to put it in the text. Besides, the Norman histories concur in this date, and the banishment of Emma the next year, in which all writers agree, seems a full proof that it really happened in that year, soon after the assembly at Oxford, when Harold was acknowledged King (11). 2. However, William of Malmfbury says, that it was immediately on the death of Harold, before Hardiknute, the son of Canutus and Emma, had assumed the government, and Bromton mentions the same time (12). If this date were to be taken, it would fix the fact to 1039. 3. A third date mentioned is the next year 1040, under the reign of Hardiknute, his brother-in-law (13). 4. Some again, place it after his death, in 1041, when the throne was vacant (14). And this variety, obliged honest Robert of Gloucester, to fix, 5. no date at all; though he tells the story at large. He begins thus,

Vor Alured, hys eldore brother, was erst aslawe here
With treason in Engeland, ychylle tell in wuch
mannere

Atyme, to speak wid hys moder, to Engelande he
com,

An much peple of Normandye myd hym hyder he
nome, &c. (15).

II. There are as great, or greater, variety in the circumstances. For instance, some say Edward as well as Ælfred, came to visit their mother who was at Winchester; and that Earl Godwin, under pretence of carrying Ælfred to court, fell upon the Normans who accompanied him, and treated them cruelly (16). Others alledge, that Edward and Ælfred, were invited over by their brother Hardiknute, and that the murder was perpetrated by Godwin, and Bishop Livingus, without the King's consent (17). Others affirm, that Emma herself, had a hand in it, and that she intended also to have poisoned Edward, in order to secure all to her son Hardiknute (18). In opposition

(10) Chron. de Mailros. Chron. Godstov. MS. p. 79, 80. Annal. Mon. Burton. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 179. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Hoved. p. 438. R. de Diceto, inter X. Script. p. 427.

(11) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. p. 647. Croniques de Norm. cap. civ.

(12) W. Malmfb. lib. ii. p. 57. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(13) R. Higden in Polychr. lib. vi. p. 277.

(14) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(15) Robert of Gloucester's Chron. by Hearne, p. 326.

(16) Bromt. int. X. Script. p. 934.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

in 1036, others 1037. His body was buried in the church of Ely, and his death, in the opinion of the people, severely punished by God, in the strange death of Earl Godwin (*m*). As to the abilities of this young Prince, our historians agree, that they were very great. He had more fire, and much more grandeur of soul, than his brother Edward the Confessor, which was the true cause of his ruin. For Earl Godwin, having proposed to him his daughter in marriage, he rejected the motion with scorn, (which his brother Edward, afterwards closed with) and shewed such a confidence in his Normans, as gave the crafty Earl an opportunity of representing to the English nobility, that if this Prince became their sovereign, he would be always surrounded by foreigners. This destroyed that affection which the nation bore him, and defeated the inquiries afterwards made about his death (*n*). As to which, some suspicions fell upon his mother, Queen Emma; in all probability, they were ill-grounded, but it is certain, she was deeply in the Danish interest, and her son, King Edward the Confessor, on that account, more readily believed whatever calumnies were raised against her (*o*). The reason why this history of Ælfred's death is so obscured, and so diversly related, is the partiality of contemporary writers. The Saxon chronicle, otherwise the most accurate, as well as circumstantial history of these times, is altogether silent about the matter. The reason is plainly, because Earl Godwin was so deeply concerned, there being manifestly a bias, in other places, where facts are not concealed (*p*). In some abbey chronicles, there is but one line, which just relates the fact (*q*). In others, transcribed probably after the conquest, it is said, *That those innocent souls, i. e. the Norman soldiers, who suffered in his cause, went to receive in heaven the just reward of their loyalty* (*r*). But what seems most extraordinary, is that, in the celebrated *Historia Eliensis*, or History of the Monastery of Ely, where one might have expected the fullest account, there is not so much as a word, concerning the matter, doubtless, because the facts were no way honourable to the fraternity. Rapin's detail of this affair, is pleasant, and well contrived (*s*). — But the authorities are (very prudently) omitted.

(*m*) See the articles EDWARD, EMMA, and GODWIN.

(*n*) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 934.

(*o*) Id. *ibid*.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1048.

(*q*) Annal. Mon. de Burt. A. D. 1036.

(*r*) Simeon. Duneelm. int. X. Script. p. 179.

(*s*) Hist. d'Angleterre, 4^{to}, 1733, Vol. I. p. 414.

tion to this, we are told, from an ancient book called *Encomium Emmæ* (19), that the traitor Godwin, to get the young Princes into his hands, caused forged letters to be sent them, as from their mother, desiring them to hasten into England, in order to prevent the usurper Harold, from seating and settling himself on the throne. Our historians transcribe this epistle without scruple, and Alford, or Griffith, hath translated it back into Latin, and published it in his annals (20). Without question, I ought to have transcribed it too, had it been genuine, but doubtless it is not, many circumstances contained therein, prove this, but I shall quote only the title, *Emma, Queen only in name, to Edward and Alfred, her sons, sendeth motherly greetings* (21). It is apparent, that whoever forged this letter, thought Edward the eldest son, and of consequence, this trick is of a much later date than it pretends to. All the rest of the tale, that Edward was gone into Hungary, and so Ælfred only came over is of a piece; intended plainly to set a gloss on the character of Queen Emma, who really deserved it at the hand of the clergy, having been exceeding bountiful to the Church. The Norman chronicles, which could have no bias, state the fact as we state it in the text (22). They say, that Edward, with a squadron of ships, and a considerable body of Normans on board, sailed from Harfleur, landed at Winchelsea, and meeting there with an unexpected resistance, were compelled to reembark, and return to Normandy. Nay, we are told particularly, that Giffard Count Longueville, and many other men of quality, attended Prince Edward in this expedition, which entirely destroys the story in the *Encomium Emmæ*, that Edward was gone into Hungary to see his cousins. We have likewise in the same history, the names of the Norman chiefs, who came with Prince Ælfred, *viz.* Jean de Harcourt, Almeric de Sez, the Count de Dreux, &c. many of these made their escape, when the wicked Godwin seized the innocent Ælfred, and with him, made prisoners about 1000, or 1200, men (23). These he decimated, but in a new manner, for instead of destroying one out of ten, as that term naturally implies, he saved but one of ten, and thinking even them too many, he decimated them again (24). Nor was his putting them to death less cruel, for some he beheaded, others he slew, and of those he saved, he sold some for slaves; which would seem acts of incredible barbarity, did not so many authors attest them (25). It is far from being clear from the accounts we have, that Ælfred was ever carried to

London; and yet it is reasonable, to believe he was there shipped for Ely, by the command of King Harold. The industrious Leland, from an ancient chronicle written by a monk of Perhor, has preserved an account of the place where this poor Prince had his eyes torn out, *viz.* Gillingham (26). There are in England several places of this name (27); but the Gillingham here meant, must be Gillingham St Mary, in Clavering Hundred in Norfolk (28). It seems those who had Prince Ælfred in custody, landed him at Yarmouth, conveyed him thence to Gillingham, which is nine miles, there put out his eyes, and then carried him to Ely, which is forty miles farther. The passage from the chronicle before mentioned, takes notice of the usage the Prince met there, which is confirmed by a prose note on Robert of Gloucester, and other authority, and it was this, They took part of his gut out at his navel, nailed it to a post, and by pricking him forced him to run round it, till his whole bowels were extracted (29). If this were so, we need not wonder that the *Liber Eliensis* is silent. Yet, as his being buried there is owned, his death ought by those monks to have been better accounted for. It is very remarkable, that Queen Emma, Godwin, and Livingus, then Bishop of Worcester, united their interests to set up Edward the Confessor, brother to Ælfred, who yet never loved any of them, or forgot the barbarous usage of his brother, as may be seen in all our histories. It is not perhaps so entertaining to the reader, to have facts laid before him in this broken and doubtful way, as when they are handsomely digested, and all difficulties thrown out. Yet that plainly turns true history into romance, and though it amuses can never instruct us. Whereas, in this method, besides the pleasure of seeing truth, and not an author's fiction, we have an opportunity of making many just and useful reflections. As in the present case, 1. We may discern the impossibility of stifling such facts as these, which appears by the accounts given by later writers of the murder of Ælfred, notwithstanding the silence of the Saxon chronicle. 2. We gain many lights into other parts of our history, by tracing this point home. We see why the Normans were so dear to Edward the Confessor, why he was so much afraid of Earl Godwin, why he was a little suspicious of his mother, &c. In short, this laborious method of comparing all our ancient authors, were it thoroughly pursued, would really make most things clear; whereas, the utmost the other method can do, is to make all things seem so. E

(19) Speed's Chron. p. 424.

(20) Vol. III. p. 512.

(21) Hollinghead, p. 264. Speed, p. 424.

(22) See the authorities in the text.

(23) Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(24) R. Higd. Polychron. p. 277.

(25) Alured Beverl. Chron. Godstov. Annal. de Burt. R. de Diceto. W. Malmfb. H. Huntingd. R. Hoved.

(26) Collectan. Vol. I. p. 241.

(27) Spelman's Villare Angl.

(28) See Speed's Maps.

(29) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 241. Robert of Gloucester, p. 328. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 52.

ÆTHELSTAN, ATHELSTAN, or ÆTHESTAN, the son of Edward, surnamed the Elder, the twenty-fourth King of the West Saxons, and of Edgina, the daughter of a shepherd (a), who, merely on account of the lowliness of her birth, is treated, by many ancient and by most modern writers, as a concubine; though the reader will see, that there are the strongest reasons to believe the contrary [A]. As to the year of his birth, it is not certain, but the circumstances thereof are curious, and well attested. His mother Edgina, when a girl, dreamt, that the moon shone out of her belly so brightly, that it illuminated all England. This dream, she innocently related to an old woman, who had nursed Prince Edward, in the court of his father, Alfred the Great. The old woman, struck with the thing, as well as with the extraordinary beauty of the girl, took her home, and kept her as her own daughter. Prince Edward, coming thither one day to see his nurse, took notice of the beautiful Edgina, fell in love with her, and had by her this son, whom, on account of his mother's dream, he named Æthelstan, *i. e.* *The most noble* (b). His grandfather Alfred, took extraordinary care of his education, recommending him, in his infancy, to the care of his daughter Ethelfleda; and, when he was grown a boy, to her husband Ethered, one of the greatest captains of the age in which he lived. When the young Æthelstan was grown big enough to be introduced at court, he was brought thither by his tutor, and the wife King Alfred was so pleased with the spirit, countenance, and behaviour, of the lad, that to keep my author's words, *He blessed him for King, after his son Edward, by a kind of prophetic spirit* (c), and then knighted him, giving him a purple robe, a belt set with jewels, and a Saxon sword, in a golden scabbard (d). After all this, who can think him a bastard? It is true, his father married two other wives besides Edgina, and had children by them both, as by Elfleda the daughter of Earl Ethelin, a son called Ethelward, a Prince of great hopes, in temper, and countenance, extremely like his grandfather Alfred, whom many think would have succeeded to the throne, had he survived. But he dying a few days after his father, and the rest of the sons of this King Edward the Elder, being in their infancy, Æthelstan, according to his grandfather's prediction, quietly succeeded, *A. D.* 924 [B]. He was solemnly crowned by Athelum, Archbishop of Canterbury, *apud Regiam Villam*, that is, *At Kingston upon Thames*, which place, was before called Moreford, but by reason of this, and several other Princes, making it their place of residence, which they did, that they might be nearer at hand to resist the Danes, assumed the name of Kingston, or King's Town (e). Æthelstan was scarce seated on his throne, before a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him, by a certain nobleman, called Alfred, whose intent was to seize the person of his sovereign at Winchester, and to put out his eyes: the plot discovered, and it's author apprehended, he steadfastly denied it, and the King, to shew his strict regard to justice, sent him to Rome, there to purge himself by oath, before the altar of St Peter. When he came thither, and had by oath protested his innocence, he fell down in a miserable agony, and being carried by his servants to the English school, died there the third day in great torment. Pope John X., denied his body Christian burial, until such time as he had acquainted King Æthelstan, at whose request it was afterwards granted (f). To this domestick treason, succeeded a war with Inguald, a Danish King, and Sithic, who, after killing his brother Neil, had possessed himself of Davenport, in Cheshire (g). This last Prince, who was King of Northumberland, being very powerful, Æthelstan, on a negotiation, consented to make an alliance with him, on his renouncing Paganism,

(a) Gulielm. Malmib. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. Chronicon Johannis Bromton, Abbat. Jornaletensis, apud X. Script. p. 831.

(b) Bromt. ubi supra.

(c) Gulielm. Malm. ubi sup.

(d) Spelman's Life of King Alfred the Great, published by T. Hearne, p. 201.

(e) Howel's General History, p. iv. Sect. ro. p. 216.

(f) Gulielm. Malmib. de Gest. Regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6.

(g) Id. ibid.

[A] *There are the strongest reasons to believe the contrary.* The vindicating this lady's honour, at such a distance of time, may seem a little strange, but as the great design of this work is to correct the faults of others, and to prevent, as far as may be, the reader from being imposed upon; it was thought proper to make this remark, and to justify it here in a note by authorities, as in the text we have endeavoured to do by reason. Bromton, who tells at large, the story of Æthelstan's birth, though he calls his mother not Edgina, but Edgiva, yet, speaking of the rest of the children of Edward the elder, he writes thus. *Et ex alia Uxore sua genuit. Edwinum, &c.* And by another wife, he had Edwin (1), which is a direct testimony, that the mother of Ethelstan was his wife. It is true, that there are some other very ancient writers, who do not stile her so, particularly, Simeon of Durham, whose words are these, 'Ex muliere nobilissima Egcuninna, filium suum primogenitum Æthelstanum, ex Regina autem sua Edgiva filios tres, &c. *i. e.* *By a most noble lady Egcuninna, he had his eldest son. Ethelstan, but by his Queen Edgiva, he had three sons* (2).' For this manner of writing it is easy to account, the mother of Æthelstan was dead before his father became King, and therefore, though she was *Uxor*, yet she was not *Regina*, nor could she be *mulier nobilissima*, any other way, than by *marriage*, since her father was a shepherd.

[B] *According to his grandfather's prediction, quietly succeeded.* All the ancient writers of our history agree in fixing this date, excepting only the Saxon chronicle, which places it a year later, *viz.* in 925 (3). However, as there is an apparent confusion in the MS. in the place where this passage occurs, we may well enough suppose there is a mistake. In the same book, however, we are informed, that Ælfwerdus, the brother of Æthelstan, died a little after his father, at Oxnaford. It is also said, that Æthelstan was elected King by the Mercians, which is a circumstance not taken notice of elsewhere: yet it must have been true, since the subsequent conspiracy was occasioned by a dispute at that election, grounded upon his birth, as Malmesbury observes (4); at which also Rapin hints, though without citing his author (5). However, this election was in consequence of his father, King Edward's last Will and Testament; and this is another proof of his being his legitimate son, since it is hard otherwise to assign a reason, why he should specially call him to the succession, in preference to his other children, by his Queens. This circumstance, however, reconciles all the writers on this subject. For those who say he succeeded his father Edward, have in view this designation; the Saxon annals, Malmesbury, and others, in speaking of his election, have an eye to his confirmation in the regal dignity, by the choice of the nobles at the assembly at Kingston, which choice plainly preceded his coronation.

(3) Chron. Saxonum seu Annales Rerum in Anglia præcipue gestarum, &c. operâ & studio, E. Gibson. Oxonii, 1692, 4to. p. 111.

(4) De Gest. Regum Angl. lib. ii. c. 6.

(5) Histoire d'Angleterre, &c. A la Haye, 1733. 4to. Tom. 1. p. 332.

(1) Chronicon Johannis Bromt. Abbat. Jornaletensis. p. 831.

(2) Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de gestis regum Anglor. ad Ann. 899.

Paganism, and to give him his sister Edgitha, to wife, which was performed (b). In a year's time however, Sithric died, and was succeeded by his sons, Anlaff and Guthfert. These young men, being zealots for their old religion, immediately broke with Æthelstan, who the next year drove them out of their dominions; whereupon, Anlaff fled into Ireland, and Guthfert to Constantine, King of Scots (i). This affair created him afterwards a great deal of trouble, for though at first he carried it with a high hand, and prepared to invade Scotland, to revenge the protection given to the fugitive Prince, yet he saw reason to accommodate this quarrel, and to make peace with Constantine, though a certain author tells us, that he defeated and took prisoners both that King, and Howel, King of Wales, but out of generous compassion set them at liberty, and restored them to their kingdoms, saying, there was more honour in making a King, than in being a King (k). If it was so, he did not get much by his generosity: for the King of Scots, burning with a desire of revenge, or else dreading the power of so formidable a Prince, concerted a league with many of his neighbours, though historians are not agreed in what they say, concerning the time when, or the Kings who entered into this alliance [C]. One of the most noted, was Anlaff whom we mentioned before, who returned out of Ireland, and collected an army in order to restore himself to the kingdom of Northumberland; though others alledge, that this Anlaff was not the son of Sithric, before mentioned, but another of the same name, King of Ireland, and of the Isles. Whoever he was, his army consisted of Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Picts, &c. and he was himself a brave man, and a skilful officer. With him and Constantine, joined Eugenius, King of Cumberland, and some other petty Princes; and, after four years preparations, they drew together a great army, and marched therewith to (*) Bruneford, in Northumberland, near which place Æthelstan had pitched his camp. While both armies lay here, Anlaff being desirous to surprize his enemy in his camp, went thither in the disguise of a harper, and having played from tent to tent, was at last, for his skill in musick, brought to play before the King, which he did so harmoniously, that at his departure he had a considerable reward given him, which, scorning to take away, after he came out of the royal tent, he cut up a piece of turf with his knife, and hid the money under it, which being seen by a soldier, he observed him more narrowly, and discovered who he was; when he was gone, the soldier went and acquainted King Æthelstan, who chid him for not speaking sooner. But the soldier excused himself, by saying, that he formerly served in Anlaff's army, and had sworn fidelity to him, wherefore had he betrayed him, it might have induced a suspicion, that he would have betrayed also his present master. To prevent the bad effects of this, he advised the King to remove his tent, there being reason to believe that Anlaff would that night make some attempt to surprize his quarters. This advice was approved and followed, the event shewed with good reason; for in the midst of the night, Anlaff, with a chosen body of forces, broke into the camp, and cut to pieces a Bishop and his retinue, who had pitched their tents where the King's stood. But the confederates did not long enjoy the satisfaction resulting from this success. Æthelstan came down with his forces divided into two bodies, the first commanded by himself, which charged Anlaff and his troops; the other by Turketul, the King's chancellor, and near kinsman, who fell upon Constantine and Eugenius. The Scotch made a gallant defence until their King was slain, and then they broke, which so intimidated Anlaff's army, that they also fled, and left their King to retire as well as he could (l). This is said to have been one of the bloodiest battles ever fought in this island; but the circumstances relating to the loss of the allies are so various, that to avoid

(b) Chronicon Saxon. p. 111. Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia ad A. D. 925. Gulielm. Malm. ubi supra.

(i) Bromton. p. 838. Malmfb. ubi supra.

(k) Bromton, ubi supra. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 272.

(*) New Brumbridge.

(l) Chron. Saxon. p. 112. G. Malmfb. lib. xi. c. 6. Ingulph. Histon. p. 495. Huntingd. lib. v. Howel. p. i. p. 242. Bromton, p. 839. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 155.

[C] *The Kings who entered into this alliance.* As to the wars of King Æthelstan, especially against the Scots, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of confusion, in what the ancient writers tell us about them. Simeon of Durham places the reduction of the *Reguli*, or little Kings, in 926, or the third year of this King's reign (6); whereas, Bromton places both that and the vision of St John of Beverly, of which we shall speak hereafter, a year after (7). This is the reason that we have expressed our selves so generally in the text. But there seems to be greater certainty, with respect to the invasion of Scotland by this Prince, in 934, or the eleventh year of his reign. For with regard to this, the Saxon chronicle and the best historians exactly agree (8). In this expedition the King meeting on the road with many pilgrims who had been at the shrine of St John of Beverly, and had there, as they said, been cured of lameness, blindness, and other diseases, he thereupon, ordering the army to march on, went himself in pilgrimage to the same shrine, and having besought the saint to afford him his assistance in the war which he had undertaken, he left his knife as a pawn for the due performance of the vows he there made. Some time afterwards, St John appeared to him in a vision, promised his assistance, and greatly encouraged the King, who having totally defeated the Scots, and obliged

Constantine their King, to submit to him, thereupon, put up another petition to the saint, *viz.* That he would shew some sign that might convince the Scots their kingdom depended, *jure divino*, on that of England. In consequence of this prayer, he, with his sword, cut an ell deep into a rock, near to his camp at Dunbar, and left that chasm as an indubitable mark of his sovereignty over the country (9). Rapin ridicules this miracle, (and to make it more ridiculous still, says, he cut three ells instead of one) adding, that these things are unworthy of repetition (10). But, with submission to this critical author, this story however absurd, ought not to be forgot, since the stone at Dunbar is gravely insisted on by King Edward I, in his letter to Pope Boniface, wherein he states his right over the King and kingdom of Scotland (11). If at this time, we suppose he restored, under certain conditions, the crown to Constantine, King of Scots, then the rest of the history will run smoothly enough, since the great invasion made by Constantine, in conjunction with Anlaff, King of Ireland, happened exactly four years after this; nor can there be a more probable cause assigned, than this attempt of Æthelstan, to set up a divine right to other peoples countries, for so many Princes entering into a league against him.

(9) Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis, de Genealogia Regum Angl. p. 357. Chron. Johan. Bromt. p. 838.

(10) Histoire d'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 338.

(11) Henr. de Knyghton, Canonius Leicester. de Eventibus Angl. lib. iii. c. 4.

(6) Ubi supra.

(7) Chronicon, ad ann. 927.

(8) Chron. Sax. p. 111. Florent. Wigorn. Guliel. Malmfb. Ingulph. &c.

avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into a note [D]. To perfect his favourite design, of making himself Supreme Lord of the island, and to attain the sole dominion over, not only the Saxon, but all the other nations also inhabiting therein: Æthelstan, with his victorious army, after this glorious victory, prepared to go immediately against the Welsh, or rather the ancient Britons. In the mean time however, the fame of his great exploits, induced Henry surnamed the Fowler, then Emperor, to demand one of his sisters in marriage for his son Otho; Hugo, King of the Franks, also desired another for his son; and Lewis, Prince of Aquitain, sent an embassy to desire a third for himself. On this occasion, greater presents were sent into England, than had ever been seen before, and the glory of Æthelstan's court, far exceeded that of any of his predecessors (m). He was no less successful in his expedition against the Welsh; for having beaten them in the field, he caused Ludwal, King of Wales, with all his petty Princes, to meet him at Hereford, where they did him homage, and promised to pay him a yearly tribute, of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and twenty-five thousand beeves, with as many hawks and hounds as he should demand. He likewise expelled the Britons, who had hitherto dwelt together with the English in Excester (Exeter), and forced them to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamara, the boundary of his dominions on this side, as he had fixed the Vaga on the other (n). He governed henceforward in peace and glory, made many wise laws for the benefit of his subjects [E], and rendered himself the most admired Prince of the age in which he lived, on account of his wisdom, wealth, and the great extent of his dominions, which were much wider than those of Ælfred his grandfather (o) [F].

The

[D] *We have thrown them into a note* This great battle is the most remarkable thing which happened in King Ethelstan's reign, and indeed it is of the utmost consequence to the clearing of our history, to set this whole war in a proper light. In the first place then, we will unravel the difficulty about Anlaff, whom some make King of Northumberland (12), most historians, King of Ireland (13), and Buchanan, without naming him, King of the Danes (14). That he was a great and powerful Prince, may be inferred, not only from the great army he led against the Saxons on this occasion, but also from his coins which are still remaining (15), and of which we had a sight, whilst we were writing this note. That he was not King of Denmark we are satisfied, by inspecting the catalogue of their Kings, wherein we find, that Harold was at this time Monarch of that country (16). From the Irish historians it is clear, that he was no Prince of theirs (17), yet the authors who speak of him, are not however so much mistaken, as at first sight they may seem. Sitric, his father, was not only King of Northumberland, but held also, by conquest, part of Ireland, and many of the islands between it and Scotland (18), which dominions came also to his son, who came now with the forces he had raised in Ireland, and the Isles, to assert his right to Northumberland, which had been yielded by Alfred the Great, to his ancestors (19). On the whole therefore, Anlaff was King of the Danes in Ireland, and came from thence with his fleet into the Humber, where he debarked his army, and afterwards joined Constantine, King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, and his other allies, with whom he offered Ethelstan battle (20). Simeon of Durham places this battle in 937 (21), but the Saxon Chronicle (22), Bromton (23), and the best historians, in 938 (24). There is a long elaborate description of this fight, in the Chronicle beforementioned, as well as many other ancient authors, all of whom agree, that it was fought from morning till night, and that it was one of the most bloody that ever happened in England. They also agree, that five Kings and seven Dukes were here slain; but the Saxon Annals admit, that Constantine escaped, though he lost his eldest son (25); and Bromton says expressly, that both Anlaff and Constantine escaped (26). Buchanan's account of this battle is equally obscure and absurd, for he does not allow that Constantine was present, and yet admits, that discontent for this loss, induced him to resign the crown (27). If we may credit the Monks, another miracle was wrought in this battle in favour of Æthelstan, who dropping his sword in the field of battle, another fell from Heaven into his scabbard, at the prayer of Otho, Archbishop of Canterbury, which drawing from thence, he fought with the rest of the day (28).

[E] *Many wise laws for the benefit of his subjects.* The great fame of our Æthelstan, and indeed that which gave him principally a right in this work, arose from his laws, of which we have two editions; one by

Lambard, amongst the rest of the laws made by the Saxon Kings, and the other by Abbot Bromton in Latin (29). It would take up too much room to give even the heads of these laws, for they are very many, and very curious. Mr Selden speaks of them very respectfully (30), and indeed the perusal of them, lets us into the knowledge of the Saxon antiquities, and thereby renders the history, not only of those times, but also the grounds of our constitution as it still stands, clear and easy. For such as are not very well versed in the matter, or who find it difficult to understand the Latin of Bromton, which is indeed not over classical, they may have recourse to Dr Howel, who in this, as in all other things, hath treated the English history with great skill and impartiality (31). On account of these laws, this King is mentioned by all the authors who have written expressly of English writers; and to say the truth, Bale is more exact than usual, in the account he gives us of his writings. He wrote, says he, one book of ancient laws corrected, another of new ones, and a third, of constitutions for the government of the clergy. He likewise mentions his causing the Bible to be translated out of the Hebrew into the Saxon tongue, which Bale supposes to have been done by certain Jews, converted to the Christian faith (62). All the writers of his life, and indeed all the Monks who have written the lives of Bishops under his reign, commend Ethelstan, not only as a most religious, but as a most wise and learned Prince, favoured by, and a friend to, the Muses. Leland particularly tells us, that he found in the library of the monastery at Bath, some books which had been given by this Prince to the Monks. One of which, a treatise *De synodis Pontificis*, he brought from thence, and placed in the library of King Henry VIII, with this inscription (33).

Ethelstanus erat nostræ pars maxima curæ,
Cujus nota mihi bibliotheca fuit.
Illo sublato, sexcentos amplius annos,
Pulvere delitui squallidus atque situ:
Donec me pietas magni revocavit ad auras
Henrici, digno restituitque loco.

*On me, great Ethelstan was wont to look,
And still his mark, declares me once his book.
More than six hundred years in wretched state,
With dust o'erspread, I mourn'd my change of fate.
'Till mighty Henry, urg'd his pious claim,
And I once more, a Monarch's book became.*

[F] *Than those of his grandfather Ælfred.* Buchanan speaking of the dominions of Æthelstan, says, 'Here the English writers, who are profuse in their own praises, do affirm, that Athelstan was the sole Monarch of all Britain, and that the rest who had the name of Kings in Albion, were

(m) C. Malmfb. lib. ii. c. 6. Ingulph. Histor. p. 495.

(n) R. Hoved. Part 1, p. 242. Huntingd. lib. v.

(o) Malmfb. Huntingd. Ingulph. Simeon Dunelm. Bromton, &c.

(12) Malmfb. lib. ii. c. 6.

(13) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 155. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Bromton, p. 839.

(14) Hist. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(15) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 397.

(16) Petav. Ration. Temp. T. III. p. 201.

(17) O Fleharty Ogyg. p. 434, 435.

(18) Keating's History of Ireland, p. 466.

(19) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 66.

(20) Ingulph. Malmfb. &c.

(21) Hist. de Gest. R. A. p. 155.

(22) Page 112.

(23) Chronicon, p. 839.

(24) Ingulph. Malmfb. &c.

(25) Page 113.

(26) Chronicon, p. 839.

(27) Hist. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(28) Osbornus de vita Odonis Archiep. Cant. P. ii. p. 80.

(29) Chronicon, p. 839, & seq.

(30) Analecton Anglo-Britannicon. lib. ii. c. 5.

(31) Institution of General History, P. iv. c. 2. p. 304.

(32) Centuria Secunda, fol. 66.

(33) De Scriptor. Britannicis, p. 160.

The only blemish on his reign, is the supposed murder, or putting wrongfully to death, of his brother Edwin, which is in itself so improbable, and all things considered so slenderly attested, that it does not, as we apprehend, deserve a place in the text of this life, though for the thorough understanding it, we have placed an ample account thereof below (p) [G]. As to his person, we are told that he was of the ordinary size,

(p) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 396.

were but precariously so, and his feudatories only, as taking an oath of fidelity to him, as the supreme Lord. A little after he says, 'These men being generally unlearned, do not in some places sufficiently understand their own writers, neither do they take notice that Beda, William of Malmshury, and Jeffery of Monmouth, do commonly call that part of Albion, Britain, over which the Britons ruled, viz. within the wall of Adrian, or when they stretch their dominions farthest, within the wall of Severus, so that the Scots and Picts are treated by them as foreigners, and people out of Britain. When therefore the English Historians read in their old writers, that the English reigned over all Britain, they understand these authors so as if they included Albion; whereas they, as I said before, circumscribe Britain within narrower limits (34).' It must be allowed, that this author gives a very graceful colouring to his own opinion, if indeed it was his opinion, after reading what the old English Historians say, which, without breach of charity, we may doubt, since nothing is clearer, than that the old authors he mentions, especially Jeffery of Monmouth (35), expressly say, that the Scottish princes, whom they call Kings of Albania, were subject to the British monarchs. As to King Æthelstan, all the writers of his reign speak of his subduing Scotland as far as Dunbar; but Simeon of Durham tells us, that in the year 934, which is the same year wherein he made that expedition with a land army, he, with his fleet, wasted all the coasts as far as Caithness (36), so that the English writers were not so wretchedly ignorant of the bounds of Albion, as Buchanan would represent them. With respect to the title of Æthelstan, it was this: King of the English, Scots, Cumberlanders, Danes, and Britons, and if we may give credit to charters (37), as well as to what our ancient historians say, he was not nominally only, but effectually so. Besides what was it that Constantine struggled for, so long and so obstinately? Buchanan himself admits, that Æthelstan formed no pretensions on his dominions. He fought therefore to avoid owning him for his Sovereign, and the true reason for his resigning the kingdom, and retiring amongst the Culdees, was probably this, that his resignation might make void his submission to Æthelstan, which is the more likely, considering he did it with the consent, perhaps from the direction, of the states, who assembled for this purpose at Abernethy (38). The impartial reader will observe, that we do not pretend to determine any thing, as to the rights of the British or Saxon Kings, over those of Scotland, we only endeavour to set such passages of history as have been wilfully obscured, in their true and natural light, to illustrate what is dark in one author, by what is more plainly said in another, and thereby to discover truth with certainty. Whereas in the accounts we have hitherto had of these ancient monarchs, facts have been placed in such an order, as might render them most consistent and pleasant in reading, with little or no regard to the authenticity of those authorities, whereon they were founded; which how much soever it may be for the reader's ease, contributes certainly very little to his instruction. We have said in the text, that the dominions of Æthelstan, were much wider than those of his grandfather Ælfred. It is necessary that according to our own rules, we should establish this fact. In the first place then, the Scots and Welsh who were but homagers to Ælfred, were tributaries to Æthelstan. Secondly, he dispossessed the Welsh, or Britons, of considerable tracts, which they still held in the West. Thirdly, he recovered Northumberland, which had been yielded to the Danes. And, fourthly, he was in full and peaceable possession of all these acquired advantages, at the time of his decease, and transmitted not the same only, but the possession to his brother and successor, Edmund.

[G] We have placed an account thereof below.] The business of Edwin's death, is a point the most obscure in the story of this King, and, to say the truth, not one even of our best historians, hath written

clearly, or with due attention concerning it. The fact as commonly received is this. The King suspecting his younger brother Edwin, of designing to deprive him of his crown, caused him, notwithstanding his protestations of innocency, to be put on board a leaky ship, with his armour-bearer and page. The young Prince, unable to bear the severity of the weather, and want of food, desperately drowned himself; some time after, the King's cup-bearer, who had been the chief cause of this act of cruelty, happened, as he was serving the King at table, to trip with one foot, but recovering himself with the other, *Sec.* said he pleasantly, *how brothers afford each other help*; which striking the King with the remembrance of what himself had done, in taking off Edwin, who might have helped him in his wars, he caused that business to be more thoroughly examined, and finding his brother had been falsely accused, caused his cup-bearer to be put to a cruel death, endured himself seven years sharp penance, and built the two monasteries of Middleton and Michelness, to atone for this base and bloody fact (39). Dr Howel, speaking of this story, treats it as if very indifferently founded, and, on that account, unworthy of credit (40). Yet it must be owned, that all the ancient writers almost speak of it as a thing certain. Simeon of Durham writes, that in the year 933, King Ethelstan commanded, that his brother Edwin should be drowned in the sea (41). Abbot Bromton tells the story at large (42), and after him most of the later writers as usual, that is, with an addition of various circumstances, so that it cannot be said, this story is without foundation. Buchanan hath improved it very happily. Thus it runs in his writings. 'They, that is the English writers, make this Athelstan guilty of parricide, in killing his father and his two brothers, Edred and Edwin, whose right it was to succeed their father in his kingdom. Fame increases the suspicion, that Edward was violently put to death, because it attributes to him the title of martyr (43).' Buchanan cites no authority whatsoever for this, because indeed there could be no authority cited. Whatever he did by Edwin, most certainly Ethelstan did not murder Edred, since he not only survived, but succeeded him in the kingdom. As for the murder of his father, that is the pure effect of Buchanan's ignorance, he mistook Edward the Elder, who was really the father of Æthelstan, for Edward the Martyr, who began his reign in 975, that is, five and thirty years after Æthelstan was in his grave. Such is the accuracy, such the integrity, of this writer. In like manner Rapin gives us this story, without the least mark of doubt or hesitation (44), and yet we presume, there are some strong reasons against the credit of this whole story, and still stronger against that part of it, which alledges Edwin to have been unjustly put to death. Simeon of Durham, and the Saxon Chronicle, say no more, than that Edwin was drowned by his brother's command, in the year 933 (45). Bromton places it in the first, or at farthest in the second, year of his reign; and he tells us the story of the rotten ship, and of his punishing the cup-bearer (46). William of Malmshury, who is very circumstantial, says he only tells us what he has heard (47); but Matthew the Flower-gatherer (48), stamps the whole down as an indubitable truth. Yet these discordant dates are not to be accounted for. If he was drowned in the second, he could not be alive in the tenth year of the King. The first is the more probable date, because about that time there certainly was a conspiracy against King Athelstan, in order to dethrone him, and put out his eyes, yet he did not put the author of it to death; it is likely then that he should order his brother to be thrown into the sea upon bare suspicion? But the reader must remember, that we cite the same historians, who have told us this story, to prove that Æthelstan was unanimously acknowledged King, his brethren being too young to govern; one would think then, they could not be old enough to conspire. If we take the second date, the whole story is destroyed; the King could not do

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(34) Hist. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(35) Hist. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 6, 9, 18.

(36) Historia de Gestis Reg. Angl. p. 154. Chronicon, Sax. p. 111.

(37) G. Malmsh. de vita Aldhelmi Episcopi Scireburnensis, P. ii. p. 32.

(38) Buchan. ubi supra.

(39) Speed's Chronicle, B. 106. vii. ch. 38.

(40) General History, P. iv. chap. 2. § 10.

(41) Hist. de G. R. A. p. 154.

(42) Chronicon. P. 538.

(43) Hist. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(44) Histoire D'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 336.

(45) Simeon. Dunelem. p. 154. Chron. Saxon. p. 111.

(46) Chronicon, p. 828.

(47) De Gest. R. A. lib. ii.

(48) Matth. Florileg.

of a merry countenance, his hair of a bright yellow, stooping a little in the shoulders. He was extremely brave, constant in his resolutions, secret in his councils, and courteous to all men, a great encourager of learning, and, if we credit Tindal (q), ordered the Bible to be translated into the Saxon tongue, for the use of his subjects. It does not appear that he was ever married; and as to the years of his reign, there is some dispute. For on the one hand we are told, that he reigned fifteen years and upwards, and that he died at Gloucester, the twenty-seventh of October, 940 (r); and on the other, that he reigned sixteen years, and deceased in 942 (s). Though it must be allowed, that these different accounts may be in some measure reconciled [H]. The fabulous writers of the life of Guy of Warwick, speak of a natural daughter of his, Leonada, who they say espoused Reynburne, son of the said Guy (t).

seven years penance, for he did not live so long; and as for the tale of the cup-bearer, and his stumbling at the King's table, the same story is told of Earl Godwin, who murdered the brother of Edward the Confessor. Lastly, nothing is clearer from history, than that Æthelstan was remarkably kind to his brethren and sisters, for whose fakes he lived single, and therefore one would think his brother had less temptation to conspire against him.

[H] *May be in some measure reconciled.* As to the death of this King, the Saxon Chronicle tells us, that he died on the twenty-seventh of October, 941 (49), and that he had then reigned fourteen years and ten weeks, which reckoning must necessarily place the beginning of his reign, in the month of July, 927, which is inconsistent with the account given in these Annals themselves, wherein it is placed in 925 (50), wherefore in this case, their authority is

of no weight. Simeon of Durham tells us, that he died on the twenty-seventh of October, *anno* 940, in the sixteenth year of his reign, at Gloucester, and was buried at Malmesbury (51): with this account agrees that of Florence of Worcester, and of the best historians (52), yet Abbot Bromton tells us, he reigned eighteen years (53), if there be not a mistake either in the MS. or printed copy, which ought the rather to be suspected, because this is utterly inconsistent with his other dates. For he places the accession of Æthelstan, in 924, the accession of his brother Edred, in 947, he says that Edmund reigned after Æthelstan seven years, which plainly shews, that Æthelstan died in 940, and in the sixteenth year of his reign, as the other historians say. So that these discordances, are most certainly owing to errors committed by transcribers, and not to the authors themselves. E

AGARD (ARTHUR) a learned and industrious Antiquary (a), was the son of Clement Agard, of Toston in Derbyshire, by Eleanor, the daughter of Thomas Middleborough, of Egbafton in Warwickshire (b). He was born A. D. 1540, and educated in such a manner as to fit him for the practice of the Law, though it does not appear he was at either of our universities (c). In process of time, he became a clerk in the Exchequer-Office, and in 1570, attained the office of Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer, under Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knt. which place, under many Chamberlains, he held forty-five years (d) [A]. The great love he had for English antiquities, led him to make large and laborious collections, and his office gave him an opportunity to acquire much skill in those branches of an Antiquary's study, which are most intricate, and attended with the greatest want of materials (e). A conformity of studies brought him to an acquaintance with the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton (f), with whom he held the strictest intercourse of friendship as long as he lived. Anthony Wood indeed tells us, that (g) *while Mr Agard held his place in the Exchequer, he learned and received all his knowledge and learning in antiquities, from his faithful and dear friend Sir Robert Cotton.* Which however is not over probable, because Mr Agard came into his office the same year, precisely, that Sir Robert Cotton was born (h). Such sometimes are the Oxford Antiquary's assertions! Besides Sir Robert Cotton, we find that Mr Agard had the most eminent and learned men in the kingdom, for his friends and acquaintance. There was in his days, though the time when it was erected is not clearly stated, a most illustrious assembly of learned and able persons (i) set on foot, who stiled themselves a *Society of Antiquaries*, and Mr Agard was one of it's most conspicuous members, as appears from discourses read therein, and since printed. We owe the publication of these very valuable essays, to the industrious Mr Hearne, who yet has given a very indifferent account of them and their authors in the preface (k), as we shall shew in the notes [B]. Besides the

[A] *Under many Chamberlains he held forty-five years.* When he came into it, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was Chamberlain, viz. in 1570, from whence one may conjecture, this gentleman was raised thereto by his favour, which is the more likely, since Sir Nicholas was a man of great abilities himself, and loved to distinguish merit. He died on the 12th of February 1571 (1), and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Randolph, another learned and worthy Knight, who deceased on the eighth of June, 1590 (2). After him Sir Thomas West was Chamberlain. His successor, George Young, Esq; After him Sir Walter Cope, Knt. who had for his successor, Sir William Killigrew, Knt, in whose place came Sir John Poyntz, to whom our author was Deputy, at the time of his demise (3). Wood observes, that formerly this was a place of great honour and worth. I find that the fee was fifty-two pounds, three shillings, and four-pence, and thirteen pounds (4) for a livery, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and there were two Chamberlains. Those who bear their offices at present, are Sir William

Ashburnham, and Sir Simeon Stewart, both Baronets, so that it seems this place still keeps it's credit. Indeed so does the Deputy's place, having the custody of many valuable records at this day, those particularly which Mr Agard spent so much pains about, for which his memory is still had in great honour there (5).

[B] *As we shall shew in the notes.* Mr Hearne published this book, in 1720, under the title of, *A Collection of curious Discourses, written by eminent Antiquaries, upon several heads in our English Antiquities.* Before it is a preface containing 134 pages, dated from Edmund-Hall, Oxon. March 26, 1720. In this preface, after a long account what sort of an assembly a Society of Antiquaries ought to be, he proceeds thus (6): *In the time of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, there was such a Society, made up of right learned Antiquaries, that used to meet together, and as they undertook great matters, so their performances were answerable to their undertakings; and had they went on, there is no doubt but by this time, we had had a compleat account published, of the most material things*

(q) In his Preface to his Treatise of Obedience, &c.

(r) Malm'sb. ubi supra.

(s) Bromton, p. 839.

(t) Papulwick in the Life of Guy of Warwick.

(49) Chron. Sax. p. 113.

(50) Page 111.

(a) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 9, 208, 213.

(b) MS. notes in the hands of the author.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 519.

(d) Nicholson's Library, p. 208.

(e) Selden's Titles of Honour. Wood, ubi supra. Nicholson, ubi supra.

(f) Vit. D. Robert Cotton a Thom. Smith. scrip. ap. Vit. select. quorund. eruditif. viror. Vratflavz. 1711, 8vo. p. 450.

(g) Wood, ubi supra.

(h) Smith in vit. R. Cot. p. 434.

(i) See a list of them in note [B].

(1) Camd. Eliz. edit. Hearne, Tom. II, p. 221.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I.

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 519.

(4) Queen Elizabeth's Establishment, Civil, Military, and Domestical, MS.

(51) Hist. de Gest. R. A. p. 155.

(52) Malm'sb. Ingulph. R. H. ved. &c.

(3) Chron. p. 839.

(k) Hearne's Collection. Pref. p. 35, 112, 132.

(5) MS. notes.

(6) Page 35.

five discourses in that collection, and another of a much older date (1); it is not known that our author Agard, hath more in print, though these are sufficient to justify what we have said of him, and to shew that in English antiquities, he had few equals, and perhaps no superior [C]. In the particular business of his office, he was not only expert, but understood it to the bottom, as is clear from his discovering *Richardus filius Nigelli*, to be the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, which generally goes under the name of *Gervasius Tilburienfis* (m), on which, (each supposing it his own) two modern antiquaries would have raised some reputation. But Mr Madox, who had been charged with borrowing it from Mr Anstis, professed his innocence, and owned, that the secret they contended about, had been long before known to our author, Agard, who communicated it to the famous Selden (n). The Dooms-Day Book, our author had made his chief and peculiar study, and that his labours might be useful to posterity, he composed a large and learned work, on purpose to explain it (o), under the title of *Tractatus de usu & obscurioribus verbis libri de Domefday, i. e. A Treatise of the use, and of the true meaning of the obscure words in the Domes-Day Book*. Which was preserved in the Cotton library, under Vitellius, No. 9. He likewise bestowed three years hard labour in compiling a book for the ease of his successors, and which was also for the conveniency of the publick. It consisted of two parts, the first, *A catalogue of all such records as were in*

(1) Printed with Sir J. Dodderidge's Discourse on Parliaments, in 1658.

(m) Selden's Titles of Honour, London, 1614, 4to. See Gervasius; in the Index of Authors.

(n) Madox, Firma Burg. in the Preface.

(o) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 519. Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 213. Hearne's Collection, p. 74.

in our history and antiquities. But it being suggested that the said society would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies, for that reason, the members thought fit to break it off. Nor were there wanting very powerful men, that proved enemies to them; and, among other things, they were pleased to alledge, that some of the society were not only disaffected to, but really of a quite different persuasion from, the Church of England. The reader sees, that here are facts, but no dates or authorities. The discourses Mr Hearne published, were bequeathed to him by the very learned Dr Thomas Smith, who died May 11, 1710, and who himself intended to have published them (7). This worthy person, in his life of Sir Robert Cotton, had long before given the publick a clear and distinct account of them (8). He fixes the rise of this society of Antiquaries, about 1590, he tells us, that the main point they aimed at, was to collect and bring into one place, all the MSS. coins, seals, &c. which were scattered through the kingdom; that the study of antiquity might not be the work (as it is) of a man's whole life; and then to get themselves incorporated by charter. It was proposed that a college, or publick building, should be erected at the expence of the friends to this undertaking, in which all the remains of the plundered libraries, of old monasteries, &c. should be deposited. That the society should be honoured with the Queen's name; consist of a president, and a certain number of fellows, who should reside in lodgings, adjoining to the intended college, and out of whom two should be annually chosen curators of the library, &c. that they should be subject to a quinquennial visitation, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the High Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, the Principal Secretary of State, and Chief Justice of England. It was this scheme, largely fet forth by Dr Smith, as having been warmly (though vainly) solicited by Sir R. Cotton, both in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, that alarmed, though without reason, the universities; and without knowing this, we must have framed a false notion of the thing. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the society still continued: They met in term time only, sometimes at the lodgings of Mr Dethick, in the College of Arms, and at others, in some of the members houses. Their method was to state the question to be canvassed, then to summon the members to a place mentioned in the summons, and to collect from such as gave their opinions, their reasons and authorities in writing. Of such discourses, but whether of the respective authors penning, or collected by the member who officiated as secretary, is, I think, uncertain, Mr Hearne's collection consists. Of such amongst these, as were composed by Mr Agard, we shall treat in the next note, at present, let us conclude our account of this society. Under a Prince so fond of learning as King James, and who besides professed a personal respect for Sir Robert Cotton, one might have reasonably supposed this learned assembly should have met with encouragement, or at least protection. Yet, so it was, that their canvassing certain questions relating to the state, and government, gave such umbrage to this monarch

and his council, that upon signification thereof to the society, they dissolved, or, to speak with greater propriety, discontinued their assemblies, about 1614 (9). What induced us to treat of this matter here, was, that Mr Agard's name stands first in the list of members, as given us by Dr Smith, and as there is abundant matter for Sir Robert Cotton's life, without introducing therein an account of this society, it could no where, in this work, come in more naturally. For though Sir R. Cotton, was the more considerable man, yet Mr Agard must have had a greater share in the erection of this useful assembly, since, at the time fixed by Dr Smith, Sir Robert Cotton was scarce twenty, and was of course a lover of antiquities, rather than an antiquary. It remains, that we add here, a list of the members of this society, which, from Dr Smith, Mr Hearne, and the assistance of a learned person, who desires to be concealed, we are able to render more ample, and more accurate, than any hitherto published.

(9) Smith in vit. R. Cotton, p. 458. Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ, p. 69.

A list of the members of the ancient society of Antiquaries.

From A. D. 1590 to 1614.

Agard, Arthur	Holland, Joseph
Andrews, Lancelot	Lake, Thomas
Bouchier, Henry	Leigh, Francis
Bowyer,	Ley, James
Camden, William	Oldworth, Michael
Carew, Richard	Patten, William
Cliffe,	Savel,
Cope, Walter	Saint George, Richard
Cotton, Robert	Selden, John
Davies, John	Spelman, Henry
Dethick, William	Stow, John
Dodderidge, John	Strangeman,
Doyley,	Talbot, Thomas
Erdwicke or Urdwicke	Tate, Francis
Fleetwood, William	Thynne, Francis
Hakewill, William	Whitlock, James
Hartwell, Abraham	Wiseman
Heneage, Michael	

Whoever considers this list attentively, will need not many words to convince him that scarce any other can be produced so honourable for this nation, or for the commonwealth of letters. Let us compare this society in 1590, with the French academy, which pretends to no higher antiquity than 1629 (10). Let us examine the design of each, and let us compare the figure made by the respective members of each body, and we shall know what to think of the state of learning in France, and in Britain, at that period. We may thence also borrow another piece of useful knowledge, how much we of this age stand indebted to these industrious inquirers, but for whom, our antiquities had been, by this time, rubbish, not worth the raking into.

(10) Memoirs concernant les vies & les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes celebres dans la Republique de Lettres, par M. Ancillon. Amsterdam, 1703, 12mo. p. 5.

[C] He had few equals, perhaps no superior. In order to support this, we shall add to what is said in the

the four treasuries belonging to his majesty; and the second, *An account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourses, and marriages, with foreign nations.* Of this treatise he took such care, as shewed at once his prudence, and publick spirit. He deposited it with the officers of his majesty's Receipt, and took order, that the same should pass by inventory, as being for the good of the subject; and a proper index for succeeding officers (p). He likewise directed by his Will, that eleven other MS. treatises of his relating to Exchequer matters, should, for a small reward paid to his executor, be delivered up to the office. All the rest of his most valuable treasure of collections, containing at least twenty volumes, he bequeathed to his old friend, Sir Robert Cotton, in whose library, as many as remain, are yet to be found (q). For, notwithstanding his great industry, and his making so much use of his pen, his modesty would not allow him to publish any thing. After having thus spent his days in honour, and a learned tranquillity, he thought of death, before it came, and caused a monument to be erected for himself and his wife, near the chapter door in the cloister of Westminster Abbey, in which, dying on the twenty-second of August, 1615, he was some time in the same month interred. Mr Camden (r), to whom we owe this date, styles him, *Antiquarius insignis, i. e. A most excellent antiquary*, which is sufficient to establish his general character. The famous Mr Selden, in the index to his *Titles of Honour*, published the year before our author died, viz. 1614 (s), speaking of the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, says, *I confess it was observed to me by Mr Agard, a man known to be most painful, industrious, and sufficient, in things of this nature.* This is mentioned as an instance of his abilities in his profession, and, taking these testimonies together, we can hardly conceive too highly of Mr Agard's merit.

(p) Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 208.

(q) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 520.

(r) Annal. Reg. Jac. I. MS. sub Ann. 1615. Wood, ubi supra.

(s) To the Quarto edition before cited.

the text, the titles of Mr Agard's discourses which have been printed. 1. *Opinion touching the antiquity, power, order, state, manner, persons, and proceedings of the high court of parliament in England.* Published with the like essays of Sir John Dodderidge, Joseph Holland, Francis Tate, and William Camden, all members of the society before mentioned (11). But, since Wood informs us, that Bishop Barlow doubted whether this work was genuine, we will say no more of it (12). 2. *On this question (13), Of what antiquity shires were in England?* In this discourse, various ancient MSS. are cited, and Mr Agard inclines to think King Alfred was the author of this division, because it plainly appears the lesser divisions were made by that Prince. This discourse was delivered in Easter Term 33 Eliz. 1591. 3. *On the Dimensions of the Lands of England* (14). In which our author, with great judgment and learning, settles the meaning of these words, *Solin, Hida, Carucata, Jugum, Virgata, Ferlingata, Ferlinges*, from ancient MSS. and the authentick records in the Exchequer. This discourse was read on November 24, 1599. 4. *Of the authority, office, and privileges, of Heraults (Heralds) in England* (15). He gives it as his opinion, that this office is of the same antiquity with the institution of the Garter. In this discourse also he observes, that John, Earl of Bedford, caused a herald from certain rebels

in Cornwall, to be hanged, because rebels are not entitled to the law of arms. 5. *Of the antiquity and privileges of the houses or inns of court, and of chancery* (16). In this very short discourse, our author observes, that in the more ancient times, i. e. before the making of Magna Charta; our lawyers and judges, were of the clergy. That in the time of Edward I, the law came to receive it's proper form, and that in an old record, the Exchequer was filed the mother court of all courts of record. At this time, he supposes, the lawyers began to have settled places of abode, but affirms, he knew of no privileges. The former discourse has no date, and this only *Pasche* 33, perhaps Easter Term, 1591. 6. *Of the diversity of names of this island* (17). We find in this discourse, that the first Saxons landing in this island, came here under the command of one Aelle, a King of theirs, and his three sons, in *A. D.* 435, and that the reason why it was called England, rather than Saxon-Land, was, because the Angles, after this part of the island was totally subdued, were more numerous than the Saxons. He likewise observes, that after this conquest, the name of Briton grew into distaste, and all valued themselves on being Englishmen. This was read June 29, 1604, and is the last discourse of Mr Agard, in the collection. E

(16) *Ibid.* p. 105.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 157.

(11) Printed at London, 1658, 8vo. and again 1679.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 520.

(13) Hearne's Collection, p. 29.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 100.

AGELNOTH or EGELNOTH or ÆTHELNOTH, in Latin *Achelnotus*, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Canute the Great, succeeded Livingus in that see in the year 1020 (a). This Prelate, surnamed the Good, was son of Earl Agilmer, and, at the time of his election, Dean of Canterbury. After his promotion, he went to Rome, and received his pall from Pope Benedict VIII. In his way thither, as he passed through Pavia, he purchased, for an hundred talents of silver, and one of gold, St Augustin's arm, which was kept there as a relic, and sent it over to England, as a present to Leofric Earl of Coventry (b). Upon his return, he is said to have raised the see of Canterbury to it's former lustre. He was much in favour with King Canute, and employed his interest with that monarch to good purposes. It was by his advice, the King sent over large sums of money for the support of the foreign churches; and Malmesbury observes (c), that this Prince was prompted to acts of piety, and restrained from excesses, by the regard he had for the Archbishop. King Canute being dead, Agelnoth refused to crown his son Harold [A], alledging that the late King had

(a) Gervas. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

(b) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliae, lib. i. apud X Scriptor. col. 2318.

(c) De Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 75, 76.

[A] *Agelnoth refused to crown King Harold.* After the decease of Canute, who died at Shaftsbury, and was buried at Winchester, the kingdom was divided about the succession. The Danish interest at London, and elsewhere, declared for Harold Harefoot, son of Canute and Elgiva of Northampton. The English disapproved this choice, and were inclined to set up Edward son of King Ethelred; or, if that point could not be carried, they desired that Hardicanute, son of Canute by Queen Emma, might be the person. Edward's party was quickly found too weak to continue the competition. At last the two

Danish brothers agreed to the expedient of a composition. Hardicanute had all the counties which lay south of the Thames, and Harold the rest. This contest being finished, Hardicanute set sail for Denmark; where spending too much time, and not returning at the invitation of the English, his subjects thought themselves disengaged, and suffered Harold to seize the whole kingdom. Queen Emma, Hardicanute's mother, was banished, and forced to retire into Flanders, where she was honourably entertained by Earl Baldwin (1).

(1) Ingulphi Historia, p. 894, 895, apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601.

had enjoined him to set the crown upon none but the issue of Queen Emma (*d*); that he had given the King a promise upon this head, and that he was resolved to be true to his engagement. Having declared himself with this freedom, he laid the crown upon the altar, with an imprecation against those Bishops who should venture to perform the ceremony. Harold, who was greatly chagrined at this disappointment, endeavoured, both by menaces and large offers, to prevail upon the Archbishop, but in vain; and whether he was afterwards crowned by any other person, is altogether uncertain. Agelnoth, after he had sat seventeen years in the see of Canterbury, departed this life, the 29th of October, 1038, and was succeeded by Eadsius King Harold's chaplain (*e*). At this time (as an historian observes) the Monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries [*B*]. This Archbishop was an author, having written; 1. *A Panegyric on the blessed Virgin Mary.* 2. *A Letter to Earl Leofric concerning St Augustin.* 3. *Letters to several persons* (*f*).

(*d*) Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. Angl. Sec. xi. c. 10.

(*e*) Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 165x.

(*f*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. ii. c. 46.

[*B*] *The Monks of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries*] The Danes having besieged Canterbury, and massacred all the Monks, excepting four; the clergy, who were taken in to fill up the vacancy, continued partly to live as before, refusing

to be wholly tied up to the restraints of a monastery. They wore indeed the religious habit, but with very little observance of the rule. They called their superior a Dean; who afterwards, from Archbishop Lanfranc's time, had the title of Prior (*z*).

(*z*) Gervaf. Ac. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

AGLIONBY (JOHN) an eminent divine, was born of a genteel family in Cumberland, and admitted a student of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1583. Being elected fellow, he thereupon went into Holy Orders, and distinguished himself as a polite and learned preacher. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and was introduced to the acquaintance of the famous Cardinal Bellarmin [*A*]. After his return, he was made chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and, in 1600, took the degree of doctor of divinity. About that time he obtained the rectory of Islip, near Oxford, and soon after was elected Principal of St Edmund's Hall. He was likewise chaplain in ordinary to King James I; and is said to have had a considerable share in the translation of the New Testament appointed by that King in 1604 [*B*]. He died at Islip, the 6th of February 1609-10, aged forty-three, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church. He was well accomplished in most kinds of learning, profoundly read in the fathers and school-divinity, and a great critic in the languages (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 354, 355.

[*A*] *He was introduced to the acquaintance of Cardinal Bellarmin.*] Mr Wood tells us, that the Cardinal, one day, pointing to the picture of Dr William Whitaker, of Cambridge, which hung up in his library, said to Mr Aglionby, that he was the most learned Heretic that he ever read (*1*). This Dr Whitaker had distinguished himself by his controversial writings against the Papists.

this assertion, nor is Dr Aglionby's name to be found in the list of the translators (*2*). It is not unlikely that he might be assisting in the translation, pursuant to the rules agreed upon by the translators; one of which was, that letters be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, putting them in mind of the translation in hand, and charging those, who have skill in the languages, and have bent their studies that way, to send their observations to the committees, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

(*2*) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. book viii. p. 693.

[*B*] *He is said to have had a considerable share in the translation of the New Testament, appointed by King James I, in 1604.*] Mr Wood mentions no authority for

T

AIDAN, or AIDANUS, was the son of Goran, or Goranus, King of Scotland [*A*]. He was very young at the time his father was murdered by conspirators, of whom Donald of Athol was the chief. This happened in the year 535. Eugenius, the nephew of the last King, and the cousin of Aidanus, succeeded in the throne (*a*). He had served long under the celebrated Arthur King of the Britons, and as he was a good officer, so he was also a wise Prince, but withal, a man of great art, inso-much, that he dissembled all concern for his uncle's murder, and even took into his favour Donald of Athol, who was the prime author of it (*b*). This so much alarmed the Queen Dowager, that notwithstanding he made a great shew of friendship towards her and her family, yet she took the first opportunity of retiring with her two sons, Reginan and Aidan, then about seven years old, into Ireland, where they were very kindly received by Tuathalius, the reigning King (*c*). There the Queen and her eldest son died, but Aidanus continued there, not only during the long reign of Eugenius, but also during that of his brother Congallus, that is, throughout the space of forty-eight years. But this last mentioned King, considering the wrong done to the right heir of the crown, directed the famous St Columb to bring him home, which that good man performed. But when they arrived in Scotland, they understood that the King was dead, and that the Scots had set his brother Kennatillus upon the throne, Columb however, having first assisted at the burial of the deceased Prince, went afterwards with Aidan to court,

(*a*) Hecl. Boethius, Scot. Hist. lib. viii. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. v.

(*b*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi supra.

(*c*) Ogygia, seu rerum Hibern. Chronol. p. 430.

[*A*] *Aidanus son of Goranus, King of Scotland.*] The name of this Prince is variously written; in the histories of Boethius, and Buchanan, he is called Aidanus (*1*), but Bede calls him Aedan (*2*); in the Saxon annals, his name is written Aegthan (*3*), Jeffery of Monmouth, calls him Adan (*4*). But these are tri-

vial differences, or at least would be thought so in any other history than ours. As to the facts, and even as to the dates, all the old historians agree perfectly well. It was therefore thought proper to insert this life in this dictionary, in order to shew that our ancient history is not so uncouth, so uncertain, or so inconsistent, as some would persuade us. It is indeed, a little strange,

(*1*) H. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. H. S. lib. v.

(*2*) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 34.

(*3*) Chron. Sax. p. 23.

(*4*) Hist. Britan. lib. xii. c. 9.

court, where, to the surprize of all men, the new raised King received them with much civility and kindness, telling Aidanus, he should for the present assist him in governing the kingdom, which would shortly become his, to whom of right it pertained (*d*). This fell out accordingly, for the King, being old and infirm, died, as he had foreseen, and our Aidan succeeded in his stead, according to Hecstor Boetius, in the year 578. He was crowned King of Scotland in the Marble Chair, by the hand of St Columb, who made a noble oration on that occasion, exciting the Prince to justice, and the people to obedience. Immediately after his coronation, Aidan went into Galloway, where he reduced certain robbers, who had done great mischief. He then instituted annual assizes in Galloway, Lochabar, and Caithness (*e*). But these works of peace were suddenly interrupted; some of the young nobility quarrelled at a hunting match, and bloodshed following, those who were most guilty, or at least most afraid, retired into the dominions of Brudeus, King of the Picts. Aidan, in virtue of a treaty with that Prince, often demanded them, and was as often refused. At length he entered his country, and carried off a great number of prisoners, with abundance of cattle. The Pictish Prince resenting this, made also an inroad, and did great mischief in Galloway. In the end, a general engagement happened, wherein the Picts were routed with great slaughter, the Scots also losing many men, and amongst them, the King's son Arthur. This battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Dunkell. St Columb hearing of this war, came to the King, and upbraided him with his too great readiness to shed blood, which made that Prince so uneasy, that he would not part with that excellent man, till he had promised him to negotiate a peace, which he did with success (*f*). The Saxons were now possessed of England, having driven the Britons into Wales. Ethelfrid who reigned then in Northumberland, was a most crafty, and withal a most ambitious Prince. He projected the conquest of the Pictish kingdom, but perceiving himself too weak to effect it, he excited Brudeus to break the peace with the Scots, hoping by this means to weaken him, and thereby obtain a more easy prey. Aidan being informed of these negotiations, concluded a league offensive and defensive, with Maelgwyn, King of the Britons (*g*). The Saxons, as soon as they were acquainted with this, determined to invade the British territories, that thereby they might draw the Scots out of their own country, and have them at the greater disadvantage. This policy of theirs succeeded, for Aidan, like a just Prince, marched instantly to the assistance of his allies, and joining the British army, offered Ethelfrid and Brudeus battle, which however they declined for two reasons. One was, that they might the more weary the Scots; the other, that they might give time to Ceuline, King of the West Saxons, to join them: Aidan, and his confederates being aware of their intention, resolved to attack Ceuline, before his junction should render them too powerful; this they performed with great bravery, and having forced their camp, cut to pieces a very considerable number of their enemies, amongst whom was Cutha, the King of the West Saxon's son. This however, did not hinder the remainder from joining their friends, and offering Aidan battle a second time. In this engagement, though he behaved gallantly, yet he was very unfortunate, for he lost his son Griffin, and his nephew Brennius, who was Thane or Earl of Man. But this was far from being bloodless victory to the Saxons and Picts, who besides a great number of private men killed, had both their Princes wounded, Ethelfrid losing one of his eyes, and Brudeus receiving a deep cut in his hip (*b*). The next summer, Ethelfrid joined the Picts early, and with a numerous army invaded Galloway. Aidan was more ready to receive them than they expected, and taking advantage of their straggling about the country, he cut off several of their parties, and perceiving that these losses made them keep close in their camp, he marched silently by it in a dark night, and joined the Britons. After this they encamped in a narrow valley in Anandale. There the Saxons and Picts surrounded them with a great army, and seizing all the passages, persuaded themselves, they should easily and totally rout their enemies. Aidan consulting, as well with Constantine and Menrein, the British Generals, as with Callan and Murdach, his own Generals, they made a shew of strongly fortifying their camp, as if therein they meant to wait for their attack, and when they had so done, lighting up a multitude of fires, they decamped in the night, and passing certain rivers, the Saxons deemed not fordable, suddenly entered Northumberland, and destroyed all the country with fire and sword. This compelled the Saxons and Picts to follow them, and soon after their arrival in the same country, a pitched battle ensued, wherein, after an obstinate engagement, the Saxons and Picts were totally routed with prodigious slaughter, Ceuline, King of the West Saxons,

strange, that we admit without scruple, such historical fragments, as yet remain of the ancient Kings of Attica, and take pains to settle the succession of the first Kings of Macedon, though neither of their kingdoms in those times, could exceed the bounds of one of our counties (*5*), and yet give up our own history as dark and fabulous, though at the distance of many ages from those times, and infinitely clearer, more rational, and better supported, than either the Greek history before the Peloponnesian war, or that of Rome, before the expulsion of her Kings. He must certainly be a critical and sharp-sighted reader, who in this history of

Aidan, wherein is touched the state of every one of the nations then settled in the British islands, can discern any thing of absurdity or of fable. And why we should give up the actions of all our ancestors to oblivion, in order to find leisure to decypher the antiquities of other people, is a thing for which no good reason can be assigned. It must be granted, that before the publication of our ancient histories, transactions of such antiquity might appear very dubious, but they cannot be thought so now, when confirmed by so many different authorities, and such a variety of facts.

[B] Certain

(d) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi supra.

(e) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 27.

(f) Adamn. Vir. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 7. Buchan. ubi supra.

(g) Lewis's Hist. of Great Britain. p. 211.

(b) Boeth. Buchan. ubi supra. Henr. Huntingd. lib. ii. Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 22.

(5) Cluver. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.

Saxons, being killed upon the spot, with several other persons of distinction. After this great victory, King Aidan caused all the spoil, which they had brought out of Galloway, and which now fell into his hands, to be restored to the right owners. This done, he gave a tenth of the remaining booty, to be distributed in alms, the rest was equally divided amongst the Scottish and British foldiers. All the trophies of this conquest, he caused to be transported to the island of Colmkill, to St Columb, there to remain in his abbey (i). After this, he governed his kingdom in peace about eleven years, and then Ethelfrid prevailed on the Picts to renew the war. Aidan, though he was very old, marched to the place where the British army should have joined him, but his allies failing him, gave his enemies a great advantage over him, so that attacking him with a superior army, they cut the greatest part of his forces to pieces, the King himself narrowly escaping. In this battle fell Theobald, King Ethelfrid's brother, which shews that it was no easy victory. However, it's consequences were so fatal, that the thoughts of them, and the news of St Columb's death, brought the good old King in sorrow to his grave, in the year 606. when he had reigned thirty-two years, and lived 78 (k). There are certain circumstances in this King's history [B], which because they are not mentioned either by the Scotch or English historians, we have thought proper to insert in the notes, being unwilling to place any thing in the text, which is not perfectly clear and certain.

(i) H. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. ubi supra. Chron. Saxon. p. 23. Lewis's History of Great Britain, p. 212.

(k) Boeth. ubi supra. Buchan. ubi supra. Bed. H. Eccles. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 24. Lewis, ubi supra Joan. Fordun. Scoticron. lib. iii. c. 80.

[B] *Certain circumstances in this King's history.* St Adamnanus, in his life of St Columbanus, or Columb, tells us, how he prophetically marked out to the King, Aidan, which of his sons should succeed him in the kingdom. This story is preserved in the history of Scotland, printed in the first volume of Hollinghead's collection, but very imperfectly, because of his absolute want of skill in the ancient Scottish language (b). The fact in few words stands thus. About the year 584, King Aidan was in the Isle of Man, and there presented his sons to St Columb. They were in number eight, viz. Arthur, Eochod Finn, i. e. the White, Domangard, Eochod Buidhe, i. e. Yellow, (Hollinghead calls him Eugenius, and tells us he was also called Brudus) Tuathalius, Boetan, Conang, and Gartnrad. St Columb, passing by the three eldest, laid his hand on Eochod Buidhe, or

Eugenius the Yellow. This son, said he, and his heirs, shall be heirs of your kingdom, for the other three shall fall in battle against your enemies, which came accordingly to pass (7). The Irish Chronicles, take notice, that in 590, King Aidan passed over into that country, and was present at a council held there, which is very probable, since he had lived so many years in Ireland, and it is very likely married there (8). Bede gives a very circumstantial account, of the great defeat King Aidan received from Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, which he tells us happened in the year 603, at a place called Deg-fastane, the defeat being so total, that to this day, says he, that is, to the year 731, the Scots have never dared to enter Britain, or offer battle to the English, which circumstance is also taken notice of in the Saxon Annals, where this battle is placed in the same year (9).

(7) S. Adamn. de Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 9.

(8) Ogygia, p. 475.

(9) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 23, 24.

A I D A N, Bishop of Lindisfarne, or *Holy Island*, in the VIIth century, was originally a Monk in the monastery of Hii or Iona [A], one of the islands called *Hebrides* (a). In the year 634, he came into England, at the request of Ofwald King of Northumberland [B], to instruct that Prince's subjects in the knowledge of the Christian religion [C]. At his coming to Ofwald's

(a) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3.

[A] *He was a Monk in the monastery of Hii or Iona.* Let us hear venerable Bede. 'Monachus ipse Episcopus Aidan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii destinatus: cujus monasterium in cunctis pene Septentrionalium Scottorum & omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat: quæ videlicet insula ad jus quidem Britannicæ pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta; sed donatione Pictorum, qui illas Britannicæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem Christi perceperint (1). — Bishop Aidan was himself a Monk, being sent on this mission from the island Hii, the monastery of which place had for a long time a jurisdiction over all the monasteries of the northern Scots and Picts. The island itself was subject to Britain, from which it was separated only by a small arm of the sea: but by donation of the Picts, who inhabit those parts of Britain, it had been given to the Monks of Scotland, as an acknowledgment of their conversion by the preaching of the latter.'

'stolical rule, you should first have fed with the milk of a milder and less rigid doctrine, till, being nourished by degrees with the word of God, they were become capable of relishing the more perfect and sublime precepts of the Gospel.' *Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior justo indoctis auditoribus fuisti, & non eis juxta apostolicam disciplinam primo lac doctrine mollioris porrexisti, donec paulatim entriti verbo Dei, ad capienda perfectiora & ad facienda sublimiora Dei præcepta sufficerent* (3). This discrete and judicious speech was highly applauded by the assembly, and it was unanimously resolved that Aidan deserved the honour of the episcopal character, and was the best qualified to convert the English. Whereupon he was presently consecrated, and sent upon that employment (4). It may be thought strange, perhaps, that King Ofwald should send into Scotland for a missionary to instruct his subjects in the Christian religion; and that he did not rather re-call Paulinus, who had been driven from the see of York (5), or employ the ministry of James, whom Paulinus had left in Northumberland. But it must be considered, that Ofwald had been instructed in religion by the Scotch, and had imbibed an aversion for the missionaries sent from Rome, on account of the diversity of sentiments between the Scotch and the Romanists, in relation to the celebration of Easter (6), and the tonsure of priests.

(3) Bede, ibid. c. 5.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) See the next remark.

(6) See the remark [C].

[B] *He came into England at the request of Ofwald King of Northumberland* [This Prince, being sensibly affected with the advantages of Christianity, and desirous his subjects should partake of the same privilege, had sent into Scotland for some person of learning and character to instruct them. The Scotch clergy immediately dispatched away a Missionary (2) for that purpose. But this ecclesiastic, being of a rugged and severe disposition, was greatly disliked by the English; inasmuch that finding himself unsuccessful in his mission, he returned home, and reported to his countrymen, that the English were an untractable people, bigotted to Paganism; and that it was impossible to convert them. Aidan, who was present, turning himself to the Priest, said: 'Your want of success, brother, seems to me to be owing to your want of condescension to the weakness of your unlearned hearers; whom, according to the apo-

[C] — *to instruct the Northumbrians in the knowledge of the Christian religion.*] The kingdom of Northumberland had received the Christian faith by the preaching of Paulinus, Archbishop of York, in the reign of King Edwin, who died in 633. But that Prince being slain in battle, and the desolation, to which Northumberland was exposed, having obliged Paulinus to quit the kingdom, the Northumbrians returned in crowds to idolatry. Anfrid and Ofric, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their subjects, though they had embraced the Christian religion in Scotland. And thus the knowledge of the true religion was almost extinguished

(6) Chronicle, Vol. I. Hist. of Scotland, p. 111.

(1) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3. & H. Huntingd. Hist. l. iii. opud Scriptor post Bedam, Francof. 1601. p. 330.

(2) Hector Boethius, l. 9. gives this Missionary the name of Carman.

Oswald's court, he prevailed upon the King to remove the episcopal see from York, where it had been settled by Gregory the Great, to Lindisfarne or Holy Island [D]. He was very successful in his preaching; in which he was not a little assisted by the pious zeal of the King, who, having lived a considerable time in Scotland, and acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language, was himself Aidan's interpreter, and explained his discourses to the nobility, and the rest of his court (b). After the death of Oswald, who was slain in battle, Aidan continued to govern the Church of Northumberland, under his successors Oswin and Oswi, who reigned jointly; the former in the province of Deira, the latter in that of Bernicia. Bede tells us a remarkable story concerning King Oswin and Bishop Aidan [E]. This holy Bishop, having foretold that Prince's untimely death, was so afflicted for his loss, that he survived him but twelve days, and died in August 651, after having sat sixteen years (c). Bede gives him an extraordinary character [F], but at the same time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Easter [G], in which he followed the custom of the Scots, Picts, and Britons (d). The same

in that country; and this wretched state continued near two years, till Oswald mounted the throne in 634 (7).

[D] He prevailed with the King to remove the episcopal see from York — to Lindisfarne or Holy Island.] Bede tells us, Lindisfarne is not really an island, but part of the main land; and that, by the flux and reflux of the sea, it is twice a day surrounded with water in the manner of an island, and as often left dry. *Qui videlicet locus accedente & recedente reamare bis quotidie inflat insula maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contigus terræ redditur* (8). It is a peninsula, joined to the coast of Northumberland by a very narrow neck of land, and called *Holy Island* from it's being inhabited chiefly by Monks (9). But though the episcopal see was small, it's jurisdiction was very extensive: for the Bishops of Lindisfarne presided over the whole kingdom of Northumberland, according to the received discipline of the ancient English Church, in which there was but one Bishop to each kingdom. *Quantumvis autem arcta fuerat Sedes, Diocesis erat latissima: toti siquidem Northumbrorum regno episcopi Lindisfarfenses præverunt, juxta disciplinam apud antiquos usque ad Theodori archiepiscopi tempora receptam, qua singulis regnis singuli episcopi præsidebant* (10). The author, now cited, tells us, that Aidan and his successors, as far as Wilfrid, neither knew nor affected the metropolitan dignity, though they succeeded to the rights of Paulinus, Archbishop of York, who had received the pall, and obtained the title of Metropolitan. Nor had they any intercourse with the Roman Pontiff: for, besides that they acknowledged no foreign Bishops superior to themselves, they celebrated Easter (*) in a manner different from the Church of Rome. *Paulino itaque in ditione successerunt, neutiquam tamen in dignitate. Paulinus enim Pallio utebatur, & Metropolitanum titulum, quamvis nondum sibi constituit suffraganeis, obtinuit. Aidanus autem, ejusque ad Wilfridum usque successores à Scotia prodeuntes, metropolitanam dignitatem nec noverunt quidem nec affectarunt; cumque Romano pontifice, qui istam Paulino dignitatem contulerat, nil commune habuerunt. Præterquam enim quod nullos externæ gentis episcopos sibi superiores agnovissent, diem Paschalem ritu adhib. alieno, a quarta decima scilicet luna calculum ducentes, celebraverunt* (11).

[E] A remarkable story concerning King Oswin and Bishop Aidan.] King Oswin had given Bishop Aidan a fine horse. Some time after, the Bishop happening to meet a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, dismounted and gave him the horse with it's rich housings. The King hearing this was displeas'd, and, the next time the Bishop came to dine with him, accosted him in the following manner: *My Lord, why were you so prodigal of my favour, as to give away my pad to a beggar? If there was a necessity of setting him on horse-back, could you not have furnished him with one of less value; or if he wanted any other relief, you might have supplied him another way, and not have parted so easily with the present I made you.* To which the Bishop replied; *Your Majesty seems not fully to have considered the matter: for otherwise you would not set a greater value on the son of a mare than on a son of God* (12). Upon this no more pass'd, and they sat down to dinner. Not long after, the King coming from hunting when the Bishop was at court, and remembering what had pass'd between them, laid by his sword, and, falling at the

Bishop's feet, desired he would not take amiss what he had formerly said about the pad. The Bishop, being disturb'd to see the King in that posture, raised him up, and desired him not to trouble himself about that matter. And now the Bishop appear'd with a melancholy air, and wept very much; and being asked the cause of his tears by one of his Priests, he told him, *he foresaw that Oswin's life was but short; for in my life (says he) I never saw so humble a Prince before. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us; and indeed the nation does not deserve the blessing of such a governor.* The Bishop prov'd a true Prophet: for the King was soon after treacherously slain; and, about a fortnight after, Aidan himself died, and, as Bede expresses it, received the reward of his pious labours in Heaven. *De seculo ablatu, perpetua laborum suorum a domino præmia recepit* (13).

[F] Bede gives him an extraordinary character.] *Scripti hæc de persona (says that historian) & operibus viri præfati — quæ laude sunt digna in ejus actibus laudans, atque ad utilitatem legentium memoriæ commendans: studium videlicet pacis & caritatis, continentiæ & humilitatis; animus iræ & avaritiæ victorem, superbiam simul & vanæ gloriæ contemptorem; industriam faciendi simul & docendi mandata cœlestia; solertiam lectionis & vigiliarum; auctoritatem sacerdoti dignam redarguendi superbos ac potentes, pariter & infirmos consolandi ac pauperes recreandi vel defendendi clementiam. Qui, ut brevier multa comprehendam, quantum ab iis qui illum novere didicimus, nil ex omnibus quæ in Evangelicis vel Apostolicis five Prophetis literis facienda cognoverat, prætermittere, sed cuncta pro suis viribus operibus explere curabat* (14). — *These things have I written concerning the person and actions of the aforesaid Prelate, giving due praise to that part of his conduct which deserved it, and transmitting it to posterity for the use of the readers: namely, his concern for peace and brotherly love, for moderation and humility; his entire freedom from resentment and avarice, from pride and vain-glory; his readiness both to obey and teach the divine commands; his diligence in reading and watching; his true sacerdotal authority in restraining the proud and the powerful, and, at the same time, his tenderness and compassion in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor. To say all in a few words, as far as we have been informed by those who personally knew him, he took care to omit no part of his duty, but, to the utmost of his abilities, performed every thing commanded in the writings of the Evangelists, Apostles, and Prophets.*

[G] — but at the same time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Easter.] *Quod autem Pascha (Bede goes on) non suo tempore observabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel suæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitionem sequeretur devictus, non adprobo, nec laudo* (15). — *But I do not approve or commend his keeping of Easter improperly, whether it was that he was ignorant of the time prescribed by the canons, or, if he did know it, was kept from following it by the custom and practice of his nation.* However Bede apologizes for Bishop Aidan even in this point; for he adds: *In quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione sui Paschæ non aliud corde tenebat, venerabatur, & predicabat, quam quod nos, id est, redemptionem generis humani per passionem, resurrectionem, ascensionem*

(b) Id. ibid. & H. Huntingdon Hist. l. iii. apud Scriptor. post Bedam, Francof. 1601, p. 330.

(c) Bede, ubi supra, c. 14. See the remark [E].

(d) Id. ib. c. 3.

(7) Vide Hist. Angl. sub annis, 1633, &c.

(8) Bede, ubi supra, c. 3.

(9) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibson, Vol. II. col. 1502.

(10) Hist. de Success. episc. Dunelm. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. I. p. 691.

(*) See the remark [G].

(11) Wharton, ubi supra.

(12) Num quid tibi carior est, ille filius equæ, quam ille filius Dei?

(13) Bede, ubi supra, c. 14.

(14) Id. ib. c. 17.

(15) Ibid.

same historian ascribes three miracles to Bishop Aidan [H]; two of them performed in his life-time, and the other after his death (e). He was buried in his church of Lindisfarne, and part of his relics were carried into Scotland by his successor Colman in 664.

(e) Bede, ubi supra, c. 15; 16, 17.

‘cenfionem in cœlos mediatoris dei & hominum Jefu Christi. Unde & hanc non, ut quidam falfo opinantur, quartadecima Luna in qualibet feria cum Judæis, fed die dominica femper agebat, a Luna quartadecima ufque ad vicefimam; propter fidem videlicet Dominicæ refurrectionis quam una Sabbati faftam, propterque fpem noſtræ refurrectionis quam eadem una Sabbati quæ nunc Dominica dies dicitur veraciter futuram, cum fanctâ eccleſia credebat (16). — In which however this is to be commended in him, that, in the celebration of his Eaſter, he commemorated and preached the ſame thing that we do, namely, the redemption of mankind by the paſſion, refurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, the mediator between God and men. And therefore he did not, as ſome falſly imagine, keep this feſtival, in imitation of the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it happened to fall on; but always on a Sunday, reckoning from the fourteenth day to the twentieth: and this, on account of our Lord's refurrection, which (with Holy Church) he believed to have happened on a Sabbath-day, and the hopes of our own refurrection, which he likewiſe believed (as we do) will fall out on a Sabbath-day, or, as it is now called, a Sunday.’

[H] Bede aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan.]

I. A certain Prieſt, named Utta, was ſent by King Ofwi to Canterbury, to conſult into Northumberland his betrothed wife, the Princeſs Eaſſeda, daughter to King Edwin. This Prieſt, who was to go thither by land, but to return by ſea, addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Aidan, deſiring his prayers for the ſucceſs of his voyage. The good prelate having bleſſed him, and commended him to God, told him, he foreſaw there would ariſe a violent ſtorm, whereby his veſſel would be in great danger; and at the ſame time gave him a viol of holy oil, bidding him, when occaſion ſhould require, to pour it into the ſea, which would

thereby be preſently rendered calm. Utta followed the good Biſhop's directions, and by that means ſaved himſelf, and all that were in the ſhip with him, from impending deſtruction. Bede ſays, the truth of this miracle was confirmed to him by a prieſt named Cynimund, who had the ſtory from Utta's own mouth (17). II. The army of the Mercians, commanded by Penda, having committed great deſtroyments in Northumberland, and penetrated as far as the royal city of Bebbanburg, began to ſet it on fire: at which time Biſhop Aidan, being in the iſland Farne, about two miles diſtant from the city, and ſeeing the flakes of fire brought by the wind, and the ſmoak riſing above the walls, immediately lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with tears ſaid, *Behold, Lord, what miſchief Penda does!* Whereupon, the wind preſently changing, the flames were driven from the city upon the incendiaries, many of whom periſhed, and the reſt were glad to retreat from a city, which they ſaw to be thus miraculoſly defended (18). III. This good Biſhop being in one of the royal villas, not far from the abovementioned city, and finding himſelf near his death, ordered a tent to be pitched for him cloſe to one of the walls of the church: which being done, he retired thither, and there gave up his laſt breath. It happened ſome years after, that Penda, King of the Mercians, having ſet fire to this church, it was entirely conſumed, all but a wooden buttrels or beam, cloſe to which Aidan's tent had been placed. This miracle being greatly celebrated, the church was rebuilt, and the ſame piece of timber employed as a buttrels to the new fabric. But ſome time after, this church, through negligence, was again deſtroyed by fire; and being once more re-built, the miraculous beam was no longer placed on the outside of the church, but was laid up within it; where it became an object of the people's veneration, and was inſtrumental in curing many diſeaſes and infirmities (19).

(17) Ibid. c. 15.

(18) Ibid. c. 16.

(19) Ib. c. 17.

A I L M E R, or Æ T H E L M A R E, Earl of Cornwall and Devonſhire, in the reign of King Edgar (a): it is not known of what family he was. His authority and riches were great, and ſo alſo in appearance was his piety. He founded the abbey of Cerne, in Dorſetſhire; and had ſo great a veneration for Eadwald, the brother of St Edmund the Martyr, who had lived a hermit in that county, near the ſilver well, as they called it; that with the aſſiſtance of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, he tranſlated his relics to the old church of Cernel (b). In 1005, he founded the abbey of Eynesham in Oxfordſhire, as alſo the priory of Bruton in Somerſetſhire, both for Monks of the Benedictine order (c). In 1013, when Suane, King of Denmark, over-run the greateſt part of England, and forced King Æthelred to ſhut himſelf up in Wincheſter, Earl Ailmer thought fit to ſubmit himſelf [A], and to make terms with the conqueror, to whom he gave hoſtages (d). In 1016, when Canute, the ſon of Suane, invaded England, and found himſelf ſtoutly oppoſed by that valiant Saxon Prince, Edmund Ironſide, the ſon of Æthelred, this Earl Ailmer [B], with that arch-traitor, Eadric Streone, Earl of Mercia, and Earl Algar, joined the Dane againſt their natural Prince, which was one great cauſe of the Saxons ruin (e). He did not long ſurvive this; and we find mentioned in hiſtory only one ſon of his, whoſe name was Æthelward, Earl of Cornwall, who followed his father's maxims, and was properly rewarded for it. For in 1018, Canute reaping the benefit of their treaſons,

(a) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(b) Monaſt. Angli- can. Vol. I. p. 254.

(c) Ibid. p. 258. & Vol. II. p. 206.

(d) Math. Weſtm. in A. 1013.

(e) Id. in A. 1016.

[A] Thought fit to ſubmit himſelf.] In the Saxon Chronicle we are told, that in the year 1013, in the month of July, King Suane came with his navy to Sandwich, thence he failed along the coaſt to the mouth of the Humber, and afterwards by the Trent to Gainſborough; there he landed with his ſon Canute, and a very numerous army. The neighbouring country being reduced, he divided his forces; part he left under the command of his ſon to guard his ſhips, and the hoſtages he had received; and with the reſt he marched ſouthward. The city of Oxford, on his approach, ſurrendered, ſo did Wincheſter; which encouraged him to march eaſtward, in hopes of taking the city of London. In this he miſcarried, King Æthelred being there in perſon, who had the better of the Danes in a very bloody engagement. Upon this Suane retired to Wallingford; from thence croſſing the Thames, he marched to Bath, where this Æthelmare, and many other Lords of his party, met him, gave

hoſtages for their fidelity, and aſſiſted him in carrying his ſpoil to his ſhips (1). This rivetted the chains of the nation; and for this horrid treachery, which however ſhewed his exceſſive power, he obtained the ſurname of Great. The ſame Chronicle places the death of his ſon Ethelward in the year 1017, and calls him expreſſly the ſon of Ethelmare the Great (2).

[B] This Earl Ailmer.] Some Antiquaries would have us believe, that the Aylmers of Aylmer-Hall, in the county of Norfolk, are deſcended from this Æthelmare, becauſe they bear in their arms four choughs; and for their creſt, on a ducal coronet, a Corniſh chough's head and neck, wings diſplayed (3). This notion, however, ſeems a little unreaſonable, Æthelmare being apparently no ſurname; and Duke again, a title unknown to the Saxons. In another article, we ſhall treat of a Saxon Biſhop of the ſame name, which ſhews that it was common; and conſequently, that there is no referring the ſurname of Aylmer to this or that

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(2) Ibid. p. 151.

(3) Strype's Life of Biſhop of Aylmer, Lond. 1701, ſvo. p. 2.

(16) Bede, ubi supra, c. 17.

(f) R. Hoved. Edit. Franc. 1601, p. 437.

treasons, and perceiving that the traitors were no longer useful, he caused the infamous Eadric Streone, and this Earl Æthelward, to be both put to death (f).

that particular man amongst the Saxons, who bore this name; neither in this case is there the least reason for it, the Aylmers of Norfolk being certainly a very an-

tient and honourable family, standing in no want of these fabulous pretensions, as will be shewn in a proper place. E

(a) Histor. Anglic. Scriptores X. Lond. 1652.

AILRED (a), ETHELRED (b), or EALRED (c), Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, in the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry II, was born of noble parents (d), in the year 1109, and educated in Scotland, together with Henry, son of David King of Scots (e). Upon his return into England, he took the habit in the Cistercian monastery of Revesby aforesaid; where his extraordinary piety and learning soon raised him to the dignity of Abbot [A]. His great love of retirement, and a life of contemplation and study, induced him to decline all offers of ecclesiastical preferment, and even to refuse a Bishopric. He was particularly fond of reading St Austin's works, especially that author's confessions; and he was a strict imitator of St Bernard in his writings, words, and actions (f). He left behind him several monuments of his learning [B], in the writing of which, he was assisted by Walter Daniel, a Monk of the same convent (g). This Abbot died January the 12th 1166, aged fifty-seven years (h), and was buried in the monastery of Revesby, under a tomb adorned with gold and silver (i). And, we are told, he was canonized on account of some miracles said to have been wrought by him after his death (k).

(b) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

(c) Pitts, de illust. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1166.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Leland, ubi supra.

(f) Pitts, ibid.

(g) Leland, ib.

(h) Pitts, ibid.

(i) Leland, ibid.

(k) Pitts, ibid.

[A] His extraordinary piety and learning raised him to the dignity of Abbot. He outshone his brethren, as the sun eclipses the brightness of the inferior luminaries; and endeared himself no less to the great men of the kingdom, than to the Monks of his own house. Tanquam clarissimum suæ religionis fidus inter minora lumina emicuit, monachos exemplo docens, literis purioribus informans: quo factum est, ut regni nobilibus, non minus quam suis, charus esset, & abbas secundus Rievallensis designaretur (1).

phetam Sermones xxxi. i. e. Thirty-one sermons on the Prophet Isaiah. 7. Speculum Charitatis libris 111 cum Compendio ejusdem. i. e. The mirror of charity, in three books, with an abridgment of the same. 8. Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni in illud Luc. ii. cum factus esset Jesus, &c. i. e. A treatise concerning the child Jesus, being twelve years of age, upon that passage of St Luke (ch. ii.) When he was twelve years old, &c. 9. De Spirituali Amicitia, libri 111. i. e. Of spiritual friendship, in three books. These five pieces were published by Richard Gibbons, a Jesuit, at Douay, 1631; afterwards in the Bibliotheca Cisterciensis, T. 5. p. 16. and in the Bibliotheca Patrum, T. 23. p. 1. 10. Regula ad Inclusas, seu Moniales. i. e. Rules for the Nuns. This piece has been falsely ascribed to St Augustin, and is usually published with his works: but Ailred's name is prefixed to it in Holstenius's Collection of Rules, Part iii. p. 109. 11. Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiphaniæ, & Sermones xi de Oneribus Hæc. i. e. A treatise concerning the Sunday before the Octaves of the Epiphany, and eleven Sermons on Isaiah's Burthens. This piece lay some time concealed among the works of St Bernard (2). The rest of this Abbot's works, which were never published, or extant only in manuscript, are enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pitts. T

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

[B] He left behind him several monuments of his learning. 1. De Bello Standardii tempore Stephani regis. i. e. Of the war of the standard in the reign of King Stephen, anno 1138. 2. Genealogia Regum Anglorum. i. e. A genealogy of the English Kings. 3. Historia de vita et miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confessoris. i. e. An history of the life and miracles of King Edward the Confessor. 4. Historia de Sanctimoniali de Wathun. i. e. An history of the Nun of Wathun. These four pieces are extant in the collection of ten English writers, published by Roger Twydden at London, 1652. Ailred wrote another life of St Edward in elegiac verse, and dedicated it to Laurence Abbot of Westminster. It is extant in manuscript in the library of Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge. 5. Sermones de Tempore & de Sanctis. i. e. Sermons on time and the saints. 6. In Isaiam Pro-

(2) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. xii. ann. 1150.

AINS WORTH (HENRY) an eminent Nonconformist Divine, who flourished the latter end of the XVIth, and in the beginning of the XVIIth century. It is very much to be regretted, that we are able to say very little of so great a man, for we know not so much as where, or when he was born, or any thing more of him than this, that about the year 1590, he distinguished himself amongst the Brownists, to whom he adhered, and on that account endured a share in their persecutions (a). His great skill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which are still highly and justly esteemed [A], gained him a vast reputation (b). However, the discredit his sect

(a) Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 543, 577.

(b) Treatise of Religion and Learning by Edw. Leigh, M. A. of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, Lond. 1656, Fol. p. 110.

[A] Which are still highly and justly esteemed. His annotations on several books of the Bible were printed at several times, and in several sizes. Those on the Psalms in quarto, in 1612; those on the five books of Moses, in two volumes in quarto, in 1621; all these together, bound in three quarto volumes. At length, 1627, his annotations were printed in one volume in folio, and again in 1639, which edition is become so very rare, as to be inserted in all the catalogues of scarce books (1). It will not therefore be amiss to give an account of it's contents. It's title runs thus: 'Annotations upon the five books of Moses, the book of the Psalms, and the Song of Songs, or Canticles. Wherein the Hebrew words and sentences are compared with, and explained by, the ancient Greek, and Chaldee versions, and other records and monuments of the Hebrews; but chiefly, by conference with the holy scriptures, Moses his words, laws, and ordinances, the sacrifices, and other legal ceremonies heretofore commanded by God to the Church of Israel, are

explained; with an advertisement, touching some objections made against the sincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in these annotations; as also tables, directing unto such principal things as are observed in the annotations upon each several book. By Henry Ainsworth. London, printed by M. Parfons, for John Bellamy, 1639.' In this edition, the first thing that occurs is a preface or discourse, on the life and writings of Moses, which is subscribed by the author; then follow the five books of Moses, translated literally from the Hebrew, with annotations chiefly from Rabbinical writers; and by comparison of texts. At the end of the Pentateuch, there is a little treatise, intitled, An advertisement, touching some objections made against the sincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in the former annotations; to which are added some other short dissertations. Then follow, annotations upon the book of Psalms; to which is prefixed, an excellent Life of David, extracted from, and in the words of, scripture. Lastly, we have the Song

(1) Wenderli Duff. de Lib. rar. sect. xxiii. Johannis Vogt. Catalogus Historic-criticus Librorum rariorum. Hamb. 1738, 12mo. p. 16, 17.

fect were then in, drew upon him such dangers and troubles, that after struggling with them for some years, he at length quitted his country, and retired into Holland, where most of the eminent Nonconformists, who had incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth's government, had taken refuge before. At Amsterdam Mr Johnson and he erected a church, of which our Ainsworth was the doctor or teacher (c). In conjunction with Johnson, he published a confession of faith of the people called Brownists, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confessions; but being men of warm spirits, they split into parties about some points of discipline; Johnson excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the congregation, inasmuch that Mr Ainsworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnson, who after some time, returned the same compliment to Ainsworth. At length the contest grew so hot, that Amsterdam could not hold them: Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where soon after he died, and his congregation dissolved (d). Nor did Mr Ainsworth and his followers live long in peace; for soon after he left them, and retired to Ireland, where he continued some time; but when the spirits of his people were quieted, he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them to his death (e). If we may believe Dr Heylyn, the contentions at Amsterdam were some of them of an odd nature, and which sufficiently shew how great obedience some men expect, who yet are not much inclined to pay it, either to the Church or to the State (f) [B]. His learned writings were received with respect, even by his adversaries, who while they refuted his singularities, paid a proper regard to his abilities, particularly that worthy Bishop of Exeter, Dr Hall, who wrote with great strength of reason against the Brownists (g). But nothing it seems could reclaim him, or incline him to return home; but as he lived, so he died in exile, though with some remarkable circumstances, which have been remembered by several authors, notwithstanding the year in which they happened is not recorded. His demise was sudden, and

(c) Neal, *ibid.*
p. 43.

(f) History of
the Presbyterians,
p. 374,
375.

(g) A common
apology of the
Church of Eng-
land, 'against the
unjust challenges
of the overjust
Sect, commonly
called Brownists,
wherein the
grounds and dif-
ferences of the se-
paration are
largely discussed,
by Joseph Hall,
Sect. xiv, xxiii,
xxvii.

Song of Solomon, with a literal translation from the Hebrew in prose, and another in verse, as also annotations. This learned work was translated into Dutch, as the reader will see in the margin; and his commentary on the Song of Solomon, into German verse. All the modern writers on the scriptures, cite him frequently; and the authors of Moreri's dictionary are pleased to leave it doubtful, whether the learned Lightfoot did not borrow much of what he has written on the scriptures from this excellent work (2).

[B] *Either to the church, or to the state.* We cannot have the differences at Amsterdam set in a clearer, though perhaps they may be placed in a little too strong a light, than by Dr Heylyn; he lived near those times, and took care to be perfectly informed, as to the things of which he wrote, though it may be, his distaste to all sectaries might sharpen his manner of delivering them, for which the judicious reader will make allowances. 'Worse fared it with the brethren of the separation, who had retired themselves unto Amsterdam in the former reign, than with their first founders, and forefathers, in the Church of England; for having broken in sunder the bond of peace, they found no possibility of preserving the spirit of unity; one separation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The brethren of the first separation had found fault with the Church of England for reading prayers and homilies, as they lay in the book, and not admitting the presbytery to take place amongst them. But the brethren of the second separation take as much distaste against retaining all set forms of hymns and psalms, committing their conceptions both in praying and prophesying, and singing of psalms, to the help of memory; and then subjoin this maxim, in which all agreed, that is to say, that there is the same reason of helps in all the parts of spiritual worship, as is to be admitted in any one, during the performing of that worship. Upon which ground, they charge it home on their fellow-separatists; that as in prayer, the book is to be laid aside, by the confession of the antient brethren of the separation, so must it also be in prophesying and singing of psalms; and therefore, whether we pray, or sing, or prophesy, it is not to be from the book, but out of the heart. For prophesying, next they tell us, that the spirit is quenched two manner of ways, by memory as well as reading. And to make known how little use there is of memory in the act of prophesying or preaching, they tell us, that the citing of chapter and verse (as not being used by Christ and his apostles in their sermons or writings) is a mark of Antichrist. And as for psalms, which make the third part of spiritual worship, they propose these queries: 1. Whether in a psalm, a man must be tied to metre, rhyme, and tune? and whether

voluntary be not as necessary in tune and words, as well as matter? and 2. Whether metre, rhyme, and tune, be not quenching the spirit? according to which resolution of the new separation, every man, when the congregation shall be met together, may first conceive his own matter in the act of praising; deliver it in prose or metre, as he lists himself; and in the same instant, chant out, in what tune soever, that which comes first into his own head, which would be such a horrible confusion of tongues and voices, that hardly any howling or gnashing of teeth can be equal to it. And yet it follows so directly on the former principles, that if we banish all set forms of common prayer (which is but only one part of God's publick worship) from the use of the Church, we cannot but in justice, and in reason both, banish all studied and premeditated sermons from the house of God, and utterly cast out all King David's Psalms, (whether in prose or metre, that comes all to one) and all divine hymns also into the bargain. Finally, as to forms of government, they declared thus (or to this purpose at least, if my memory fail not) that as they which live under the tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals, worship the very beast itself; and they which live under the government of Archbishops and Bishops, do worship the image of the beast; so they which willingly obey the reformed Presbytery of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, worship the shadow of that image. To such ridiculous follies are men commonly brought, when once presuming on some new light to direct their actions, they suffer themselves to be misguided by the *ignis fatuus* of their own inventions. And in this posture stood the brethren of the separation, anno 1606, when Smith first published his book of the present differences, between the churches of the separation, as he honestly calls them. But afterwards there grew another great dispute between Ainsworth and Broughton, whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod were of blue, or a sea-water green; which did not only trouble all the Dyers in Amsterdam, but drew their several followers into fides and factions, and made good sport to all the world, but themselves alone. By reason of which divisions and subdivisions, they fell at last into so many factions, that one of them in the end, became a church of himself; and having none to join in opinion with him, baptized himself, and thereby got the name of a Se-baptist; which never any sectary or heretick had obtained before (3). As to these particular differences between our author Ainsworth and Mr Johnson, they were made the subject of various books and pamphlets in those days, some of which are come down even to our times, as the reader will perceive by the book cited in the margin (4).

(3) Heylyn's His-
tory of the Presbyterians,
p. 374, 375.

(4) History of
the troubles and
excommunications
at Amster-
dam, by George
Johnson 1603.
An animadver-
sion to Richard
Clifton's adver-
tisement, by
Henry Ains-
worth, 1613,
4to.

(c) Neal's Hist.
of the Puritans,
Vol. II. p. 47.

(d) Discourse of
troubles and ex-
communications
at Amsterdam,
by George John-
son, 1603. Ro-
binson's Apology
for the Brownists.
An animadver-
sion to Richard
Clifton's adver-
tisement, by
Henry Ains-
worth, Amst.
1613, 4to.

(2) The Dutch
translation was
by Sibrand Vo-
melius, printed
at Leuwarden,
for H. Nauta,
1690. Folio.
The German
translation of the
Song of Solomon,
at Frankfurt, by
Jer. Schrey.
1692, 8vo.

and not without suspicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his Rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, relating to the Messias, which the other promised; but not having interest enough to obtain it, it is thought he was poisoned (b). It was certainly a great misfortune, that the obstinacy of his own spirit, and the rigorous administration in the Church, shut out so able a man from the publick exercise of his ministry; for he was indisputably a person of profound learning, exquisitely versed in the Scriptures, and deeply read in the works of the Rabbins. Besides, he had a strong understanding, quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. It is true that these excellent qualities were somewhat allayed by the hastiness of his temper, his contempt for ecclesiastical governments, his proneness to maintain disputes about small things, and his rashness in separating, not only from the Church, but his own Nonconformist brethren in Holland. This was a grievous prejudice to the Protestant cause in general; and gave a signal advantage to the enemies of the Puritans here in England in particular. Though our author was much considered in his life-time [C], in his own country, and several of his books were more than once reprinted after his death, yet through a prevailing contempt for men of his sentiments, and too cold a reception of that kind of learning, which rendered him famous, his works are now more known and valued abroad than here; in so much, that it is not easy to produce an English writer oftener quoted, or with greater testimonies in favour of his merit, than we find bestowed on Dr Ainsworth; and this by the learned of all countries, and at a considerable distance in time, and of all sects and opinions (i). A higher testimony of the veneration he has acquired by his writings, cannot well be expected, than that which occurs in all the late editions of Moreri's dictionary; and even in the last, wherein with great pains they distinguish between Henry Ainsworth, the able commentator on the Scriptures, and Henry Ainsworth the Herefiarch, who was one of the chiefs of the Brownists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and very gravely tell us, that we must have a care not to confound them; nevertheless, nothing is more certain, than that these two Henry Ainsworth's were the same man. There was indeed another writer, whose Christian name was William, whose works have some affinity with those of our author, and are therefore sometimes ascribed to him (k), but this William Ainsworth lived considerably later; and besides him there was one Mr Samuel Ainsworth, a Nonconformist minister in Northamptonshire, who was also an author (l). After the decease of our Dr Ainsworth, his congregation at Amsterdam made choice of Dr Carre for their pastor, who was author of the marginal references to the Bible, and several other treatises (m).

[C] Much considered in his life-time.] He published occasionally several treatises, many of which made a great noise in the world, as particularly his book, intitled, A Counter-Poison against Bernard and Crashaw, 4to, 1612; this piece is often cited, and the principles therein advanced, refuted by Bishop Hall, though he did not write expressly against Ainsworth, but against Smith and Robinson, two ministers amongst the Brownists; yet whenever he mentions Ainsworth, he always owns him for the greatest man of his party; and speaking to those he wrote against, calls him your Doctor, your Chief, your Rabbi (4). Another work of Ainsworth's was intitled, An Animadversion to Mr Richard Clyfton's advertisement, who, under pretence of answering Charles Lawne's book, hath published another man's private letter, with Mr Francis Johnson's answer thereto; which letter is here justified, the answer thereto refuted, and the true causes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the English

exiled Church at Amsterdam, manifested: printed at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp, A. D. 1613, quarto. About the same time he wrote a Treatise of the Communion of Saints: and two years after another book, intitled, A Treatise of the Fellowship that the Faithful, &c. have with God, his Angels, and one with another, in this present life, 1615, 8vo. In the same year appeared likewise, The trying out of the truth between John Ainsworth and Henry Ainsworth; the one pleading for, the other against, Popery, 4to. He wrote likewise a small piece, often printed in 12mo. called, An Arrow against Idolatry, which is highly and justly commended by a late writer (5). To these we may add, a treatise, intitled, Certain Notes of Mr Ainsworth's last Sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. 1630, 8vo. whence it may be gathered, that he died some little time before. E

AIRAY (HENRY) Provost of Queen's college in Oxford, was born in Westmoreland, educated in Grammatical learning by the care of Bernard Gilpin, usually called the Northern Apottle, and by him sent to St Edmund's Hall in Oxford, in the year 1579. He was then nineteen years of age, and was maintained at the university by Gilpin, who left him a handsome legacy by his last will, bearing date the 27th of October, 1582. Mr Airay soon removed from St Edmund's Hall to Queen's college, where he became *Pauper Puer Serviens*. In 1583, he took his bachelor's degree, and was made *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius* [A]; and in 1586, he commenced Master of Arts and Fellow. About this time he went into orders, and became a constant and zealous preacher in the university, particularly in the church of St Peter in the East, adjoining to Queen's college. In 1594, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and four years after was

[A] He became *Pauper Puer Serviens* — and *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius*.] These are servile offices in that college. *Pauper Puer Serviens* is a servant, or poor lad, who waits upon the fellows in the common-hall at meals, and in their chambers. Mr

Wood tells us, all must submit to this office before they can be fellows. The *Tabardi*, or *Tabardarii*, that is, *Tabarders*, or *Tabitters*, are so called, because antiently they wore coats or upper gowns, much like those belonging to Heralds (1).

[B] Lectures

(b) Neal, ubi supra.

(i) Dictionnaire de la Bible par Calmet. A Geneve, 1730, 4to. Vol. I. p. clvii, clxix. Wendleri Diff. de Lib. 24. sect. xxiii. Theoph. Sinceri Naet. richten von alt. und rar. Buchern. p. 119. 8s.

(k) See a book, intitled, The Marrow of the Bible, or a Logico-Theological Analysis of every book of the Holy Scripture, 8vo. 1652, by W. A.

(l) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 496.

(m) Neal, ubi supra.

(4) See his Apology for the Church of England against the Brownists, as cited in the text.

(5) Neal, ubi supra.

(1) Wood, Athenae Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

was chosen provost of his college. In 1600, he proceeded in divinity, and six years after was chosen vice-chancellor (a). He wrote the following pieces, which were published after his death. 1. *Lectures upon the whole Epistle of St Paul to the Philippians*. London, 1618, 4to [B]. 2. *The just and necessary Apology touching his suit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordshire*. London, 1621, 8vo. 3. *A Treatise against bowing at the name of Jesus* [C]. Airay was a zealous Calvinist, and a great supporter of those of his party; who concur in giving him the character of a person of great holiness, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the discharge of his ministerial function (b). He died in Queen's college the tenth of October, 1616, aged 57, and was buried in the inner chapel of the said college (c).

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

(b) Hist. and Antiq. of the University of Oxford, Book I. p. 300, &c.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

[B] *Lectures upon St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. These lectures were preached in the church of St Peter in the East, in Oxford, and were published by Christopher Potter, fellow of Queen's college, with an epistle of his own composition prefixed to them. Mr Potter was a great admirer of our author and his doctrine, and was the editor likewise of his

next piece, intitled, *The just and necessary apology*, &c. (2).

[C] *A Treatise against bowing at the name of Jesus*. Thomas Beacon, an old Calvinist, had long before written on the same subject; and, about Airay's time, Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Andrew Willet did the like (3).

(2) Wood, ibid.

(3) Wood, ibid, col. 409.

AIRAY (CHRISTOPHER) Vicar of Milford in Hampshire, was born at Clifton in Westmoreland [A]; and admitted a student in Queen's college in Oxford, in Michaelmas Term, 1621; where having passed through the servile offices (a), and taken the degree of Master of Arts, he was elected a Fellow. Soon after, agreeably to the statutes of that house, he went into Holy Orders, and, in 1642, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He wrote *Fasciculus præceptorum Logicalium in gratiam juventutis Academicæ compositus, i. e. A Collection of the Rules of Logic, for the use of the Students in the University* (b); besides some other pieces, which the Oxford Antiquarian (c), who gives us this account, had not seen. He died the eighteenth of October, 1670, and was buried in the chancel of his church of Milford. His epitaph [B] may be seen below.

(a) Namely, those of *Pauper Puer Serviens, and Tabardus*. See the preceding article, remark [A].

(b) Printed at Oxford, 1660, second edit. 8vo.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

[A] *He was born at Clifton in Westmoreland*. Mr Wood does not tell us, whether Mr Christopher Airay was any way related to Dr Henry Airay, whose article we have given above; though one would be apt to suspect he was, when we consider that, besides the similitude of name, they were both born in the same county, had their education in the same college, and proceeded in the same course of study.

[B] *His Epitaph*. Memoriam sacrum Christophori Airay S. T. Bac. olim Coll. Reg. Oxon. focii, & hujus ecclesiæ vicarii vigilantissimi, viri summæ integritatis, judicii acerrimi, & ingenii literarum om-

nium capacis, qui difficillimo seculo inter æstuantis rerum fluctus clavum rectum tenuit. Mortalitatem tandem exiit 18 Oct. annos natus 69, &c. — Sacred, to the memory of Christopher Airay, bachelor of divinity, fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, and most vigilant vicar of this church; a gentleman of the greatest integrity, judgment, and learning; and who, in the most difficult and troublesome times, adhered steadfastly to his principles. At length he put off mortality, on the 18th of October, aged sixty-nine, &c. (1).

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

ALAN (OF LYNN) in Latin *Alanus de Lynna*, a famous divine in the XVth Century, was born at Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, and educated in the university of Cambridge; where he applied himself diligently to the study of Philosophy and Divinity, and, having taken the degree of Doctor (a), became an eminent preacher. Bale, who gives Alan an advantageous character (b), yet blames him for using allegorical and moral expositions of Scripture [A]. But he is particularly famous for the great pains he took in making Indexes to most of the books he read [B]. Alan flourished about the year 1420 (c), and wrote several pieces, particularly 1. *De vario Scripturæ sensu, i. e. Of the different senses of Scripture*. 2. *Moralia Bibliorum, i. e. The Morality of the Scriptures*. 3. *Sermones notabiles, i. e. Remarkable Discourses*. 4. *Elucidarium Scripturæ, i. e. A Method of interpreting Scripture*. 5. *Prælectiones Theologicæ, i. e. Lectures on Divinity*. 6. *Elucidationes Aristotelis, i. e. Explications of Aristotle* (d). At length he became a Carmelite, in the town of his nativity, and was buried in the convent of his order (e).

(a) Joh. Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 524.

(b) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(c) Pits, de illust. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(d) Baleus, ubi supra.

(e) Id. ibid.

I find

[A] Bale — blames him for using allegorical and moral expositions of scripture. Unum hoc in signum malum cum cæteris suarum factionum habebat commune. Quæcumque historicæ scripta erant in utroque Dei Testamento, per allegorias & morales (ut vocant) expositiones ad animæ negotium & humanæ justitiæ opera traxit (1). — He had this great fault in common with those of his stamp. He allegorized the historical parts of the Old and New Testament, and applied them to the business of the soul, and the moral actions of men. Pits, on the other hand, commends the method he took to explain the Holy Scriptures; which was, by comparing them with themselves, and having recourse to the ancient fathers of the Church. In quo conatu, optimam viam secutus, alia cum aliis sacræ scripturæ loca conferens, & ad antiquos ecclesiæ patres, sanctosque

recurrens doctores, nihil temere suoque solius ingenio nixus, interpretatus est (2).

[B] He made indexes to most of the authors he read. Particularly, Josephus, Origen, Hilary, Eusebius, St Jerom, St Ambrose, St Augustin, St Basil, St Chrysostom, St Cyril, Cassian, Johannes Damascenus, St Gregory, Rabanus, Remigius, Cassiodorus, Bede, Aleuinus, Haymo, Hugo, Anselm, St Barnard, Gerard of Laodicea, Beletus Blefensis, Thomas Aquinas, Ægidius, Duns Scotus, Alexander Neckam, Gorham, Baconthorp, Berthorius, and Philip Ribotus. The indexes to all these authors Bale himself saw in the library of the Carmelites at Norwich (3). The use, and necessity, of indexes, is well set forth by Dr Fuller (4). An index (says he) is a necessary implement, and no impediment of a book, except in the same sense wherein the carriages of an army are termed impedimenta.

(2) Pits, de illust. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(3) Baleus, ubi supra.

(4) Worthies of England, Norfolk, p. 256.

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

I find another A L A N, Abbot of Tewkesbury [C], who flourished about the year 1177, and died in 1201. He wrote a book De vita & exilio Thomæ Cantuariensis, i. e. Of the Life and Banishment of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (f).

(f) Cave's Hist. Literar. Sac. xii. ann. 1177.

pedimenta. Without this, a large author is but a labyrinth, without a clue to direct the reader therein. I confess, there is a lazy kind of learning, which is only indical; when scholars (like adders, which only bite the horse-heels) nibble but at the tables, which are calces librorum, neglecting the body of the book. But though the idle deserve no crutches, (let not a staff be used by them, but on them) pity it is, the weary should be denied the

benefit thereof, and industrious scholars prohibited the accommodation of an index, most used by those, who most pretend to contemn it.

[C] A L A N, abbot of Tewkesbury.] In Baronius (5) he is styled Abbas Deoces; which is a mistake, arising perhaps from hence, that, in the Vatican copy which that author made use of, he found written Deoces, instead of Theoces, or, as we now say, Teukeburienfis.

(5) Ad ann. 1162. n. 21.

A L A N, A L L E N, A L L Y N (W I L L I A M) Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church. He was the son of John Allen, by Jennet Lyfter, sister to Thomas Lyfter, of Westby in Yorkshire (a), was born at Rossal in Lancashire, some time in the year 1532. His father was a gentleman of good family, and some fortune [A], who took care of his education till such time as he reached his fifteenth year, and then sent him to Oxford (b), where, in 1547, he was entered of Oriel college, and had for his tutor, Morgan Phillips, or Philip Morgan, a very famous man, and a zealous Papist (c), under whom he studied with great success, adding himself especially to Logick, and Philosophy, in which, he became such a proficient, that he was unanimously elected fellow of his college in 1550 (d), in which year also, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e). In an act celebrated July the sixteenth, he went out junior of the act, having compleated his degree of Master of Arts, with great reputation (f); being at that time esteemed an honour to the university on account of his great parts, learning, and eloquence. In 1556, he became Principal of St Mary's Hall, and in that, and the year following, one of the Proctors of the university (g), being then but twenty-four years of age. In 1558, he was made canon of York (h), but on Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, he, as a zealous Catholick, lost all hopes of preferment, and therefore, in 1560, withdrew out of his native country (i), and retired to Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands, where an English college was erected, of which he became the principal support [B]. At this time, there were several persons of great learning, and some of the boldest champions of the Popish cause, resided in this place, with whom Allen conversed, and by the politeness, as well as strength of his genius, grew quickly into great esteem. To this, it is said, the gracefulness of his person did not a little contribute, for, with a majestick presence, he had an easy, affable, deportment, and, with the greatest severity of manners, a mildness in speech and behaviour, which drew the affection of all who conversed with him (k). Here he began to write in support of the Catholick cause, and his first piece was against a work written by the learned Bishop Jewell, on the subject of Purgatory and Prayers for the dead (l) [C]. The method he made

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(b) Camden, An. edit. T. H. p. 684.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Pits, de illustr. Script. Angl. p. 792.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

(e) Id. Fast. Ox. Vol. I. col. 75.

(f) Ibid. col. 80.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(h) Wood, ubi supra. Camden, ubi supra.

(i) Pits, de illustr. Angl. Script. p. 792. Edw. Fitzherbert in Epit. Vit. Card. Alani.

(k) Watson's Quodlibets, p. 104.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

[A] A Gentleman of good family, and fortune.] So an eminent writer, and his contemporary, informs us: His words are these, Natus ille in comitatu Lancastrensi honesta familia, & quæ aliquot clariores cognatione complexa i. e. He was born in Lancashire of a reputable family, allied to some of a bigger degree (1). Pits improves this, according to his wonted manner, for he tells us, that he was nobilibus ortus parentibus (2), which must signify, born of honourable parents at least. The author of his life, tells us, that he was descended from the Allens of Staffordshire, and that his grandfather, George Allen, settled at Rossal in Lancashire, because an uncle of his, who was Abbot of Delawise, demised to him diverse lands there, belonging to his monastery (3). Wood, rightly observes, that the arms Cardinal Allen bore, viz. Argent three Conies passant fable (4), are not the arms of the Allens of Staffordshire, nor indeed, that I can find of any other family (5) of that name; perhaps it was assigned him abroad, on account of the dangers he had run in the service of the Catholick cause, and the fierceness with which his enemies had pursued him; but this is submitted to the reader as a mere conjecture.

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 634.

(2) Pits, de illustr. Angl. p. 792.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 268.

(4) Ibid. ubi supra.

(5) See the Index to Guillim's Heraldry.

[B] Of which he became the principal support.] The reason why the English fugitives inclined to settle in the Low Countries, was chiefly on account of it's vicinity to their own country, whereby they had an opportunity of applying, as occasion required, to their friends for relief. The Spanish government also having already an eye towards Britain, encouraged such learned Catholicks as fled from thence, to settle in those provinces, and especially at Louvain, where there was a flourishing university, and other conveniences (6). Of this, the government in England had early intelligence, and took great care to break

(6) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVI. B. 12. p. 90.

off all correspondence between these fugitives, and the relations they had left behind them. There are still some writings in the Paper Office, which contain the names of persons punished for sending money to Louvain, as also an account of the sums they sent (7). However, Dr Harding, Dr Bullock, and other eminent persons remaining there, our author Allen, when he went abroad, thought it the properest place for him to reside in, and renew his acquaintance with his studies (8).

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 114.

(8) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani.

[C] On the subject of purgatory, and prayers, for the dead.] Of all who have written against the Papists, there is none whose works have been better received than those of Bishop Jewell, nor of all the subjects which he handled, was there one wherein he seemed to have reasoned with greater force, than on this, which Allen undertook to answer. The title of his book ran thus. A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholicks, concerning Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead: It was printed at Antwerp, in 1565, in 8vo (9). The strength of our author's argument lies in this position, that a middle state is what most Protestants own, and that therefore it is more reasonable to believe, as the Church teaches concerning it, than to think at random in this respect. He likewise takes pains to show that prayers for the dead, were in use in the earliest ages of the Church, and, at the same time, omits nothing that may move the passions, and incline the reader to believe, that as the practice of antiquity, so reason and good-nature also were on his side of the question. This treatise made a great noise in England, and was answered by Mr William Fulke (10), to whom, in process of time, Dr Richard Bristow wrote a reply, printed at Louvain, 1580, whereupon, Dr Fulke thought himself obliged to write a rejoinder, which came out the next year (11).

(9) Pits, de illustr. Anglæ Script. p. 793.

(10) See Catalogue of Popish Books, and Answers, in Strype's Annals, Vol. II. at the end.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[D] To

made use of in this work, was very proper to captivate the judgment of the reader; and his style, which was remarkably pure, and flowing, made his performance still the more dangerous. The chiefs of the party then abroad, conceived the greatest hopes of this new disputant, and, as a mark of their confidence, put under his care a young man, of an honourable family, who was come to study at Louvain. The care he took of this young pupil, and his application to his other studies, had such an effect upon his health, that his physicians were of opinion, nothing could restore it, but the enjoying for a season his native air. On this account, though his coming into England was attended with great danger, our author ventured over about 1565 (m). He went first, as the doctors had advised him, into Lancashire, where he was born, and there, without any regard to his safety, he laboured to the utmost of his power in making converts, and in dissuading such as were already Catholics, from going to Heretical Conventicles, that is, from going to the established Church (n). In order to carry his point the more effectually, he wrote and distributed several little pieces, which were afterwards printed, but by these endeavours rendering himself obnoxious to the government, so strict a search was made after him by the magistrates, that he was forced to retire out of that county (o), into the neighbourhood of the city of Oxford, where he concealed himself some time. In this retreat, he wrote a kind of apology for his party, under the title of *Brief Reasons concerning the Catholick Faith* (p). Some indeed say, this was written at the house of the Duke of Norfolk, in Norfolk, where it is certain our author was some time concealed, though he returned afterwards into the neighbourhood of Oxford again, where he distributed copies of this performance, to fix the minds of such as wavered between the two religions; and to draw over such as already doubted their safety, while remaining in the established Church (q). Such success attended these his endeavours, that though the conveniency of a ship going to the Netherlands (r) offered, yet he refused to make use of it, and chose rather to continue in this dangerous situation, promoting, as far as in his power lay, the doctrine of Popery, and the spiritual jurisdiction of his Holiness, and such as derived their authority from him. With this view, he ventured to establish a correspondence with some of his old friends in the university, and amongst the rest with a person formerly a Papist, but then of the established Church, and one, of whose preferment his family had great hopes. This man, our author by his unwearied applications drew back to his former opinions, which so exasperated his relations, that they persecuted Allen with extraordinary diligence, inasmuch, that he was forced to fly towards London, and not long after, with some difficulty, made his escape into Flanders, in 1568 (s), having remained in England three years. In all probability he had some great friends here, who, in respect to their former acquaintance with him, were well enough pleased at his withdrawing a second time beyond sea. Amongst whom, we may reckon Sir Christopher Hatton (t), afterwards Chancellor, who received part of his education in St Mary's Hall at Oxford, while our author was Principal thereof; on which account, Sir Christopher had a great tenderness for Allen's person, and Allen, on the other hand, had so high an esteem of him, as to raise his reputation to the greatest height abroad, which occasioned some invidious reflections at home (u). After our author came a second time into the Spanish Low-Countries, he went to Mechlin (w) in the Dutchy of Brabant, where he read a divinity lecture in a certain monastery there, with great applause, thence he went to Doway, where he became Doctor in Divinity (x), and laboured very assiduously in establishing a seminary there for the support of English scholars, and, because this was looked upon with an evil eye by the government in England, he afterwards wrote a book in defence of such establishments, of which the reader will find notice taken in our account of his writings. While he was thus employed, he became canon of Cambay (y), a very considerable and honourable preferment, conferred on him purely to reward his zeal in the service of the Catholick Church [D]. In this seminary of Doway, many books were composed to justify the Popish Religion, and to answer the books written in defence of the Church of England, which occasioned Queen Elizabeth's issuing a proclamation, forbidding such books to be either sold or read (z). In 1569, our author Allen appointed one Bristow, who became afterwards a very eminent man, moderator of studies at Doway (a), which Bristow, in all probability, was the person Allen drew over to his opinions, when he was in England, as is before mentioned. Not long after, Dr Allen was appointed canon

(m) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani, p. 39.

(n) Id. ibid.

(o) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(p) Pits, de illustr. Angl. Script. p. 793.

(q) As appears from the Treatise itself.

(r) Fitzherbert, ubi supra.

(s) Id. ibid.

(t) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 253.

(u) Leicester's Commonwealth, edit. 1649. p. 149.

(w) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(x) Fitzherbert, ubi supra.

(y) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 224.

(z) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 557.

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[D] *To reward his zeal in the service of the Catholick Church.* All who are admitted to this dignity, are obliged to prove their descents, that is, to show that for so many generations they have been gentlemen. We learn from a celebrated Popish writer, a very extraordinary circumstance concerning our author Allen's mission in England, the report of which, might very possibly contribute somewhat to his obtaining this preferment. The author having told us the reason of his going over to England, proceeds thus: Neither did he lead there an idle or supine life, but, like a brave and bold soldier, disguised in name and in habit, he sallied by stealth into the enemies quarters, recovering from them many whom

they had seduced, which grievously provoked them, and occasioned much pains to be taken in order to apprehend him: once he very narrowly escaped, for the person employed to seize him who knew him well, and had actually supped with him the same night, had such a mist before his eyes, when he came to execute his design, that he passed by him without knowing him (12). It may not be amiss to observe here, because Wood takes no notice of it, that the pupil of whom Allen took such care as to endanger his own health, was Mr Christopher Blount, afterwards Sir Christopher Blount, who was concerned in the Earl of Essex's insurrection (13).

(12) Niclus Erythraeus in Pinacoth. l. p. 92.

(13) Camden, Annal. p. 855.

(b) *Ibid.* col. 270.
Camden. Ann.
p. 684.
Fuller's Church
Hist. ubi supra.

(c) Wood's Ath.
Oxon. Vol. I.
col. 271.

(d) Fitzherbert,
ubi supra.

(e) See his epi-
taph, in Note
[H].

(f) Camden.
Annal. p. 684.

(g) Watfon's
Quodlibets, &c.
p. 240.
See also the arti-
cle of P A R -
S O N S, in
Wood's Athen.
Oxon.

(h) Watfon, ubi
supra.

(i) Camden.
Annal. p. 684.

(k) Grimestone's
History of the
Netherlands,
042, 943.
Camden. An-
nal. p. 552.
Strype's Annals,
Vol. III. p. 425.

(l) Grimestone,
ubi supra.

of Rheims, through the interest of the Guifes (b), and to this city, he transferred the feminary which had been settled at Doway. The reason which induced this alteration, was, because the then governor of the Netherlands, Don Lewis de Requesens, had obliged the English fugitives to withdraw out of his government (c). Hence forward, Dr Allen was esteemed the chief of his party, and indeed, he laboured incessantly to do it service, by writing various treatises, in defence of the doctrines, and not a few, by way of apology, for the practices of the Papists, by licensing, and recommending many books written by others, and by many journeys into Spain and Italy. By these his labours, he procured a feminary to be established at Rome (d), and two others in Spain. (e), wherein English students were not only educated in all sorts of learning, but were also maintained and provided for. At home, Dr Allen was justly reputed a capital enemy of the state (f), all correspondence with him was looked on as the highest kind of treason, and Thomas Alfield, a Jesuit, was actually executed for bringing certain books of our author's writing into England [E]. The celebrated Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, was Dr Allen's great friend, and counsellor (g), and very probably, put him upon that desperate project, which, if it had succeeded, would have overwhelmed the English, and which, as it miscarried, did in a manner enervate the Spanish monarchy. For many years there had been differences, discontents, and even actual injuries committed, between the English and the Spaniards; but now Dr Allen, and the fugitive Noblemen from England, persuaded King Philip the second, openly to undertake the conquest of their native country (h). To facilitate this, the Pope, who then was Sixtus V, was prevailed upon to renew the excommunication, thundered against Queen Elizabeth, by his predecessor, Pope Pius V (i). While this was in agitation, Sir William Stanley, who commanded a very considerable garrison of English and Irish in the important town of Daventer, basely betrayed it to the Spaniards, and went with his whole regiment of 1200. men into that service (k). Rowland York, who had been also intrusted with a strong fort in the same country, acted in the like infamous manner, which not a little astonished the States General of the United Provinces, and brought no small scandal on the English nation (l); yet Dr Allen wrote a treatise in defence of this base proceeding, and sent several Priests to Stanley, in order to instruct those he had drawn over to the King of Spain's service (m), as the reader will see in the notes [F]. To give the greater weight to these his writings, our author, Allen, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, was created Cardinal, by the title of St Martin in Montibus (n), and soon after, the King of Spain, gave him an Abbey of great value in the kingdom of Naples, with strong assurances of much greater preferment, which was afterwards performed. In April, 1668, he composed that

(m) Strype's An-
nals, ubi supra.

(n) Pits, de il-
lustr. Angliæ
Scriptor. p. 793.

[E] *Bringing certain books of our author's into England*] The college of Doway, was settled through the prudence and care of Dr Allen, who procured a pension from the Pope, for the support of such as led a collegiate life there. Of these, there were usually eight or ten doctors, who officiated as professors: Of whom, some explained the Holy Scriptures, others taught scholastick divinity, but the studies principally encouraged there, were the canon-law, and contro-
versy. Here also, such as were appointed thereto, wrote books against heresy, defended the religion, and the practices of Catholics, against the aspersions of their enemies, and also collected memoirs of the sufferings and deaths of such as were styled martyrs for the Catholick Faith. In the direction of this college, Dr Allen officiated as president, and behaved with so much mildness, wisdom, and circumspection, that he was universally revered and beloved (14). He likewise revised and approved such books as were written there, during the time that he presided, as appears particularly by his testimony prefixed to Richard Britton's brief Treatise of diverse sure and plain Ways to find out Truth, in this doubtful and dangerous Time of Heresy, to which book, Dr Allen's licence bears date, April 30, 1574 (15). He likewise licensed some of the books of Robert Parsons, and of many others. As to this Jesuit, whose name was Thomas Alfield, and who, in the text, is said to have died for bringing in some of our author's books; there is still among the papers of the Lord Treasurer, Burleigh, a brief of the treasonable expressions extracted out of Dr Allen's books, in order to ground his indictment. These expressions are most of them contained in a treatise written by Dr Allen, intituled, *The Defence of the twelve Martyrs in one Year* (16), which is not mentioned either by Pits, or Wood, in their catalogues of his works. In order to give the reader some notion of our author's style, and manner of writing, as also, because this book is so scarce, that 'tis hardly to be met with, we shall transcribe a paragraph or two from the indictment. 'The bond and obligation we have entered into for the service of Christ, and, the Church, far exceedeth all other

' duty, which we owe to any human creature. And therefore, where the obedience to the inferior hindreth the service of the other, which is superior, we must, by law and order, discharge our selves of the inferior. The wife, if she cannot live with her own husband, being an infidel, or an heretick, without injury, or dishonour to God, she may depart from him, or, contrariwise, he from her, for the like cause, neither oweth the innocent party, nor can the other lawfully claim, any conjugal duty, or debt in this case. The bond-slave, which is in another kind, no less bound to his lord and master, than the subject to his sovereign, may also, by the ancient Imperial laws, depart, and refuse to obey or serve him, if he become a Heretick Yea, *ipso facto*, he is made free. Finally, the parents that become Hereticks, lose the superiority and dominion they have by the law of nature, over their own children. Therefore, let no man marvel, that in case of heresy, the sovereign loseth the superiority over his people, and kingdom.' The indictment charges, that the author did hereby intend, that Queen Elizabeth, by reason of her heresy, had fallen from her sovereignty. It likewise charges Thomas Alfield, with bringing the said traitorous books of William Allen, into her majesty's dominions, and there publishing them on the 10th of September, in the twenty-sixth year of her reign, that is, in 1584 (17). For which facts he was executed at Tyburn, the 6th of July, 1585 (18).

[F] *As the reader will see in the notes.*] This event happened in the winter of 1587. Sir William Stanley had been before in the service of the King of Spain, but deserted from him, and served with reputation in Ireland. The Earl of Leicester, made him governor of Daventer, not only without, but against the consent of the States, who always suspected him, and who, after the Earl was gone into England, would willingly have removed him. Stanley having made an agreement with Count Taxis, admitted him with a small body of troops into the place, and having thus reduced it to the King of Spain's obedience, he was left there governor, with such of his Irish

(17) MS. Burleigh, from a book once belonging to Dr More, Bishop of Ely.

(18) Stowe's Annals, p. 709.

(14) Pits, de il-
lustr. Angliæ
Script. p. 972.

(15) Wood's A-
then. Oxon. Vol.
I. col. 211.

(16) Strype's
Annals, Vol.
III. p. 562.

that work which rendered him most famous abroad, and infamous at home. It consisted of two parts, the first explaining the Pope's bull, for the excommunication and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth; the second, exhorting the nobility and people of England to desert her, and take up arms in favour of the Spaniards (o). Of this book the reader will find a farther account in the notes [G]. It is sufficient to say, that it was by far the severest piece ever written against an English Prince, and very capable, considering the then situation of things, of producing mischievous effects. Many thousand copies were printed at Antwerp, in order to have been put on board the Armada, that they might have been in readiness to have been dispersed by the Papists all over England, upon the first landing of the Spaniards. But, on the failing of this enterprize, all these books were so carefully destroyed, that very few were preserved (p). Of these, one, as soon as it was printed, was transmitted by some of the Lord Treasurer's spies, to the English council, and Queen Elizabeth, thereupon, sent Dr Dale into the Low Countries, to complain of such a proceeding to the Prince of Parma, who affected to preserve great measures towards her Majesty. He heard this complaint with a great deal of phlegm, and answered, that as he knew of no such book, he could not say any thing to its contents (q). After the Armada was destroyed, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been three years in prison under a charge of high-treason, was brought to his trial and the great crime charged upon him, was his correspondence with Cardinal Allen, which being proved, he was found guilty by his Peers (r). In the same year, the King of Spain promoted our author, as he had promised him, to the Archbishoprick of Mechlin in Flanders (s), where he would have had him constantly resident, in order to his more effectually cherishing the Popish and Spanish interests in England. But the Pope having a high opinion of the Cardinal's merit, and finding him of great use in consistories, would not suffer him to leave Rome (t), where, however, he laboured as earnestly as ever, in the service of his countrymen, and the Catholick Faith. Some have asserted, that he and one Sir Francis Inglefield, assisted Father Parsons in composing his traitorous book concerning the succession (u), which he published under the name of Doleman, and which was of so dangerous consequence, that it was made capital by law, for any person to have it in his custody (w). Yet others affirm, that he had no hand in it, but, on the contrary, was very little pleased with this treatise (x), as tending to perpetuate those dissensions, which for so many years had torn and distracted his native country. The remainder of his life he spent at Rome in great honour and reputation, living in much splendor, and using all his interest for the comfort and maintenance of such poor Catholicks as fled out of England (y). As for the administration here, they had several spies upon him, and it appears by the papers of the Treasurer Burleigh, that he had constantly very distinct accounts of every step the Cardinal took (z). In the last years of his life, he is said to have changed his sentiments, as to government, and to have been heartily sorry for the pains he had taken in promoting the invasion of England by the Spaniards; nay, we are told by a very eminent Popish writer, that when he perceived the Jesuits intended nothing but desolating and destroying his native land, he wept bitterly, not knowing how to remedy it, much less how to bridle their insolence (a). This conduct of his, drew upon him

(o) Watfon's Quodlibets, p. 240. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(p) Watfon, ubi supra.

(q) Camden. Annal. p. 464. Grimeston's History of the Netherlands, p. 996. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 429.

(r) Camden. Annal. p. 595.

(s) Fuller's Church History, ubi supra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(t) Fitzherbert, ubi supra.

(u) Camden. Annal. p. 673.

(w) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 359.

(x) Watfon's Quodlibets, p. 203.

(y) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(z) See in the Table of Contents, to Strype's 14th Volume.

(a) Watfon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

forces as adhered to him. As for Rowland York, whom the Earl of Leicester intrusted with a strong fort, to bridle the Spanish garrison in Zutphen, he sold it to the same Count Taxis, who commanded that Spanish garrison (19). The treatise written by our author, in defence of this action, was first printed in English, in the form of a letter, and afterwards in Latin, under the title of *Epistola de Daventria Ditioe. Cracov. 1588*. In this epistle it is alledged, that Sir William Stanley was no traitor, because he had only delivered to the King of Spain, a city which was his own before, and all Englishmen in the service of the States, are exhorted to follow his example (20).

[G] *Of this book the reader will find, &c.*] The first part of this book, was intitled, *A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus V.* wherein it is maintained, that, by virtue of the Pope's bull, Queen Elizabeth was accurst, and deprived of her crown; the invasion and conquest of her kingdoms committed to the King of Spain, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the crown to himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the Pope and he should name. The title of the second part was, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, and in the title, our author is called the Cardinal of England (21). The chief points insisted on in this book, are these. The Queen is called the pretended Queen, and the present Usurper. She must be deprived of the administration of the kingdom. She is an Heretick, a Schismatick: Usurping the kingdom against all right; as for the other causes, so because she had not the consent of the great Bishop of Rome. That she moved the Turk to invade Christendom. She had set at sale, and made a market of laws and rights. Some of her facts make her incapable of the king-

dom. Some others make her unworthy of life. That therefore Pope Sixtus V, had renewed the excommunication against her, and deprived her of her title and pretences to the kingdom of England, and Ireland, and declared her illegitimate, and an usurper, and absolved all her subjects from the oath of fidelity to her. And then he charged all persons to withdraw their aid from her; that worthy punishment might be taken of her. And that they join themselves with the Duke of Parma. Also, it was proclaimed lawful to lay hands upon the Queen; and a very great reward was promised to them that did so. And a safe conduct was then given to as many as would bring warlike provisions to the Spanish camp; and to all who would assist that enterprize, the Pope doth by indulgence give full pardon, and plenary remission of all their sins, &c. In the same book he says, that he was made Cardinal on purpose to succour and serve his nation at this time, and promises that all imaginable diligence shall be used to preserve and protect all Catholicks, and all such as should come in and submit themselves to the Prince of Parma. Notwithstanding all this, many Papists were of opinion, that the Cardinal was in a manner compelled to take this book upon himself, and that in reality, it was either written, or altered, by Father Parsons and other Jesuits (22). Nay, it is pretended, that the Cardinal himself in his life-time protested as much, and it is certain, that after his death, the Jesuits pretended to father upon him many things, of which he was ignorant. The truth is, the contents of this book was universally disliked by all sober Catholicks (23), as well as Protestants, and therefore it is no wonder, there is such shifting it from one to another.

(22) Id. p. 247.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 561. Speed's Chron. p. 257.

(19) Grot. Anal. 1587. Camd. Annal. p. 553. Grimeston's Netherlands, p. 942. 943. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 423.

(20) Pitts, ubi supra.

(21) Watfon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

him the ill will of that powerful society, who, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken, all the books he had written, all the reputation and rewards he had acquired, gave out that he was a good simple man, but not of any esteem or reckoning in state affairs, handled in the Pope's consistory, a man of weak judgment, shallow wit, and small advice, never used but a little for matters of learning, and that in positive only, not in any school point (b). On his death-bed he was very desirous of speaking to the English students then in Rome, which the then Father Rector, a Jesuit, prevented, as fearing he should have persuaded them to a loyal respect for their Prince, and a tender regard for their country (c). He is generally said to have died of a retention of urine, but it was shrewdly suspected, that he was poisoned by the Jesuits, which suspicion was attended with such probable circumstances, that the reverend Fathers themselves admitted his being poisoned, but then they charged it on his antagonist, the Bishop of Cassana, whom they liked not, and who it was thought, on his demise, would have been made a Cardinal (d). As for our author, his decease happened on the sixth of October, 1594, in the sixty-third year of his age (e). He was buried with great pomp, in the chapel of the English college at Rome, where a monument is erected to his memory, with an inscription, which the reader will find in the notes [H]. Upon the death of this memorable person, the Jesuits, as a Priest of the Church of Rome tells us, openly triumphed, insulted over the dead corps, giving out, among other calumnies against him, that he was well gone, and that God had taken him away in good time. For if he had lived but a little while longer, he would have disgraced himself, shamed his country, and lost the credit which he had gotten (f); yet they shortly after, for many reasons, altered their tone, and when they found how little credit these discourses met with, magnified the Cardinal's memory, as if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confessor [I]. Without all question, it is a very hard task, to give this eminent person his true character; however, since it is our province, we cannot be blamed for attempting it, especially if it be considered, that we offer nothing but what is supported by authority. If we consider him as an English subject, writing, advising, and acting against his Prince, we must look upon him as a busy, enterprising, and dangerous rebel, labouring continually the destruction of his Prince, and her people, equally ready to persuade foreigners to invade, or subjects to rise up in arms, which is the picture drawn of him by Camden (g). If, on the other hand, we look on him in the light of a zealous Papist, and as one convinced in his conscience, that what he did was agreeable to the doctrines of the Church, then we cannot deny him the title of an active, learned, and industrious person; and if we may credit what should seem to be the strongest evidence, far from being an enemy, in the latter part of his life especially, either to his country, or to his lawful Sovereign Queen Elizabeth (h) [K].

Lastly,

[H] *An inscription which the reader will find in the notes.*

Deo Trino & Uni.

Gulielmo Alano, Lancastrienſi, S. R. E. Cardinali Angliæ, qui extorris patria, perſunctus Laboribus diuturnis, & Orthodoxa Religione tuenda, sudoribus multis in ſeminariis ad ſalutem patriæ inſtituendis, fovendis, periculis plurimis ob ecclēſiam Romanam, opera, ſcriptis, omni corporis & animi contentione deſenſam, hic in ejus Gremio, Scientiæ, Pietatis, Modēſtiæ, Integritatis fama & exemplo charus, occubuit 17 Kal. Novembris, Anno Ætatis 63, ſalutis humanæ 1594 (24). That is:

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

To the memory of William Alan, a Lancaſtrian, in the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of England, who, driven from his country, worn out with daily Labours, ſupporting the Orthodox Religion, ſtriving inceſſantly in the founding Seminaries, for promoting the ſpiritual Safety of his Country, cheriſhing when founded, expoſing himſelf to many dangers by ſerving the Church of Rome, in Actions, Writings, and by the whole forces of his Soul and Body, here in it's Boſom, endeared by the Fame and Example of his Wiſdom, Piety, Modēſty, and Integrity, he died the 17th of the Kalends of November, in the 63d year of his Age, and of Man's Salvation 1594.

[I] *As if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confessor.* In order thoroughly to understand this perplexed affair, the reader must observe, that a little before the Spanish invasion, in 1588, it was thought necessary, to have some Englishman promoted to the rank of a Cardinal. The candidates were Dr Lewis, Bishop of Cassana, and our Dr Allen, and much interest was made on both sides, but at length the Jesuits being exceedingly apprehensive of Bishop Lewis's coming to that honour, it was procured for him of whom we are writing. However afterwards, when the Car-

dinal did not go all their lengths, they treated him as injuriously, as ever they had done any of their greatest enemies; yet growing again apprehensive, that Bishop Lewis might put on that hat which Allen had left, they began to observe, in all companies, that the deceased Cardinal was a perfect saint, that he was justly admired by several Popes, respected by all the Princes of Europe, who either knew or heard of him; that his whole study was for the good of his country, and the maintenance of the Catholick religion, and that yet the Bishop of Cassana had made it the business of his life, to disturb and disquiet so holy, and so excellent a man (25).

[K] *To his lawful sovereign Queen Elizabeth* The clearest proof that can be of this, we find in a letter amongst the MSS. of the Lord Burleigh, thus endorsed by that Lord's own hand. Cardinal Allen from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, August 14, 1593. It runs thus (26):

Good Mr Hopkins,

YOURS of the tenth of July, came safely to my hands, and gave me knowledge of a certain overture made to you, by one, that might seem to do it by some secret commission of treaty of an accord between England and Spain, with desire of my sense therein, either of my self or with the Pope, upon some reasonable conditions, for toleration of the Catholick religion in our country. Which argument, how grateful it should be unto me, you that of old knew so well my opinion and desire in that cause, may easily deem. And after a little pause of mind upon so sudden and unwonted news, I could think no otherwise, but that God himself hath stirred up in their hearts this motion, for the saving of that realm from the present fears, and dangers, and perplexities it is fallen into. And thereby also a special [favour] offered at length unto me, once ere I die, not only to give the willing, desired comforts, I owe unto my afflicted Catholick friends

(b) Watson's Quodlibets, p. 98.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Camd. Ann. p. 684. Fuller, ubi supra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(f) Thom. Bell, in his Anatomy of Popish Tyranny, lib. ii. c. 2.

(g) Camd. Ann. p. 684, 685.

(h) Fitzherbert, in Vit. Card. Alani.

(24) Godwin, de Preful. Angl. Part ii. p. 179.

(25) Watson's Quodlibets, 98, 99, 101. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 264.

(26) From a book once belonging to (More) Bishop of Ely.

Lastly, taking him merely as an author, he was unquestionably for matter, method, wit, learning, language, one of the most considerable writers of his age, as the greatest of his enemies, and the best critics, have allowed [L]. It seems strange, that many of our writers of controversy, and some not unlearned, have treated this our author as a Jesuit (i), whereas in all controversies between that order and the secular Priests, the latter always gloried in Cardinal Allen, as a man to whom no Jesuit could justly be compared in any respect [M]. In the close of this life it is proper to remark, that at Rome, and every where abroad, Cardinal Allen was styled Cardinal of England, regarded as the Protector of the nation, and honoured with extraordinary respect. He had about him several persons of some distinction, particularly Mr Fitzherbert, who wrote a large account of his life, which was never printed, as well as the epitome of that life, from which most of the facts mentioned in this article are taken; Mr Thomas Hefket, his nephew; Mr Banes, who had lived long in Poland; with many others. To maintain his magnificence, he had a revenue of 15,000 crowns *per annum*, then computed at 4,500 pounds of our money (k). But when it appeared that all this had wrought little, and that there was no hopes of reducing England, either by fraud or force, less care was taken of English Priests, and few of them were raised even to the degree of Bishops. But in the reign of King Charles II, when it was again thought probable at Rome, that something might be done for promoting the Catholick cause in Britain, Philip Thomas Howard, younger brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was created Cardinal, and sometimes called the Cardinal of England (l), as our Cardinal Allen had been before.

(i) Stowe, edit. 1631, p. 746. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630. Dr Denton, in Popish Merits, p. 39.

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

friends and brethren, but therein also to serve most faithfully and profitably, even my very enemies, though otherwise than through these unfortunate differences and debates in religion, [our Lord God forgive the author thereof] I know I have none; or to do to the one or the other, and above all to my native country, most dear unto me, so much good as an unfeigned peace would bring, I would travel to the last drop of my blood. I thank God, I am not so estranged from the place of my birth, most sweet, nor so affected to foreigners, that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things; whereof if it pleased the Queen's majesty or council to take a sure taste, I desire no more, but that they would confidently use and command me in this matter. And in truth, upon the receipt of your letter, I had not slept before I had dealt with his Holiness, if the party that made the motion unto you, had brought any warrant in the world from any in authority, or any sufficient proof or attestation of their contentment therein. Which might have been [as yet it may be] kept as close as themselves would require. That they do did not, if they meant any matter indeed I marvel. And you did well and wisely to stand on that point which I cannot, in reason nor honour, attempt a thing of that weight and quality with the Pope; much less bring our purpose to pass, either with him or the King. With whom also, not only by his Holiness's mediation, but by myself, in matters concerning our country and religion, I may perhaps do more than I need now to say. And whatsoever I can do with either of them, I would employ in this cause myself to the uttermost. Though, to say the truth, if the Pope were a temporal Prince only, being no less injured [tho' in another kind] than the King himself, his person were not so fit to be a moderator of this pretended peace. But being a spiritual person, and the common and most loving father of all Christians, and attending above all human respects the service of God, and the advancement of religion, without all formalities and punctos of worldly humour, I am assured he will embrace this cause with all hearty affection. For I know many ways his most tender heart and desire towards our country's weal, both in God and in the world, &c.

[L] And the best critics have allowed.] In this note we shall give an account of such of his writings as we have not already mentioned. Such as, *A Defence of the Lawful Power and Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins*. To which is added two other tracts, *The Peoples Duty in confessing*; and *An Explanation of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, with respect to Indulgencies*. Printed at Louvain, 1567, in 8vo (27). *De Sacramentis in genere, de Sacramento Eucharistiae, & de Missae Sacrificio*, Libros tres. i. e. *Of Sacraments in general, of the Eucharist, and of the sacrifice of the Mass, three Books. Addressed to Pope Gregory XIII. Printed at Antwerp, 1576* (28). *Of the Worship due to Saints, and their Relicks*. A true, sincere, and modest Defence of Christian Catholicks, that suffered for their faith at

home and abroad. Against a false, seditious, and slanderous Libel, intitled, *The Execution of Justice in England: wherein is declared, how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholicks with Treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness, and manner of their Sufferings; with diverse other matters pertaining to this Purpose.*

Printed without the name of the place, in 1583 (29). The book to which this was an answer, was penned by Lord Burleigh himself, and the original, under his own hand, is yet preserved (30). As for this piece of Cardinal Allen's, it is esteemed the very best of all his writings; it consisted of nine chapters, wherein as much is said for his cause, and as great learning shewn in defending it, as it would admit. Of this discourse it is, that the learned Edmund Bolton, author of *Nero Caesar*, gives this character, *a princely, grave, and flourishing piece, of natural and exquisite English, is Cardinal Alan's apology* (31). Besides these, he wrote some other little treatises, which were published without his name, and therefore cannot certainly be known to be his. To the last mentioned book, an answer was written by John Stubbe of Lincoln's-Inn (32), by direction of the Lord Treasurer, and another by Bishop Bilson (33).

[M] Could justly be compared in any respect.] If only the common writers of pamphlets (34), following honest John Stowe (35), had styled our author a Jesuit, I should have looked on it as a mere term of reproach, and not strictly to be taken, but since Mr Strype (36), who should have known better, calls him so, it is necessary to cite the following short proof of the contrary, from an author of undeniable credit in such a dispute, I mean Father Watson, the great champion of the secular Priests against that order (37). 'It is, says he, a very mean occupation, and but coarse stuff, that the Jesuits can and will not make a commodity of one way or other. For who knowing what number of learned there are in the world, of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, Benedictines, Carthusians, &c. that I may omit fundry Cardinals, Bishops, Deans, Canons, and others, secular Priests, yea of our own nation, as Dr Allane, Dr Sanders [though too much jesuited] Dr Harding, Dr Stapleton, Dr Gifford, Dr Parkinson, Dr Ely, and a whole score twice told, now in esse, of secular Priests, whom no English Jesuit is able to hold tack withal, yet have these Machiavels got such a general fame and report to fly abroad of them, as though there were not one of any talent in the world to be found, unless he were a Jesuit.' And in another part of the same work, this author tells us, that Pope Gregory XIII, made use of this phrase to his Cardinals, *Venite Fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum: as much as to say, continues he, I will shew you a man in Anglia born, to whom all Europe may give place, for his high prudence, reverend countenance, and support of government* (38). But whoever would see a still more ample character of this our Cardinal, may consult a forcign writer, mentioned in the margin, who will give him full satisfaction (39).

(29) Copied from the book.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 481.

(31) See his Hypercritica, at the end of A. Hall's edition of N. Trivet, Vol. II. p. 233.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 482.

(33) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(34) Such as Dr Denton in his Popish Merits.

(35) Annals, p. 746.

(36) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630.

(37) Quodlibets, p. 71, a marginal note.

(38) Ibid. 97.

(39) Nicius Erythraeus, Pinacotheb. l. p. 92.

(27) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269. Pitts, p. 793.

(28) See the authors before cited.

(a) See the article
AARON.

A L B A N (*St*) is famous for having been the first Christian (*a*), who suffered martyrdom in this island; for which reason he is usually styled the St Stephen, or protomartyr, of Britain [*A*]. He was born at Verulam, of Pagan parents [*B*], and flourished towards the end of the third century. In his youth he took a journey to Rome [*C*], in company with Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon [*D*], and served

[*A*] He is styled the — protomartyr of Britain.] This is the usual appellation given him by our old historians. Thus Matthew of Westminster (1) calls him *Anglorum sive Britonum promartyrem*, 'the protomartyr of the English, or Britons:' where, at the word *Britonum*, some critic has put the following remark, which, in the printed books, has crept from the margin into the text. *Quod solum verum est; quia certum est, eum Britonem, non Anglicum existisse: unde male dicitur, Anglorum protomartyrem. i. e.* 'Which alone is true; because it is certain he was a Briton, and not an Englishman: so that he is improperly called the protomartyr of the English.' For this reason Thomas Walsingham, in describing the common-seal of the convent of St Albans, retains only the proper appellation. *In quo (says he) vetustissimo opere imago gloriosæ protomartyris Britannorum Albani figurabatur, tenens in manu palmam (2). i. e.* 'In which most antient piece of workmanship, the image of St Alban, the protomartyr of the Britons, was figured, holding a branch of palm in his hand.' Venantius Fortunatus, in celebrating the praises of the martyrs, writes thus of St Alban:

Egremium Albanum sæcunda Britannia profert (3).

The great St Alban fruitful Britain bore.

Notwithstanding which testimonies, Thomas Dempster (4) contends, that this Saint was by birth a Scotchman, though he suffered martyrdom in Britain; and for this he cites the following distich of Hartmannus as quoted by Canisius.

Scotia se Albano felicem martyre clamat,
Victima qui Christo prima Britanna fuit.

*The Church to Scotland martyr'd Alban ow'd,
Who first for Christ in Britain shed his blood.*

The learned Usher sought in vain to find these verses in the books of Canisius; and therefore builds no more upon them, than upon another confident assertion of Dempster's in the same place, that he had met with a small treatise written by St Alban, intitled *Christianorum Puritas*, which, the Archbishop will venture any wager, neither that historian, nor any other writer, ever saw. *Verum quum in tomis Canisiani hoc frustra quaesiverim, non magis hic apud me fidem suam liberat, quam in illo quod in eodem ipso loco non minori confidentia asseverat, pervenisse ad se Albani opusculum inscriptum Christianorum Puritas; cuiusmodi libellum neque ab illo, neque a mortalium omnino quoquam, conspectum fuisse unquam, quovis pignore ausim contendere (5).* The title of Protomartyr is likewise given to St Alban in an antient inscription, found by some workmen, who were repairing the east end of the church of St Albans, in the year 1257. These labourers, in opening the ground between the shrines of St Oswin and St Wulfstan, found certain leaden sheets containing relics, which, by the following inscription on a plate of lead, appeared to be those of the martyr. *IN HOC MAUSOLEO INVENTUM EST VENERABILE CORPUS SANCTI ALBANI PROTOMARTYRIS ANGLORUM (6). i. e.* *In this Mausoleum is found the venerable body of St Alban, the Protomartyr of the English.* I shall only add part of the hymn, which used to be sung on the festival of this Saint:

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum (7).

i. e. Hail, Protomartyr of the English, Soldier of the King of Angels, O Alban, Flower of the Martyrs!

[*B*] He was a native of Verulam, &c.] This town was antiently called *Werlamcester* or *Watlingacester*;

the former name being derived from the river *War-lame*, which ran on the east side, the latter from the Roman high-way called *Watlingstreet*, which lay to the west (8). Tacitus calls it *Verulamium*, and Ptolemy *Urolanium*. The situation of this place was: close by the town of St Alban's in Hertfordshire, which takes its name from our protomartyr. There is nothing now remaining of old Verulam but ruins of walls, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, which are now and then dug up. It is conjectured from the situation, that this was the town of Cassivelaunus, so well defended by woods and marshes (9), which was taken by Cæsar. In Nero's time, it was esteemed a *Municipium* (10), or town, whose inhabitants enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens (11). It was entirely ruined by the Britons, during the war between the Romans and Boadicea Queen of the *Iceni*. Afterwards Verulam flourished again, and became a city of great note. About the middle of the fifth century, it fell into the hands of the Saxons. But Uther the Briton, from his serpentine subtilty surnamed *Pendragon*, recovered it, with much difficulty, after a very long siege. Alexander *Nequam* or *Neckam*, who was born at Verulam in the thirteenth century, mentions this revolution, as also the martyrdom of St Alban (whom he improperly styles a citizen of Rome) in the following verses (12):

Urbs insignis erat Verolamia, plus operosæ
Arti, naturæ debuit illa minus.
Pendragon Arthuri patris hæc obsessa laborem
Septennem sprevit cive superba suo.
Hic est martyrii roseo decoratus honore
Albanus, civis, inclyta Roma, tuus.

*To antient Verulam, a famous town,
Much kindness art hath shew'd, but nature none.
Great Arthur's sire, Pendragon's utmost pow'r,
For seven long years did the proud walls endure.
Here holy Alban, citizen of Rome,
Obtain'd the happy crown of martyrdom.*

After Uther's death, Verulam fell again into the hands of the Saxons: but by frequent wars it was at last entirely ruined, and is now converted into corn-fields (13). *Segetes est, ubi Troja fuit.*

[*C*] He took a journey to Rome.] Leland tells us, that, at the time when Alban flourished, learning, and the polite arts, had been lately introduced by the Romans into Britain, which was now become a province of the empire; and that the youth of quality and distinction used to travel to Rome for improvement in knowledge and the sciences. *Eo tempore, quo floruit Albanus, bonæ literæ, beneficio magno Romanorum, in Britannia jam in provinciam redacta, enituerunt; usque adeo ut nobiles votis omnibus eloquentiam, unâ cum receptis artibus, insigniter excolerent. Utque felicius hæc sibi ornamenta compararent, ipsos scientiarum fontes, nempe Romanos, de more petebant (14).*

[*D*] Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon.] In an antient book of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus, the latter is said to have been a Roman by birth, and to have passed into Britain in the time of Diocletian's persecution (15). But Giraldus Cambrensis (16) and Ranulphus Cestrensis (17) affirm, that he was born at Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales; and Rudburn (18) and the author of the little Winchester History (19) tell us, he was a Monk, and promoted to the clerical office in the cathedral of that city. Johannes Caius (20) likewise informs us, that Amphibalus was a native of Caer-Leon; and adds, that he was Rector of the university of Cambridge. However it be, it is certain he was instrumental in the conversion of St Alban, and was himself afterwards crowned with martyrdom. See more of him in the sequel of this article.

[*E*] He

(1) Flores Hist. an. 794.

(2) Walsing. in Hist. Rich. II, an. 1. 81.

(3) Lib. 8. Carm. de Virginitate.

(4) Hist. Eccl. Scot. l. i. n. 23.

(5) Usseri Britan. Eccl. Antiq. London, 1687, p. 77.

(6) Matth. Par. Hist. Angl. edit. 1640. Vol. II. p. 942. Anonym. apud Usser. ubi supra.

(7) In Breviar. Sarisbur. Offic. S. Albani.

(8) Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. an. 313.

(9) Cassivelauni oppidum sylvis paludibusque munitum. Cæsar, de Bello Gall. l. v.

(10) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibson, Vol. I, last edit. col. 355.

(11) A. Gell. Noctis Atticæ, l. xvi. c. 13.

(12) Apud Camden. ubi supra.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 13.

(15) Usserius, ubi supra, p. 85.

(16) Itinerar. Cambrie, l. i. c. 5.

(17) Polychron. l. i. c. 48.

(18) Hist. major. l. i. c. 4.

(19) Winton. eccl. hist. c. 6.

(20) Hist. Can. tab. ig. l. i. p. 24, 25.

served seven years as a soldier in the armies of the Emperor Diocletian. Being returned home, he settled in the town of Verulam, where he lived highly esteemed by his countrymen, till the persecution under the above-mentioned Emperor (b). In the mean time, through the example and instructions of Amphibalus, he renounced the errors of Paganism, in which he had been educated, and became a thorough convert to the Christian religion (c). He was put to death in the year of Christ 303 [E], during the tenth and last general persecution of the Church. The story of his martyrdom is very briefly and obscurely related by Gildas, but more circumstantially and at large by venerable Bede, the substance of whose narrative is as follows: being yet a Pagan (or at least it not being known that he was become a Christian) he entertained the above-mentioned Amphibalus (d) in his house. The Roman Governor being informed that he harboured a Christian, sent a party of soldiers to apprehend him. But Alban, putting on the habit of his guest [F], presented himself to the officers in his stead, and was carried before that magistrate. The noble freedom with which he behaved [G], and the declaration he made of his conversion to Christianity, so enraged the Judge, that he ordered him immediately to be beheaded. In his way to execution, he was stopped by a river, over which was a bridge, so thronged with spectators, that it was impossible to cross it. The Saint, impatient for the crown of martyrdom, approached the brink, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, the stream was miraculously divided [H], and afforded a passage for

(b) Leland, Com- ment. de Scripti Brit. c. 18.

(c) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(d) This name is not found in Bede, who only calls him *Clericus quidam*.

[E] He was put to death in the year of Christ 303.] The date, assigned by Bede (21), is the year 286; in which he is followed by the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and by the Latin Annals ascribed to Afferius Menevensis; by Thomas Rudburn the elder, in his Lesser Chronicle; by Johannes Timuthensis, and by Capgrave in his Life of St Alban; by the Salisbury Breviary, and others. There is no great variation between this account of time, and the computations of Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster. For the former tells us, the relics of St Alban were discovered by King Offa 507 years after that Saint's death, 344 years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, on the kalends of August, the first indiction; that is, in the year of Christ 793, from which the indictions began to be reckoned. The latter informs us, that his tomb was discovered on the Octave of St Stephen, the beginning of the year 1257, nine hundred and seventy years after his death. Here may properly be inserted the following computations, made by a Monk of St Alban's, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. 'From the incarnation of our Lord, to the passion of St Alban, are elapsed 286 years; and from the passion of St Alban, to the arrival of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in Britain, 163 years: which put together make 449 years. From the arrival of St Germanus, to the translation of St Alban, under the illustrious King Offa, are 344 years: add these to the former, and they become 793. From this translation, to that which was made in the reign of King Henry I, under the Abbot Geoffrey, are 336 years. All these put together make 1129 years. From this last translation, to the discovery of the said martyr's Mausoleum, under Abbot John, on the octave of St Stephen, are 127 years. These added to the foregoing make the whole 1256. And at this time, viz. in the year of our Lord 1257, are elapsed 970 years from the martyrdom of St Alban, counting the beginning of the year from the feast of the Circumcision, and not from that of the Annuntiation.' William Caxton, and after him Johannes Major, in his Scottish History, refer the martyrdom of St Alban to the year of Christ 226, which is full fifty-eight years before the beginning of Diocletian's reign. According to some of the Winchester Annals, St Alban suffered in the year 296; according to others, in the year 305. Stowe's Chronicle places his martyrdom in 293; and Wendover's in 304, which that writer calls the nineteenth of Diocletian. The truth of the case is; St Alban was martyred during that dreadful persecution, which, according to Orosius and others, lasted ten years. But it appears from Eusebius, that this flame broke out in the year of Christ 303, being the nineteenth of Diocletian; and though in other provinces it continued to rage during the space of ten years, yet in Gaul and Britain, where Constantius Augustus resided, it ceased the very succeeding year. And therefore the martyrdom of St Alban is properly reckoned among the events of the year 303 (22).

[F] He put on the habit of his guest.] The garment of Amphibalus, which Alban, upon this occasion, put on, is called by Bede, and in antient writers, *Caracalla*; which is rendered, by the Saxon interpreter of Bede,

a monkish habit. This *Caracalla* was a kind of cloak with a cowl, as appears from St Jerom (23) and Eucherius (24), who, describing the Ephod, or sacerdotal garment of the Jewish Priests, tell us, it was made, in modum *Caracalla*, after the manner of the *Caracalla*, or monkish dress, sed sine cucullo, but without a cowl. Hence the diminutive *Καρακάλλιον*, in the Greek-Latin Glossary ascribed to Cyrill, is explained by *Cuculla*. Thomas Walsingham relates (25) that this garment was preserved in the Church of Ely, in a large chest, which was opened in the reign of Edward II, A. D. 1314. They found therein a woollen garment, so big that it filled the chest from top to bottom; and on the upper part of it were perceived some spots of blood, as fresh as if it had been newly stained therewith. This historian says hereupon, that it is plain, this garment was the same which St Alban, at the time of his conversion, received from his master St Amphibalus, as a mark of the new religion he had embraced, and the same in which the martyr afterwards suffered death. Thomas Rudburn, who reports the same story (26), goes farther, and tells us, there was found with the garment an ancient writing in these words: *This is the Caracalla of St Amphibalus, the Monk, and Preceptor of St Alban; in which that protomartyr of England suffered death, under the cruel persecution of Diocletian against the Christians.*

[G] He behaved with a noble freedom.] It happened at the time when Alban was brought before the Judge, that magistrate was standing by an altar, and offering sacrifice to his gods. When he saw Alban, and perceived the cheat he had put upon him, he ordered him to be dragged before the images of his gods, saying to him; *Because you have chosen to conceal a sacrilegious person and a blasphemer, rather than deliver him up to suffer the just reward of his blasphemy, the punishment due to him shall be inflicted on you, if you refuse to comply with the ceremonies of our religion.* Alban, not in the least terrified with these threats, boldly declared he would not obey the Judge's commands. The Magistrate then asked him, *of what family he was?* Alban replied; *To what purpose do you enquire of my family? if you would know my religion, I am a Christian.* Then the Judge asked him his name; to which he answered, *My name is Alban, and I worship the only true and living God, who created all things.* The Magistrate returned; *If you would enjoy the happiness of eternal life, delay not to sacrifice to the great gods.* Alban answered; *The sacrifices you offer are made to devils; neither can they help the needy, or grant the petitions of their votaries.* The Judge was now enraged beyond measure, and commanded the holy confessor to be beaten, in hopes thereby to shake his constancy: but finding all means ineffectual, he ordered him to be taken away, and led to immediate execution (27).

[H] The stream was divided.] Neither Bede, nor the other antient writers of the Acts of St Alban, have told us the name of this river. In a few copies of Gildas, it is true, the word *Tameis* or *Tamenis* appears: but it is not to be found in the manuscript of that author in the publick library of Cambridge. Nor can it be admitted, unless we suppose Gildas to have given the name

(23) Epist. 128. ad Fabiolam.

(24) Instructio. l. ii. c. 10.

(25) Apud Uffer. ubi supra, p. 78.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Bede, ubi supra.

(21) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 7.

(22) Ufferius, ubi supra, p. 88.

for himself and a thousand persons. This miracle converted the executioner [I] upon the spot, who threw away his drawn sword, and, falling at St Alban's feet, desired he might have the honour to die with him, or rather for him. This sudden conversion of the headsman occasioning a delay in the execution, St Alban walked up to a neighbouring hill, where praying for water to quench his thirst, a fountain sprung up under his feet. Here he received the crown of martyrdom [K], on the tenth of the kalends of July. The executioner was a signal example of divine vengeance: for, at the instant of the stroke given to the Saint, his eyes dropped out of his head [L]. The behaviour of St Alban at his death, and the miraculous circumstances attending it, were instrumental in converting many of the spectators to Christianity [M]. Between four and five hundred years afterwards, Offa, King of the Mercians, built a very large and stately monastery, to the memory of St Alban, in the place where he suffered martyrdom [N]. The story of this Saint's death, particularly the miraculous circumstances attending it, are by many looked upon as fabulous, and without foundation; whilst others think there is no reason to disbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban. [O]. St Amphibalus himself afterwards suffered martyrdom

name of *Tamefis* to the *Coln*, because that river empties itself into the Thames. For the *Coln* runs through part of Hertfordshire, between old Verulam and new St Albans (28).

(28) Ufserius, ubi supra, p. 79.

(29) Ibid. p. 89.

(30) In Histor. Sanctar. collectione, edit. Lovanii, 1485.

(31) Apud Ufserium, ibid.

[I] This miracle converted the executioner. Capgrave calls the foldier, who was to have beheaded St Alban, by the name of *Heraclius* (29); and the author of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus (30) gives him that of *Araclius*. This man had the honour to bury St Alban with his own hands, and afterwards to tread in his steps. He is celebrated by Robert of Dunstable (31) in the following verses:

Improba dispolos convulsio dissipat artus;
Horribilis Lethi forma, furoris opus.
Nec moritur Sontum tot Sancti mortibus ira;
Sed metit, exitiū meta, machæra caput.
Fit de terreno celestis milite miles,
Dum fovet invicta strenuitate fidem,
Albani callem virtutis odore fecutus,
Fit bravo confors, sicut agone comes.

This foldier is placed in the Roman martyrologies together with St Alban.

[K] Here he received the crown of martyrdom. The place, where he was beheaded, was called, in the Anglo-Saxon language *Holm-hurst*. *Hurst* signifies a Wood; and an ancient author, quoted by Archbishop Usher, tells us, he had seen the place; and that it was overgrown with trees. *Vidi locum repleri arborum densitate, in quo martyr invictus quondam pro Christo sententiam subiit capitalem.* In after-times, it obtained the name of *Derfawold Wood*, and was the spot; whereon the town of St Albans was built (32).

(32) Id. ib. p. 87.

[L] The executioner's eyes dropped out of his head. This miracle is recorded in the martyrologies of Bede, Ado, Rabanus, and Notherus, under X *Kalend. Julii*. To which may be added the following verses of Erric of Auxerre (33):

(33) Erric. Antistod. de vita Germani. l. iii.

Millia pœnarum Christi pro nomine passus;
Quem tandem rapuit capitis sententia casti.
Sed non Licitori cessit res tuta superbo;
Utque caput sancto, ceciderunt lumina sævo.

(34) Camden, ubi supra, col. 352.

Thus translated into English (34):

After a thousand sufferings for the faith,
When judg'd at last to end them all with death;
The bloody Licitor did just Heaven surprise,
And as the saint his head, the villain lost his eyes.

[M] Many of the spectators were converted to Christianity. One of them, being more sensibly touched than the rest, delivered himself to this effect. He told them, 'That if St Alban had proved his belief by meer rhetoric, he should not have wondered if his countrymen had paid no regard to his discourse: for why should they listen to a persuasion, which stood condemned by the constitutions and religious customs of their ancestors? But since he wrought miracles in attestation of his doctrine, not to submit to such irresistible evidence, was, in effect, to stand out against the omnipotence of God;

for, that God was the author of those wonderful effects, was past dispute.' *With what colour of sense then (adds he) can we dispute the truth of those doctrines, thus supernaturally attested? For when was ever any thing of this kind performed by our deities, or heard of in our religion? And besides all this, the character of the man was admirable. His patience and constancy, his temper and devotion, were particularly remarkable; inasmuch that, all things considered, his behaviour seems almost as great a miracle as any of the rest. When he was insulted, he showed no uneasiness, nor indeed seemed to have any passion about him but that of pity. And when he was brought to the place of execution, he discovered as much pleasure in his countenance, as if he had been going to an entertainment. Who, upon reflexion, does not easily perceive, that Alban was supported by more than human assistance? And if such greatness and constancy be the peculiar marks of divine favour, we may certainly conclude, that such blessings are bestowed only on the virtuous and devout. And therefore the best service we can do ourselves and our country, is to embrace St Alban's principles, and imitate his example.* This discourse being well received by the auditors, they unanimously declared for the Christian religion; and wanting a person to instruct them more fully, and assist them in religious offices, they went in quest of Amphibalus, who had converted St Alban. This Monk, having escaped the fury of his persecutors, was retired into Wales, where he preached with wonderful success; and converted great numbers to the Christian faith: The men of Verulam abovementioned, being about a thousand in number, travelled into Wales, where they all received baptism at the hands of St Amphibalus (35).

(35) Hertsfield, Hist. Ecd. Ang. c. 10. Ufserius, ubi supra, p. 84.

[N] Offa, King of the Mercians, built a monastery in the place where St Alban suffered martyrdom. This foundation was made in the year 795. That King, and several of his successors, bestowed large possessions on this religious house, and obtained ample privileges for it from several Popes. Particularly, it was exempt from paying the apollitical duty called Romefoot or Peter-pence: it's Abbot, or Archdeacon acting under him, had episcopal jurisdiction over all the clergy and laity residing on any of the lands belonging to the monastery; and Pope Adrian IV, who was an Englishman, and born near Verulam, granted to the Abbot of this monastery, that as St Alban (these are the words of the privilege) is well known to be the protomartyr of the English nation, so the abbot of his monastery should, at all times, be reputed the first in dignity of all the Abbots. The church of this monastery is still in being, and is much admired for it's largeness, beauty, and antiquity. When the Monks were turned out, it was purchased by the townsmen for four hundred pounds, and converted into a parochial church (36).

(36) Camden, ubi supra.

[O] The story of this Saint's death — is by many looked upon as fabulous — whilst others think there is no reason to disbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban. Our great Milton, in his History of England (37), seems to give very little credit to the narrative of Bede and others. His words are, speaking of St Alban; *The story of whose martyrdom, fabled and worse martyred with the fubling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehensive of truth, deserves no longer digestion.* Let us now hear Mr Collier. 'As for St Alban's miracles, being attested by authors of such antiquity and credit, I do

(37) Apud Complete History of England, Vol. I. p. 24.

martyrdom [P] at Ruddurn, three miles distant from Verulam.

do not see why they should be questioned. That miracles were wrought in the Church at that time of day, is clear from the writings of the antients. To suppose there are no miracles but those in the Bible, is to believe too little. To imagine that God should exert his omnipotence, and appear supernaturally for his servants, in no place but in Jewry, and in no age since the Apostles, is an unreasonable fancy. For since the world was not all converted in the Apostles time, and God designed the farther enlargement of his Church, why should we not believe he should give the Pagans the highest proof of the truth of Christianity, and honour his servants with the most undisputed credentials? Now if this is very reasonable to suppose, why should St Alban's miracles be disbelieved, the occasion being great enough for such an extraordinary interposition? For by this means the martyr must be mightily supported, the British Christians fortified against the persecution, and the Pagans surprized into a conversion (38).

[P] *St Amphibalus* — suffered martyrdom.] We have seen in the remark [M], that a thousand of the inhabitants of Verulam were converted and baptized by this Saint. The rest of the burghers who

continued Heathen, being vexed at the loss of so many of their townsmen, took arms, and went after them into Wales; where they inhumanly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. As for St Amphibalus, who had instructed and baptized them, they brought him away with them, and stoned him to death at Ruddurn (39); in which town Thomas Ruddurn the historian (who was born there, and wrote in the fifteenth century) affirms there were two knives found of an extraordinary size, supposed to have been used upon that occasion (40). It is remarkable, that the martyrdom of St Amphibalus is not mentioned by Gildas, Bede, or in any of the ancient martyrologies; but Matthew Paris, and other historians, vouch the matter of fact from a book of great antiquity in St Alban's monastery. As to the name Amphibalus; it came originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History (41); though the learned Archbishop of Armagh is of opinion, it was not the real name of St Alban's instructor, but belonged more properly to the Caracalla or garment mentioned above (42), than to its owner (43); *αμριβαλλειν* signifying in the Greek language the same as *induere*, or *accingere* *fc. vestem*.

(39) Harpsfield, ubi supra, & Ufferius, ubi supra.

(40) Apud Harpsfield, ibid.

(41) Lib. v. c. 5.

(42) In the remark [F].

(43) Ufferius, ubi supra, p. 73.

ALBANACT, or ALBANAK, the son of Brutus or Brito, from whom this island is said to have received the name of Britain (a). Many very learned men deny the existence of him and his supposed father. It is necessary however, to the thorough understanding of our antient history, to be acquainted with what it reports of him, and that is briefly this [A]. Brutus, King of this whole island, had by his wife Ignoge, three sons, Loclin, Kamber, and Albanact (b). To the eldest, he gave the middle and best part of the island, called from him Loëgria; to the second, Kamber, the country on the other side of Severn; and to the youngest, Albanact, all the land on the other side the Humber. This was some time before his death, which happened in the year before Christ 1114 (c), when all the young Princes were at their respective governments. For some years they all three governed their countries in peace and prosperity; but at length, Humber, King of the Huns, invaded the dominions of Albanact with a great army, slew him, and drove his people to fly for shelter to Loclin, who, equally stung with his brother's loss, and the insult offered to himself, drew together all his forces, and gave battle to the invader, who was now in his territories, defeated him, and in the flight forced him into a river, in which he was drowned, whence it received his name, and hath never since been otherwise called than Humber (d). This fell out about 1104 years before Christ (e); and from this King Albanact, the northern part of this island was called Albany, as it is by its natives to this day. Our antient historians, who relate these facts, some of whom are mentioned in the margin, agree pretty well in their dates, and in their relation, and so they well might, if as some say they all transcribed the work of him who is first mentioned. But as this does not appear, so we think no consequences should be drawn from an unproved assertion [B]. The old Scots historians (f) did not much oppose this account

(c) Chron. Godstovianum, MS. p. 17, 18.

(d) Galfrid. Munumet. Hist. Brit. lib. ii. c. 1. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 23. Alured. Beverl. p. 13.

(e) Chron. Godstovian. p. 18.

(f) Such as Boethius, Major, &c.

[A] *And that is briefly this.*] It is not our intention, in this article, to enter into the great controversy which hath divided, nay, and well nigh confounded, our best Antiquaries, *viz.* whether any credit is due to the story of Brute? In doing this, we should anticipate his article, and rather bewilder than inform the reader. Our present business therefore, shall be to examine this story of Albanact; and to enquire if the arguments alledged to prove it fabulous, be more weighty, than those which have been, or may be, urged for it as a true history. To this enquiry, we have been led by several inducements. One was the fitness of discussing such points in this work, it being hard to think of another, into which they would so properly fall. A second reason was, the shewing foreigners that these matters are not altogether so void of light, as some who have skimmed the British history would persuade them. To which we may add an inclination to demonstrate the folly of rejecting without consideration, as fabulous, all that relates to very antient times. It is morally certain, that the dread of credulity, hath betrayed more people into it, than ever it kept from leaning thereto. An age or two ago, a man would have been laughed at for advising recourse to Turkish histories, in order to correct those we have of that nation's rise, progress, and present state, yet now many excellent authors confess it to be necessary (1). But if we reflect on what would have been said, if at that time one had mentioned the memoirs of a Tartar Prince (2), and his skill in Astronomy, it will not appear so amazing a pa-

radox, should we even venture to assert, there is more wisdom in doubting the truth of the old British history, than in believing it wholly false and fictitious. For while we only doubt we are ready at any time to review old arguments, or to hear new evidence; whereas a thing once declared fabulous, is thenceforward condemned to oblivion. All who are well read, especially in oriental history, know of how great consequence this advice is; and that without it, we had never known more of the famous Timur, who subdued a larger empire than Alexander, than our immediate ancestors, who called him Tamerlane, and reported him a lame blacksmith (3). Some such introduction as this was necessary, not to this article of Albanact only, but to several others of as antient date; and therefore this preface, once for all, may suffice to gain attention to the narrative itself, though not absolutely certain, and to render the notes less tedious, which expose the grounds of these disputes. It may indeed be objected, that all such disputes are frivolous, to which we answer, that concerns not us, very great men have engaged in them, and have so far introduced them into all our histories, as to make it our duty to clear them the best we may.

[B] *An unproved assertion.*] The grand argument against this part of the British history is; that it has no foundation but in one author's writings, *viz.* Geoffrey of Monmouth. Now those who say this, beg the question, because they affirm other authors transcribe his book, who perhaps never saw it. Geoffrey relates the death of Brutus, the division of his kingdom, the invasion

(3) See Knowledge's history of the Turks.

(38) Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Vol. I. B. i. p. 22.

(a) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. i. Robert of Gloucester. p. 22. Chron. Godstov. p. 18.

(b) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. ii. c. 1. Alured. Beverl. Annal. p. 13. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 23. Thomae Spotti Chronica, p. 85. Girald. Cambrenf. Cambriz Descript. c. 7.

(1) See the Bibliothéque Orientale of Herbelot, the preface to Prince Cantemir's history, and the military history of the Turks in Italian and French, by Count Marfigli.

(2) See the general history of the Tartars.

of their country's receiving the name of Albany; but Buchanan is very angry with it, and will by no means allow that this is any thing better than a fable (g). Of which however we shall prove he was a most incompetent judge. On his authority, succeeding authors have treated this narration with extraordinary contempt. We decide nothing, but for the reader's satisfaction, and to place this controversy in a true light, we will fairly state the arguments on both sides, that the judicious peruser may frame his conclusion according to reason and evidence [C].

vation of Humber, the death of Albanact, and Lo-
crin's victory, but without a date (4). Henry of Hun-
tingdon relates the coming of Brutus, which he says he
met with in several authors (5). But he says nothing
of Albanact; so that it seems many writers had touched
this subject before Geoffrey, with whom this Henry was
contemporary (6). The Chronicle of Godfrow is the
work of various writers; it makes no mention of Geoffrey,
though the history does, indeed correspond with his,
except in dates, which are carefully placed here (7),
though omitted as I have said by Geoffrey. Alured of
Beverly is noted by the industrious Leland (8), to have
taken mostly out of Geoffrey's British history, yet himself
says nothing of this, he speaks of antient books he had
read, and particularly of a British history (9) he used,
but does not say it was Geoffrey's. In all probability it
was not, for Alured has many things not to be found
in Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the fairest and fullest
proof that can be had, or indeed desired, that the story
of Albanact rests on this suspected author, is the
testimony of Gerald Barry, or as he has been common-
ly called Giraldus Cambrensis, who, in his description
of Wales (10), delivers this whole story as it stands in
our text; though immediately after he calls Geoffrey a
fabulous writer, and treats him with the utmost indigni-
ty. Hence it is most evident, that this history was
found elsewhere than in Geoffrey's writings, and so it is
asserted by Leland (11), in a tract, or rather in histori-
cal collections for a tract, to prove the superiority
of the Kings of England over Scotland. In these
notes it is said, that Albanact's ruling over Scotland,
and leaving it his name, stood in many antient Chro-
nicles then in being. This however was no more than
had been affirmed long before by Edward I, to the
Pope, in a letter, wherein this possession and right of
Albanact is stated as a thing notorious and indubitable
(12). But after all, this island was very populous when
the Romans came first hither under Cæsar, so that it
must have been long inhabited. We have no account
of these inhabitants from other authors; the antient
Bards retained these remains and ruins of old history,
which, on a nice enquiry, will be found a thing custo-
mary in all nations, even the most barbarous. Here
are various historians, who have (as the Greeks did)
turned their verse into prose: here is a royal letter too,
in support of it's authority; and if, after all, darkness
is welcome than such a light, why no body is bound
to take it. The story, with it's proofs, is proposed;
and if they are not sufficient to procure it credit, they
are at least such as ought to secure it a place in this
Dictionary, that it may abide the censure of the
publick.

[C] According to reason and evidence. The point
here to be discussed is, whether Scotland was called
Albania, or Albany, from Albanact? Buchanan de-
spizes this etymology, and treats the story as a fable.
To state his reasons fairly, they are these (13). 1. This
account depends on the story of Brute, which he esteems
a ridiculous fable, and the invention of the Monk of
Monmouth. 2. He says the derivation of Albania
from Albanactus is not grammatical (14). 3. He can give

the true derivation. Albany is from Albion, the
old name of the whole island, which was so called, not
from the whiteness but height of it's mountains (15).
To these particulars, plain and easy answers may be
given 1. The overturning the Monk of Monmouth's
history, will not prove the story of Brute a fable (16).
Our ballads relate many fictions about Rosamond, yet
there was certainly such a woman. But Buchanan, I
believe, never read Geoffrey, though he quotes him, for
he banters him about one Tintagol a giant, of whom
the Monk of Monmouth says not a word. 2. As to
the grammatical criticism, we must observe, that Al-
banactus is a British name latinized, so is Albania; now
how faulty foever the derivation may be according to
the Roman usage, that does by no means shew that
the British name of the man might not be the ground
of the British name of the country. I shall presently
shew Buchanan knew better. 3. It is a conjecture only,
that Alp and Alb, signify high; and besides he owns
the old custom was to name places from persons, as
Knock-Fergus, i. e. the Rock of Fergus (17), from his
being lost there. But to these we may add some posi-
tive arguments in favour of the British account. 1. Bu-
chanan (18) owns the British language prevailed origi-
nally through the island; and that in this language,
Scotland is called Albin, and the Scots-Albinich, which
is precisely what the British author called them, whom
the Monk of Monmouth translated. 2. He can give
us no counter history to this, for Fergus, the first King
of Scotland, came thither as he says (19), three hun-
dred and thirty years before Christ, in the reign of
Coil, a British King, which is agreeable to the British
history he so much condemns. 3. This name of Scot-
land corresponds with all the other appellations impos-
ed by the Britons, whence we are sensible the Roman or
Latin names were framed not more elegantly than this.
On the whole, Buchanan shews himself infinitely a
better Philologist, than he is an Antiquary; and if this
controversy should be determined according to his rule,
that British names are to be accounted for from the Bri-
tish tongue, and not from the Greek and Latin; as
also in consequence of his concessions, without doubt
this old derivation will appear both natural and proba-
ble. Hector Boethius, whom Buchanan owns to have
been a learned man, was aware of this, and did not
therefore dispute the point. But what is still more to
the purpose, the very learned Bishop Lesley, who was
scarce inferior to Buchanan, even in his Latin style;
and in politicks and antiquities much his superior; a
prelate who resided long in England, conversed with
our Antiquaries; and who, notwithstanding, had no
great reason to be in love with our nation, agrees ex-
actly with us in this etymology (20). The history of
Brute and his sons, does not appear at all incredible to
him; and he says expressly, that the original of Al-
bany is Albanact. It may not be amiss to observe, that
Shakespeare has introduced Albanact into one of his
plays (21), probably to familiarize the name to his
countrymen, and to preserve the memory of the sole
sovereignty of Brute. E

ALCOCK (JOHN) Doctor of Laws, and Bishop of Ely in the reign of King
Henry VII, was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. He was ad-
vanced to the Deanery of Westminster, and afterwards to the honourable post of Master
of the Rolls. In 1471, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester (a); in 1476, translated
to the see of Worcester (b); and in 1486, by a second translation, removed to that of
Ely (c), in the room of Dr John Morton, translated to the see of Canterbury. He was a
prelate of singular learning and piety [A], and so highly esteemed by King Henry, that
he

[A] He was a prelate of singular learning and
piety. Qui ab ipsa pueritia (says Bale) bonarum li-
terarum studiis ac pictatis deditus, ita à virtute in vir-
tutem crevit, ut eo nemo per Angliam majori sancti-
tatis nomine infigniretur. Parcissime per totam ceta-
tem victitasse dicitur, duriterque vigiliis, studiis, ab-

stinencia, & aliis castigationibus domuisse prurientis
sue carnis illecebras (1). — Who, having devoted
himself from his childhood to learning and piety, made
such a proficiency in virtue, that no one in England
had a greater reputation for sanctity. His whole
life was spent in a diligent application to his studies,
in

(g) Hist. Scot.
lib. i.

(4) Galfrid. Mu-
num. lib. ii.
cap. i.

(5) Hist. lib. i.
ap. Script. post
Bed. p. 30.

(6) Galfrid.
Munum. Lib. xii.
c. ult.

(7) Chron. God-
frivianum, p. 19.

(8) Collectanea.
Vol. III. p. 224.

(9) Alured. Be-
verl. An. lib. i.
p. 12, 13.

(10) Cambrie
Descript. cap. 7.
apud Camden.
Script. p. 886.

(11) Leland.
Collectan. Vol.
III. p. 1.

(12) Hen. de
Knyghton de
Event. Angl.
int. X. Scriptor.
p. 1434.

(13) Hist. Scot.
lib. i.

(14) Ibid.

(a) Godwin,
De Præful.
Angl. inter Episc.
Rossien. an.
1471.

(b) Id. ib. inter
Episc. Wigorn.
an. 1476.

(15) Ibid.

(16) See the
Note [B].

(17) Hist. Scot.
lib. iv.

(18) Id. lib. i.

(19) Hist. Scot.
lib. iv.

(20) In Descript.
Scot.

(21) Tragedy of
Lochrine.

(c) Id. ib. inter
Episc. Elnens.
an. 1486.

(1) Baleus, de
Scriptor. Britan.
cent. 8. c. 57.

he appointed him to be Lord President of Wales, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England. He founded a school at Kingston upon Hull, and a chapel on the south side of the church, in which his parents were buried. He built the beautiful and spacious hall belonging to the episcopal palace at Ely, and made great improvements in all his other palaces. Lastly, he founded Jesus-College in Cambridge [B] for a master, six fellows; and as many scholars (d). This prelate wrote several pieces; particularly these following: 1. Mons Perfectionis. i. e. *The mount of perfection.* 2. In Psalmis penitentiales. i. e. *On the penitential Psalms.* 3. Homiliæ Vulgares. i. e. *Vulgar homilies.* 4. *Meditationes piæ.* i. e. *Pious meditations* (e). Bishop Alcock died October 1, 1500, and was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingston upon Hull [C].

(d) Godwin, ubi supra.
(e) Bales, de Script. Britan. cent. 8. c. 57.

in fasting and abstinence, and in mortifying the corrupt desires of his flesh.

[B] He founded Jesus-College in Cambridge.] This house was formerly a nunnery dedicated to St Radigund: but the building being greatly decayed, and the revenues come to nothing, the Nuns had all forsaken it, except two; whereupon Bishop Alcock, obtaining a grant thereof from the King, converted it into a college, and dedicated it to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St Radigund (2). This is Bishop Godwin's account of the matter. But Camden (3), and others tell us, that the Nuns of that house were so notorious for their incontinence, and so generally complained of, that King Henry VII, and Pope Julius II, consented to it's dissolution. And

agreeably hereto, Bale (4) calls this nunnery spirituum meretricum cœnabium, i. e. *a community of spiritual harlots.*

[C] He was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingston upon Hull.] He had a very stately monument erected over him, which, in Bishop Godwin's time, was greatly defaced, and almost destroyed. That author hints to the members of Jesus-College, how commendable it would be in some one of the great men daily produced from that foundation, to reiterate the sepulchral honours due to their founder and patron. *Inter tot præclaros viros quot ex hoc collegio prodierunt & prodeunt quotidie, quam vellem non decisset qui patrono de se optatè merito tumuli honorem debitum restitueret* (5).

(4) Ubi supra.
(5) Godwin, ibid.

A L C R E D , A L C R E D U S , or A L R E D U S , King of Northumberland. He was lineally descended from Ida, the first King of the Bernicii, and was born about the year 740 (a). When he attained to man's estate, he saw his country miserably distracted, partly through the vices of their Kings, and partly through the madness of the people. Osulf, who succeeded on the voluntary resignation of his father, and who was the lawful heir of the kingdom of Northumberland, perished by a conspiracy in his own family, in the year 758 (b). In his stead, Æthelwold, who is also called Moll, succeeded by a popular election, for it does not appear, that he was so much as of the royal family (c). This it seems by no means pleasing to many of the great Lords of the kingdom, especially such as were of the royal blood; and therefore Oswin, a person of great interest in his country, took up arms against him, but with very little success; for his army being totally routed, he was himself also slain, at a place called Edwin's Cliff, in the month of August 761 (d). This however did not hinder Alcred from asserting his right to the crown, in which he proved successful, for as some of our historians tell us, he procured Æthelwold to be fraudulently slain near Durham, in 765 (e). Roger Hoveden says King Æthelwold lost his kingdom at Wincanheale, in the latter end of October that year (f); and the Saxon Chronicle intimates, that after six years reign he resigned (g). However it was, Alcredus at this time ascended the throne, which proved no easy feat to him (h). In 768 died Elbert, King of Northumberland, in the cloister which he had chosen for his retreat. The same year King Alcred married his Queen Osgerna (i). He seems to have lived upon good terms with his neighbours, and to have taken some pains in cultivating a friendship with foreign Princes (k). However he was as far from pleasing his subjects as any of his predecessors, insomuch, that about Easter, in the year 774, he was compelled to fly from York, with a very small number of dependents, who chose rather to follow his fortunes, than to desert his person (l). He retired first to the strong city of Bebba, which is thought to be the town now called Bamborough in Northumberland, and finding himself not safe there, he sought the protection of Cynoth, King of the Picts, who treated him kindly (m). Two of our antient historians assert, that this King Alcred was deposed by the unanimous consent of all the Princes of the royal family, and other great Lords of his kingdom (n), which hath drawn some to consider this as an instance of deposing a King for male-administration [A]. Those who expelled him, either recalled out of banishment, or took

(2) Chron. Sax. A. D. 757. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi supra.
(3) Chron. Sax. p. 60. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 761.
(4) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.
(5) Sim. Durelm. fol. 106. R. de Hoved. p. 403.
(6) A. D. 759.
(7) Chron. Sax. A. D. 765. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.
(8) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 106.
(9) Alford. Annual. Tom. ii. p. 620.
(10) Chron. Sax. p. 61.
(11) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.
(12) R. Hoved. p. 403. S. Dunelm. ubi supra.

[A] An instance of deposing Kings for male-administration.] Amongst the state tracts, written in the reign of King William, there is the speech of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Stamford, at the general quarter sessions, held for the county of Leicester at Michaelmas, 1691, his Lordship being then *Custos Rotulorum* for that county. The intent of this speech is to vindicate the Revolution; wherein his Lordship having run through all the instances of depositions of Princes in France, Spain, and Scotland, proceeds thus. 'As for England, I will mention some few before the Conqueror (vulgarly so called) who were Archigallo, Emerian, Vortigern, Sigebert, King of the West Saxons, Beornred, and Alwed, King of Northumberland; all these were deprived of their thrones for their cruel and evil government, and others more worthy put in their stead (1). This must be found-

ed on what we are told by Simeon of Durham, who in his history, under the year 794, writes thus 'Alcredus Rex consilio & consensu suorum omnium, reges familie ac principum destitutus societate, exilio imperii mutavit majestatem. i. e. *King Alcred, by the common council and consent of his subjects, being deserted by his Princes, and even those of the Royal Family, changed his royal state for an inglorious exile* (2). Roger Hoveden transcribes this account literally (3); though by a different manner of pointing, it has somewhat a different sense given to it in Sir Henry Savil's edition. It is very remarkable, that Simeon of Durham hath exactly the same story of another King of Northumberland: for under the year 796, having related the murder of King Æthelred, he goes on thus: 'Ostald vero patricius à quibusdam ipsius gentis principibus in regnum est constitutus, & post xxvii dies

(2) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.
(3) Annal. p. i. p. 403.

(2) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Eliens. an. 1486.

(3) Britannia, last Edit. Vol. I. col. 483.

(4) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 755. R. Hoved. Annual. p. i. p. 403.

(5) Chron. Sax. p. 59. Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. ap. X. Script. col. 105. Flor. Vigorn. A. D. 759.

(1) Collection of state tracts published in the reign of William III. Vol. II. p. 191.

out of prison Æthelred, the son of Æthelwold, and set him upon the throne. In 778, they expelled him, and crowned Alfwold of the blood royal, who governed the kingdom ten years (o). It is not certain how long Alcred lived in exile, or where he died; but in all probability, it was before this Prince came to the throne, who was his near relation, and who took his two sons, Ofred and Alcmund, into his protection. He was an excellent Prince, and, as our historians say, exceedingly pious (p). Yet in 788, or as the Saxon Chronicle has it in 789, towards the end of September, he was treacherously murdered by one Siga, a powerful nobleman (q); who some years after, stung with remorse, laid violent hands on himself (r). To him succeeded his nephew, Ofred, the son of Alcred, who in less than a year was betrayed and driven into exile; and Æthelred, the son of Æthelwold, being a second time recalled from banishment, again mounted the throne (s). Ofred having still some friends, in 792 returned out of the Isle of Man, then called Euphania, and endeavoured to dethrone his competitor; but being betrayed, he was defeated, and delivered up into the hands of Æthelred, who caused him to be put to death; though he suffered his body to be royally interred at Tinmouth (t). In 794, King Æthelred was murdered by his people, and was succeeded in the kingdom by Eardwulf (u); though Roger Hoveden says, that Osbald succeeded him, and was deposed and banished in twenty-seven days (w): to whom succeeded Eardwulf, who held the kingdom, not without much trouble, many years; and in 800, procuring Alcmund, the younger son of Alcred, to be put into his hands, by those who had the care of him, he caused him and all his attendants to be put to death (x); thereby putting an end to the family of Alcred, and all its pretensions. But such was the prudence, piety, and integrity, of this young Prince, that though he was thus cut off, by a sudden and violent death, in the bloom of his youth, and without any fault of his own, yet many years after his decease, he was, for the same of his virtues, reputed a saint; and, as such, had the nineteenth day of March appointed for his festival (y). There was also another saint of his name (z), of whom, to avoid multiplying articles, we will say somewhat in the notes, that we may omit nothing curious or instructive; and which, at the same time, has any relation to the British history [B].

(o) Chron. Sax. p. 62.

(p) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 103. R. de Hoved. p. 104.

(q) Chron. Sax. p. 64. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 110.

(r) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 112. A. D. 793.

(t) Chron. Sax. p. 65. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 111. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(u) Chron. Sax. A. D. 792.

(v) Ibid. p. 65, 66.

(w) Annal. p. i. p. 404.

(x) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 116.

(y) Matth. West. monast. ad An. Dom. 800.

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 103.

omni regie familie ac principum est societate destitutus, fugatusque & de regno expulsus, atque ad insulam Lindisfarnensem cum paucis secessit, & inde ad Regem Picorum cum quibusdam à fratribus navigio pervenit (4). *i. e. One Osbald, a nobleman, was by some of his own party exalted to the throne; but being deserted by all of the royal family, and by the great men, in twenty-seven days space he was compelled to fly, with a few of his followers, out of the kingdom, retiring into Holy Island; and thence he passed in a bark, with some of his brethren, into the dominions of the King of Picis.* Neither is this all the instances of that nature to be met with in the Chronicle of the Northumbrian Kings (5). On the contrary, there are several others both before and after him; inasmuch, that it is certain that the people in those days made very free with their monarchs, or rather their chiefs, made free with them, as was the case also in Scotland.

[B] *Has any relation to the British history.* It is surprizing, that Alford (6) the Jesuit, should particularly relate the martyrdom and canonization of this St Alcmund, and yet say nothing of another Saint of the same name, who seems to have been much more famous. He was also a Northumbrian, and flourished about the same time with this other Alcmund; whence I have sometimes inclined to doubt, whether the latter was not supplanted by the former. This other Alcmundus was Bishop of Hexham in Northumberland; and Richard the Prior in his celebrated history of that church tells us (7), that he became Bishop of that See in 767, being the second year of the reign of King Alcred, and that he died in 781, being the fourth year of King Elfwald; when he had held the See upwards of twelve years, or, as he says in another place, thirteen years (8). But Simeon of Durham gives us a very large account of his declaring himself a Saint (9), which, for its singularity, deserves to be taken notice of. The body of Bishop

Alcmund was, it seems, deposited by that of his predecessor St Acca. But two hundred and fifty years after he was buried, he appeared to one Dregmus, a very pious man, and desired him to go to one Ælfred, a priest at Durham, and with his help to remove his body into a more honourable place. Dregmus hereupon asked him who he was? *I am,* said he, *Alcmund Bishop of Hexham, and my body lies next to that of St Acca, my predecessor.* Upon this his corps was taken up the next day; but so many people crowded to see it, that it was too late to deposit it in the place designed for it, and therefore it was laid in the porch of St Peter for that night, being watched by a great company of Monks and Priests. Towards morning all of these, except one, fell fast asleep; whereupon he taking this opportunity, stole to the shrine, and withdrew a middle bone of one of St Alcmund's fingers. The next day, when, after singing various hymns, they attempted to move the corps to the high altar, where it was to remain; they found, to their great amazement, that it was impossible to stir it. The priest, who took the finger-bone with no other intent than to place it in the church of Durham, as a relic of St Alcmund; and not in the least suspecting that he was the cause of this wonder, besought the people to apply themselves to God in prayer, that he would be pleased to permit the Saint to declare what the reason was, why his body could not be moved. Accordingly, that night St Alcmund appeared to the man whom he visited first, and said, with a stern countenance, *What is it you would do? would you carry me maimed into that church where I served God and St Andrew whole; adjure you all the people to-morrow, that they restore what they foolishly took away, otherwise my body cannot be moved: at the same time he stretched out his hand and showed the maimed finger.* This being accordingly done, the priest delivered the bone, and the body was carried and interred behind the altar. E

ALCUINUS, or ALBINUS (FLACCUS), a famous writer in the VIIIth century, was born in Yorkshire, or (as others tell us) not far from London (a). He had his education first under venerable Bede, and afterwards under Egbert, Archbishop of York, who made him keeper of the curious library which he had founded in that city (b). Alcuinus flourished about the year 780, was deacon of the church of York, and at last abbot of the monastery of Canterbury. In 793, he went over into France, being invited thither by Charlemagne, to assist him in opposing the heresy of Felix, Bishop

(a) Baleus, de Scripior. Britann. centur. 2. c. 17.

(b) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 33.

Bishop of Urgel [A], and the canons of the false synod of Nice (c). He was in high esteem with that Prince, who not only honoured him with his friendship and confidence, but became his pupil likewise, being instructed by him in rhetorick, logick, mathematicks, and divinity (d). The year following, he attended Charlemagne to the council of Francfort, and, upon that Prince's recommendation, was admitted a member of that council. The same Prince gave him the abbies of Ferrara, St Jodocus, and St Lupus. In 796 he earnestly requested leave to retire from secular affairs; which was refused him. In 798, he drew his pen against Felix, Bishop of Urgel, and confuted his errors in seven books. In 799, being invited by Charlemagne to accompany him in his journey to Rome, he excused himself on account of his infirmities and old age. In 801, Charlemagne being returned from Italy, and newly declared Emperor, Alcuinus took the opportunity of congratulating him on his election, and pressed his suit so earnestly, that at length he obtained leave to retire from court, to the abbey of St Martin at Tours, which the Emperor had lately given him. Here he spent the remainder of his life in an honourable retreat, and employed himself in educating the youth in the school which he had founded in that city. The Emperor in vain endeavoured by repeated letters to re-call him to court. He died at Tours, on Whitfunday in the year 804 (e). He was a man of singular piety and learning, and the best English divine (according to William of Malmfbury) after Bede and Aldhelme (f). France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flourishing state of learning in that kingdom [B]. He wrote a great number of books [C],

(c) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. viii. ad. ann. 780.

(d) W. Malmfb. de gest. Reg. Anzlor. l. i. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 24.

(e) Cave, ubi supra.

(f) W. Malmfb. ubi supra.

most

[A] *The heresy of Felix, Bishop of Urgel*] Hear what Mr Du Pin says of this Heresiarch and his doctrine. Towards the end of the VIIIth century, there arose in the West a dispute about the mystery of the incarnation. Felix, Bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, being consulted by Elipand, Bishop of Toledo, whether Jesus Christ, as man, ought to be called the adoptive or natural son of God, answered, that in that quality he ought only to be called his adoptive son. He wrote in defence of this opinion, and endeavoured to spread it, not only in Spain, but also in France and Germany. He was opposed by the Bishops, who, in a council held at Ratisbon in 792, condemned that error, together with it's author, who was sent to Rome to Pope Adrian. The Pope confirmed the judgment of the synod, and obliged Felix to retract. Nevertheless some Spanish Bishops persisted in that opinion. Felix himself espoused it anew, and Elipand defended him in a letter, which was condemned by Pope Adrian, then by a synod held in Italy, and, lastly, by the council of Francfort in 794, consisting of three hundred Bishops. The question was debated in that council, and it was decided, that Jesus Christ, as man, ought to be called the proper, and not the adoptive, son of God. This council informed Elipand, and the other Spanish Bishops, of their decision; and Charlemagne joined his authority with that of the council, to oblige them to renounce their opinion. This affair was likewise examined at Rome, under Pope Leo III, in a council of fifty-seven Bishops, held in 799. They confirmed the judgment given by Adrian, against the error of Felix, Bishop of Urgel, and anathematized him as an heretic. The same year Charlemagne sent for Felix to Aix la Chapelle, and gave him permission to defend his opinions before the Bishops. Alcuinus replied to him, and confuted him; whereupon he gave up his opinion, and embraced that of the Church. He was followed by his disciples, and that question occasioned no farther controversy in the Church (1).

[B] *France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flourishing state of learning in that kingdom.*] Ei quicquid politicioris literaturæ isto & sequentibus sæculis Gallia ostendat totum acceptum referri debet. Ei Academiæ Parisiensis, Turonensis, Fuldenfis, Sueffionensis, aliæque plures originem & incrementa debent; quibus ille, si non præsens præfuit, aut fundamenta posuit, saltem doctrina præluxit, exemplo prævit, & beneficiis à Carolo impetratis adauxit (2). — France is obliged to Alcuinus for all the polite learning it boasted of in that and the following ages. The universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soissons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increase; those, of whom he was not the superior or founder, being at least enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from Charlemagne. A German poet, cited by Camden (3) mentions the service Alcuinus did France, by introducing literaturæ into that kingdom. His verses are these:

Quid non Alcuino, facunda Lutetia, debes?
Instaurare bonas ibi qui feliciter artes,
Barbariemque procul solus depellere cœpit.

No smaller tokens of esteem from France
Alcuinus claims, who durst himself advance
Single against whole troops of ignorance.
'Twas he transported Britain's richest ware,
Language and arts, and kindly taught them there.

[C] *He wrote a great number of books.*] An edition of them was published by Du Chesne at Paris in 1617, consisting of the following pieces. 1. Interrogationes & Responiones, seu Liber Quæstionum, in Genesim. i. e. Questions and answers on the book of Genesis. 2. Dicta super illud Genesios, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram. i. e. A discourse on those words in Genesis, Let us make man in our own image. 3. Enchiridium, seu Expositio pia brevis in vii Psalmos Penitentiales, in Psalmum cxviii, & in Psalmos Graduales, ad Arnonem Archiepiscopum Salisburgensem. i. e. A Manual, or short pious exposition on the seven penitential Psalms, on the 118th Psalm, and on the gradual Psalms, dedicated to Arno, Archbishop of Saltzburg. It was printed separately at Paris in 1547, in 8vo. but without the preface, which was first published by Lucas Dacherius (4). 4. De Psalmorum usu liber. i. e. Of the use of the Psalms, together with divers forms of prayer fitted for daily use. This book is dedicated to Fredegisus his scholar. 5. Officia per ferias. i. e. Offices for each day, or Psalms disposed according to the days of the week, together with Orations, Hymns, Confessions, and Litanies. 6. Epistola de illo Cantici Cantorum loco, Sexaginta sunt Reginae, &c. i. e. An epistle concerning that passage in Solomon's Song, (vi. 8.) There are threescore Queens, &c. 7. Commentaria in Ecclesiasten. i. e. Commentaries on the book of Ecclesiastes. Basil 1531. 8vo. 8. Commentarium in S. Joannis Evangelium libri septem. i. e. Seven books of commentaries on St John's Gospel. Strasburg. 1527. 9. Epigrammata de recognitione & emendatione totius divinæ scripturæ. i. e. Epigrams on the revision and correction of the whole Bible. In Du Chesne's edition of Alcuinus's works, we are told, that our author, by order of Charlemagne, undertook to correct the whole text of the Vulgate Bible; which work is still to be found in the library of Vauxcolles, with the epigrams here mentioned (5). 10. De Fide SS. Trinitatis libri tres, ad Carolum Magnum, cum invocatione ad S. Trinitatem & Symbolo fidei. i. e. Three books concerning faith in the Holy Trinity, addressed to Charlemagne, with an invocation to the Holy Trinity, and the Creed. 11. De Trinitate, ad Fridegillum Quæstiones 28, seu Confessio, five Doctrina de Deo. i. e. Twenty-eight questions concerning the Trinity; or a confession, or doctrine concerning God, addressed to Fridegillus. 12. De differentia Æterni & Sempiterni, Immortalis & Perpetui, Sæculi, Ævi, & Temporis, Epistola. i. e. A letter concerning eternity, immortality, ages, time, &c. 13. De Animæ ratione ad Eulaliam Virginem. i. e. Of the nature of the soul, addressed to

(4) In Spicileg. T. X.

(5) Cave, ubi supra.

(1) Du Pin, Hist. de l'Eglise. cent. viii. ch. 4.

(2) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. viii. ad. ann. 780.

(3) Britannia, 2d edit. Vol. I. col. 166.

most of which are extant. His style is elegant and sprightly, and his language very pure considering the age in which he lived.

the *virgin Eulalia*. 14. *Contra Felicem Orgiletanum libri septem*. i. e. *Seven books against Felix, Bishop of Urgel*, written in 798, and falsely ascribed, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, to Paul of Aquileia. 15. *Epistola ad Elipandum*. i. e. *A letter to Elipand, Bishop of Toledo*. There is extant in Alcuinus's works an answer to this letter, full of reproaches and calumnies, written by Elipand to Alcuinus, in the year 799. 16. *Contra Elipandi Epistolam libelli duo*. i. e. *A reply to Elipand's letter in two books*, written in the year 800. 17. *De Incarnatione Christi*. i. e. *Of Christ's Incarnation*, and of the two natures united in him, against the same, in two books. This is followed, in Du Chesne's edition, by a *Letter from Elipand to Felix* upon his conversion. The former abjured his heresy in the Synod of Aix, in the end of the year 799: nevertheless, being deposed from his see, he was banished for life to Lyons. Elipand also, convinced of his error by the writings of Alcuinus, died piously in the year 808. There is also a *Confession of Faith*, sent by Felix to the clergy and people of Urgel, after he had abjured his heresy in the Synod of Aix (6). 18. *Epistola ad filiam in Christo charissimam*. i. e. *A letter to his dearly beloved daughter in Christ*. 19. *De Divinis Officiis Liber, sive Expositio Romani Ordinis*. i. e. *A Treatise concerning Divine Offices, or an Exposition of the Roman Office*. This passes for the genuine work of Alcuinus, and has been often cited under his name by the writers, who have treated that subject; and in Du Chesne's edition of this author, it is enlarged with the addition of twelve entire chapters. Nevertheless Dr Cave (7) is of opinion it is not Alcuinus's, but was written after the year 1000. 20. *De Ratione Septuagesimæ, Sexagesimæ, & Quinquagesimæ, Epistola*. i. e. *A Letter concerning Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima*, written to the Emperor Charlemagne. 21. *De Baptismi cæremoniis, ad Odvinum presbyterum, Epistola*. i. e. *A Letter to the presbyter Odwin concerning the ceremonies of Baptism*. This is followed by another piece on the same subject, entitled *De iisdem cæremoniis*: but Father Sirmund has justly taken it from Alcuinus, and restored it to its true author Amalarius of Triers (8). 22. *De Confessione peccatorum, ad pueros Sancti Martini*. i. e. *A Letter to the Youths of the Abbey of St Martin's, concerning Confession of Sins*. 23. *Sacramentorum Liber*. i. e. *A Book of Sacraments*, Colon. 1571. 24. *Homiliæ tres*. 1. *De Silentio in quo missum est incarnatum verbum*. 2. *In Nativitatem B. Mariæ*. 3. *In Festo omnium Sanctorum*. i. e. *Three Homilies; the first on the Incarnation, the second on the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, and the third on the Feast of All Saints*. These homilies are spurious, being taken out of Paulus Diaconus's *Homiliarium*. The third of them is the thirty-seventh among those on the Saints, under St Augustin's name (9). 25. *Vita Antichristi, ad Carolum Magnum*. i. e. *The Life of Antichrist, dedicated to Charlemagne*. 26. *De Virtutibus & vitiis ad Comitem Widonem Liber*. i. e. *A Discourse concerning the Virtues and Vices, addressed to Count Wido*. 27. *De Septem Artibus Liber*. i. e. *A Treatise concerning seven Sciences*. This piece is imperfect, there remaining no more than two chapters, viz. those on Grammar and Rhetoric, with a transition to Logic. The *Grammatica* was published separately at Hanover in 1605. The *Rhetorica & de Virtute Dialogus* came out at Paris in 1599. And the *Dialectica or Logic*, being a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus, was published, together with the Grammar, at Ingolstadt in 1604 (10). 28. *Disputatio Regalis*. i. e. *The Royal Disputation*, being a dialogue between Pipin, afterwards King of Italy, and the author. 29. *Scriptum de vita Sancti Martini Turonensis*. i. e. *The Life of St Martin of Tours*. 30. *De Transitu Sancti Martini Sermo*. i. e. *A Sermon on the Death of St Martin*. 31. *Vita S. Vedasti Episcopi Atrebatensis*. i. e. *The Life of St Vedast Bishop of Arras*, written in the year 795. 32. *Vita beatissimi Richarii presbyteri*. i. e. *The Life of St Richarius or Riguiër the Priest*. 33. *De Vita S. Willebrordi Trajectensis Episcopi Libri duo*. i. e. *The Life of St Willebrord Bishop of Utrecht, in two Books*; one in prose, the other in verse. 34. *Epistolæ 115*. i. e. *One Hundred and fifteen Letters*. 35. *Poemata & Versus de pluribus Sanctis*. i. e. *Poems and*

Verses on several Saints. The pieces hitherto mentioned were published all together by Andrew du Chesne: but since that edition of Alcuinus's works, other pieces have been published under the same author's name; as, 36. *Libri quatuor Carolini de Imaginibus*. i. e. *Four Caroline Books concerning Images*. These are said by Roger Hoveden (11) to have been written by Alcuinus under the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. They were written against the worship of images, a little before the council of Francfort, and published during the session of that council under the Emperor's name; who in the preface expressly declares, he undertook that work out of a zeal for God and truth. Dr Cave is of opinion, they are the genuine work of that Emperor, who might possibly be assisted in composing them by Alcuinus (12). 37. *Confessio fidei*. i. e. *A Confession of Faith*. This is a Collection taken out of the writings of St Augustin, and divided into four parts. It was published under Alcuinus's name by Chifflet, at Dijon, 1654, in quarto, among several tracts of other writers. M. Daillé, in a tract of his published at Roan in 1675, has endeavoured to prove, that this *Confessio fidei* is a spurious piece, and falsely ascribed to Alcuinus. F. Mabillon has written a long dissertation (13) in defence of the genuineness of the piece in question. However he owns very candidly, he has not absolutely proved his assertion, but only rendered it highly probable. 38. *Commentarius brevis in Cantica Canticozum*. i. e. *A short Commentary on the Canticles or Solomon's Song*. London, 1638, 4to. This piece was published by Patricius Junius, with the commentary of Gilbert Foliot. 39. *Breviarium fidei adversus Arianos*. i. e. *A Summary of faith against the Arians*. Sirmundus published it at Paris in 1630, without a name; but Chifflet restored it to Alcuinus (14). 40. *Homilia de Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis*. i. e. *An Homily on the Purification of the Virgin Mary*; falsely ascribed to St Ambrose, but restored to Alcuinus by M. Baluze (15). 41. *Epistolæ duo & Sermo ad Carolum M.* i. e. *Two Letters and a Discourse addressed to Charlemagne*, published by M. Baluze (16). 42. *Epistola & Prefatio ad Libros septem in Felicem Orgiletanum*. i. e. *An Epistle and Preface to the seven Books against Felix, Bishop of Urgel*. It was wanting in the printed copies, and was first published by M. Baluze (17). 43. *Epistolæ tres*. i. e. *Three Letters*, brought to light by Dache-rius (18). 44. *Epistolæ xxvi*. i. e. *Twenty-six Letters*, published by Mabillon (19). 45. *Carmen de Culo*. i. e. *A Poem on a Cuckoo*, and two other poems, published by Mabillon (20). 46. *Poemata duo*. i. e. *Two Poems*, the first a short one in heroic verse, the other a long one in elegiac, both of them chiefly on the argument of the books of the Old and New Testament; published by Lambecius (21). 47. *Hymnus & Epigrammata tres in S. Vedastum*. i. e. *An Hymn and three Epigrams on St Vedast*, published by Lambecius (22). 48. *Homilia in die Natali S. Vedasti*. i. e. *An Homily on the Birth-day of St Vedast*, published by Bollandus (23). 49. *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*. i. e. *Of the Bishops and Saints of the church of York*. This is an heroic poem, containing near 1700 verses. It was copied from two manuscripts, one at Rheims in France, and the other at St Theodorick near Rheims; and sent by Mabillon to Dr Gale, Dean of York, who published it under Alcuinus's name (24). But Oudin (25) is of opinion, it was not written by Alcuinus, because the poetry is very barbarous, and inferior to that of his other poems. That writer ascribes it to a Benedictine Monk, named Frigidodus, who lived about the year 960. Dr Gale assures us (26), he had by him several epistles of Alcuinus, which were never published. Besides the works of Alcuinus above-mentioned, he wrote some pieces, which are lost; namely, 50. *Commentarius in Proverbia*. i. e. *A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*. 51. *Commentarius in quatuor Epistolas S. Pauli, viz. ad Ephesios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, & ad Hebræos*. i. e. *A Commentary on four of St Paul's Epistles, viz. those to the Ephesians, to Titus, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews*. 52. *De Orthographia liber*. i. e. *A Treatise of Orthography*. 53. *De musica Liber*. i. e. *An Essay on Musick*.

(11) Annal. ad an. 792.

(12) Cave, ubi supra, an. 762.

(13) Analect. T. I. p. 178.

(14) Prefat. ad Oper. Ferrandi.

(15) Miscell. T. II. p. 322.

(16) Ibid. p. 365.

(17) Ib. T. IV. p. 413.

(18) Spicileg. T. IX.

(19) Analect. T. IV. p. 272.

(20) Ibid. T. I. p. 369. T. II. p. 552.

(21) Comment. de Biblioth. Vin-
dob. l. ii. c. 5.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Acta Sanct. mensis Februar. p. 800.

(24) Galeus, Rer. Anglic. Script. T. III. p. 703.

(25) Comment. de Script. Eccles. Sæc. viii.

(26) Ubi supra.

ALDHELM or ADELM (*St.*), Bishop of Shireburn in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, is generally said to have been the son of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the West Saxons (*a*) [*A*]. He was born at Caer-Bladon, now called Malmbsury [*B*] in Wiltshire, and had his education partly abroad in France and Italy, and partly at home under Maïldulphus an Irish Scot, who had built a little monastery, where the town of Malmbsury now stands. After Maïldulphus's death, Aldhelm succeeding him did, by the help of Eleutherius, Bishop of Winchester, to whom the ground of right belonged, build there a very stately monastery [*C*], of which himself was the first Abbot. Upon the death of Hedda, Bishop of the West Saxons, that kingdom being divided into two dioceses, namely, Winchester and Shireburn, King Ina promoted Aldhelm to the latter, comprehending Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall (*b*). It is said, he was consecrated at Rome by Pope Sergius I, and that he had the courage to reprove the holy Father for having a bastard [*D*]. This prelate, by the direction of a diocesan synod, wrote a book against the mistake of the Britons concerning the celebration of Easter; in which he charged the British Church with many singularities, which kept them from the Saxon communion. This book, Bede tells us (*c*), reconciled many of the Britons, who were subject to the West Saxons, to the Catholick usage in that point. He likewise wrote a book, partly in prose, and partly in hexameter verse, in praise of virginity (*d*), dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbess of Barking (*e*), and published among Bede's *Opuscula* (*f*). Aldhelm wrote several other pieces, mentioned by Bale and William of Malmbsury [*E*]. Bede gives him the character of an universal scholar and

(a) Baleus, de Script. Britan. centur. I. n. 85. and Godwin de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Sherbornens. an. 705.

(b) Godwin, ubi supra.

(c) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. 18.

(d) Bede, ibid.

(e) Chronic. J. Bromton. apud Decem Scriptores, p. 745.

(f) Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. ii. p. 121.

[*A*] He is generally said to have been the son of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the West-Saxons.] Let us hear William of Malmbsury concerning the family of St Aldhelm. 'Ferunt quidam (*says that historian*) incertum unde id assumpserint, fuisse nepotem Inæ regis West-Saxonum ex fratre Kentero. Nobis pro vero arrogare non libuit, quod videtur magis opinionio quadrare volatice, quam veritati historice. Siquidem ex chronicis constat quod Ina nullum fratrem præter Inigildum habuerit, qui paucis ante ipsum annis decessit. Postem & illud objicere, quod Aldhelmus non minor septuagenario decedens, Inam plus xviii annis superitem reliquerit, idemque rex postea tot annos viridi adhuc ævo Romam iverit. Convenit ut patris juvenis nepotem septuagenarium haberet, qui de fratre minoris ætatis natus fuisset? — Qui legit manuale librum regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum beati Aldhelmi patrem non fuisse regis Inæ germanum, sed arctissima necessitudine consanguineum (1). — *Some report, upon what authority I know not, that he was nephew of Ina King of the West-Saxons, being the son of his brother Kenter. I would not assume for true, what looks more like a flying rumour, than a matter of fact. For it is evident from history, that Ina had no other brother than Inigild, who died a few years before him. I might also object, that Aldhelm, being not less than seventy years old when he died, left Ina, who survived him eighteen years, and that the same King, after so many years, went to Rome in the vigour of his age. Is it possible, that the uncle in the flower of his youth should have a nephew seventy years of age, and the son of his younger brother? Whoever reads King Elfred's manual, will find that Kenter the father of St Aldhelm was not the brother of King Ina, but only very nearly related to him by blood.* I shall leave the matter to rest upon the authority and reasoning of William of Malmbsury.

[*B*] Caer-Bladon, now called Malmbsury.] This town was built by Dunwallo Mulmutius King of the Britons, and by him called Caer-Bladon. After it had been destroyed by the wars, there rose out of it's ruins a castle called by the Saxons Ingelborne; which was known by no other name for a long time, till Maïldulphus an Irish Scot, a great scholar, and eminent for his devotion and strictness of life, being delighted with the pleasantness of the wood under the hill, upon which the castle stood, lived there a hermit. Afterwards instituting a school, and with his scholars devoting himself to a monastic life, he built a little monastery. From this Maïldulphus the town of Ingelborne began to be called Maïldulfsburg, and by Bede *Maïdulfs Urbis* Maïdulfs town: which name in length of time was changed into that of Malmbsury (2).

[*C*] Aldhelm built a very stately monastery.] King Ethelstan enriched this monastery with ample donations, and chose it for the place of his burial. After the Monks had been in possession of it for the space of 270 years, they were turned out in the year 956

by the command of King Edwy, and secular priests put in their room; but they were restored by King Edgar. This religious house was famous for it's wealth, and for having produced several learned men, especially William of Malmbsury, to whose learned industry the civil and ecclesiastical history of England are greatly indebted. King John gave the Monks leave to raze the castle for the enlargement of the abbey, which exceeded all the rest in Wiltshire both for riches and honour, it's Abbot sitting in Parliament as a Peer of the Realm. At the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII, the abbey of Malmbsury was purchased for a large sum of money by one Stump, a rich clothier, for the use of the inhabitants, who converted it into a parish church (3).

[*D*] He had the courage to reprove the Pope for having a bastard.] 'Memoria traditum (*says Bishop Godwin*) dum ibi loci hæreret, approbationem pontificiam expectans, sanctissimum illum patrem, verum jam patrem, nova prole auctum; & luxuriam hominis reprehendere coram ausum novitium hunc episcopum (4). — It is reported, that, whilst he was carried at Rome in expectation of the Pope's approbation, the most holy Father, now a father indeed, had a child born to him; and that this new Bishop had the courage to reprove him to his face for his incontinency.' But Bale gives this story a quite different turn, and reproaches Aldhelm for not discharging his conscience. 'Unum hoc in eo defendendum (*says he*) occurrit, quod cum Sergio Primo Pontifice Romano longam consuetudinem habens (cujus interem non ignorabat incestum) cauterio perusum avehebat conscientiam (5). — One thing only is blameable in him, that having had a long intimacy with Pope Sergius I, (whose incontinency in the mean time he was not a stranger to) he brought away his conscience scared with a hot iron.'

[*E*] He wrote several other pieces.] 1. De octo vitiis principalibus. i. e. Of the eight principal Vices (6); or, as it is otherwise called, De pugna octo principalium virtutum. i. e. Of the fight of the eight principal virtues (7). It is extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum of Canisius (8). 2. Ænigmatum Versus mille. i. e. Ænigmas consisting of a thousand Verses, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius (9). This, with the other works in verse of St Aldhelm, were published by Martin Delrio at Mentz, in 1601, in 8vo (10). 3. A book, addressed to a certain King of Northumberland named Alfrid, containing the following chapters: De Septenarii numeri dignitate, collecta ex veteris & Novi Testamenti floribus & disciplinis philosophorum. i. e. Of the dignity of the number Seven, collected from the flowers of the Old and New Testament, and from the doctrines of the philosophers. De Ammonitione fraternæ charitatis. i. e. Of the admonition of brotherly charity. De insensibilium rerum natura, quæ secundum metaphoram fermocinari figurantur. i. e. Of the nature of insensible things, which are metaphorically and by a figure supposed to be indued with speech. De pedum regulis. i. e. Of the rules of feet, or the measures of verses. De Metro-

(3) Camden, ibid. col. 104.

(4) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Sherbornens. an. 715.

(5) Baleus, de Script. Britan. centur. I. n. 83.

(6) Baleus, ubi supra, p. 7.

(7) W. Malmbs. ubi supra

(8) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. viii. an. 680.

(9) W. Malmbs. ibid.

(10) Cave, ibid.

(1) W. Malmbs. de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. II. p. 2.

(2) Camden, ubi supra, col. 103.

(g) Bede, ubi supra.

(h) See W. Malmfb. lib. v. de Pontif. Angl. five de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. Apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part II.

(i) Flowers of the English Saints, p. 491, 492.

(k) Baleus, ubi supra.

(l) Id. ibid.

and an elegant writer (g). The monkish authors, especially William of Malmfbury (h), have ascribed several miracles to St Aldhelm: particularly they tell us, that a Carpenter having cut a beam for his church too short, the saint by his prayers stretched it out to the full proportion; and that he hung his garments upon the rays of the sun, which miraculously supported them, to the admiration of all the beholders (i). He was the first Englishman that ever wrote in Latin, and that introduced poetry into England [F]. He preferred musick to all other worldly delights, and played skilfully on all sorts of instruments (k). The Popish writers pretend, he used frequently to put his virtue to a dangerous trial, by lying all night with a young woman, yet without violation of his chastity (l). St Aldhelm lived in great esteem till his death, which happened May the 25th 709. A meadow near the town of Malmfbury is called from him *St Aldhelm's Mead*; and before the Reformation they had several other memorials of him, as his Pfalter, the robe wherein he said Mass, and a great bell in the abbey-steeple called *St Aldhelm's Bell* (m).

(m) Camd. Brit. nna, last. edit. Vol. I. col. 104.

taplasmo. i. e. Of the figure called *Metaplasma*. De Synalapha. i. e. Of the figure called *Synalapha*. De scanfione & eclipsis versuum. i. e. Of the scanning and ellipsis of verses. De metro alterna interrogatio & responfio. i. e. A dialogue concerning metre. (11). 4. De vita monachorum. i. e. Of the monastic life. 5. De laude sanctorum. i. e. Of the praise of the saints. 6. De Arithmetica. i. e. A treatise of Arithmetic. 7. De Astrologia. i. e. A treatise of Astrology. Besides Homilies, Epistles, and Sonnets, in the Saxon tongue (12). I shall subjoin William of Malmfbury's character of St Aldhelm as a writer. Sermones ejus

minus infundunt hilaritatis quam vellent hi qui reum incuriosi verba trutinant; judices importuni, qui nefciant quod fecundum mores gentium variantur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involute, Romani splendide, Angli pompaticè dicte solent. Id in omnibus antiquis caris est animadvertere. Moderatius tamen se agit Aldelmus, nec nisi perraro & necessario verba ponit exotica. Allegat catholicos sensus sermo facundus, & violentissimas assertiones exornat color rhetoricus. Quem si perfecte legeris, & ex acumine Græcum putabis, & ex nitore Romanum jurabis, & ex pompa Anglum intelliges (13). — There is less gaiety in his discourses, than those desire, who are more careful of style than matter; unreasonable critics, who forget that the mode of speaking differs according to the different manners of people. Thus the language of the Greeks is involved and obscure, that of the Romans splendid and elegant, that of the English pompous and swelling. This is remarkable in all the antient writings. As for Aldhelm, he is very moderate in his style, and never introduces foreign terms but upon necessity. His Catholic meaning is clothed with eloquence, and his most vehement assertions adorned with the colours of Rhetoric. If you read him with attention, you will take him for a Grecian by his acuteness, a Roman by his elegance, and an Englishman by the pomp of his language.

[F] He was the first — that introduced poetry into England.] This he says of himself in one of his treatises on metre: 'Hæc de metrorum generibus & schematicis pro utilitate ingenii mei habes, multum laboriose, nescio si fructuose, collecta, quamvis mihi confcius sum me illud Virgilianum posse jactare,

' Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita superfit,
' Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas (14).

(14) Apud W. Malmfb. ubi supra.

— These things have I written concerning the kinds and measures of verse; collected with much labour, but whether useful I know not; though I am conscious to my self I have a right to boast as Virgil did:

' I first, returning from th' Aonian hill,
' Will lead the Muses to my native land.'

His historian tells us, he made an excellent use of his skill in English poetry; which was, to polish the barbarous manners of the people, and to bring them to a better sense of religion. Commemorates Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantatur, Aldelmum fecisse; adjiciens causam, qua probet rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola instituisse: populum eo tempore semi-barbarum, parum divinis sermonibus attentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum; ideoque sanctum virum super pontem quæ rura & urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi profectum. Eo plus quam semel facto, plebis favorem & concursum emeritum. Hoc commentum, sensum inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisset; qui si severe & cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profectio proficisset nihil (15). — Elfred informs us, that Aldhelm made the ballad, which is still commonly sung, adding a probable reason why so great a man busied himself about such trifles; namely, that the people were half barbarians, little attentive to religious discourses, and accustomed to run home immediately after singing of mass; wherefore the holy man, placing himself upon a bridge that joined the town and country, used often to stop them, professing himself skilled in the art of singing. By this means he gained the favour of the populace, who flocked about him; and insensibly mixing words of scripture with ludicrous matters, he brought the towns-men to a right way of thinking; whereas, if he had thought proper to use severity, or have proceeded to excommunication, he would have met with no success. T

(15) Id. ib.

ALDHUN, the first Bishop of Durham, succeeded Elffig in the bishopric of Lindisfarne or Holy Island (a), in the year 990, being the twelfth of the reign of King Ethelred. He was of a noble family, but, according to Simeon of Durham, more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment [A]. He sat about six years in the see of Lindisfarne, during which time, that island was greatly exposed to the incursions of the Danish pirates. This made him think of removing from thence; though Simeon of Durham says, he was put upon it by an admonition from Heaven (b). However, taking with him the body of St Cuthbert, which had been buried there about 113 years, and accompanied by all the Monks and the rest of the people, he went away from Holy Island; and, after wandering about some time, at last he settled with his followers at Dunelm, now called Durham; where he gave rise both to the city and cathedral church.

[A] He was of a noble family, but — more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment.] Erat autem idem antistes profapia nobilis, sed placita Deo conversatione multo nobilior, habitu, sicut omnes predecessores ejus, & actu monachus probabilis. Cujus probitatis laudem a majoribus sibi traditam indigenæ pene omnes, ac si eum viderent, prædicare solent (1). — He was noble by birth, but

much more so by his religious behaviour: a Monk, as all his predecessors were; and that not only in the external garb, but in the real virtues of that character. The fame of his goodness has reached posterity, and is still celebrated by the inhabitants of his diocese, as if he was now alive and conversant among them.

(a) See an account of this bishopric in the article A I D A N, a Scotch Bishop.

(b) Cælesti monitus oraculo. Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. apud X Scriptorum, col. 27.

(1) Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. apud X Scriptorum, col. 26.

[D] He

church [B]. He had a daughter named Ecgfrid, whom he gave in marriage to Uctred, son of Walthoef Earl of Northumberland, and with her six towns belonging to the episcopal see (c); upon condition that he should never divorce her. But that young Lord afterwards repudiating her [C], Aldhun received back the church lands he had given with her (d). This prelate educated King Ethelred's two sons, Alfred and Edward; and, when their father was driven from his throne by Swane King of Denmark, he conducted them, together with Queen Emma, into Normandy, to Duke Richard the Queen's brother (e). This was in the year 1017, a little before Bishop Aldhun's death. For the next year, the English having received a terrible overthrow in a battle with the Scots, the good Bishop was so affected with the news, that he died a few days after [D], having enjoyed the prelacy twenty-nine years (f). Radulphus de Diceto (g) calls this Bishop *Alfbunus*, and Bishop Godwin (b) *Aldwinus*.

(c) These were Birmetun, Skirningheim, Elctun, Caritun, Heaclif, and Hefelden. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra, col. 79.

(d) Ibid. col. 80.

(e) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Dunelm. an. 990.

(f) Sim. Dunelm. ibid. col. 30.

(1) Abbreviat. inronol. apud Scriptor. col. 37.
Ubi supra.

[B] He gave rise both to the city and cathedral church of Durham.] Before Aldhun's arrival, the town of Dunelm, or Durham, consisted only of a few scattered huts or cottages. The spot of ground was covered with a very thick wood, which the Bishop, with the assistance of the people that followed him, made a shift to cut down, and clear away. After he had assigned the people their respective habitations by lot, he began to build a church of stone; which he finished in three years time, and dedicated it to St Cuthbert, placing in it the body of that Saint. From that time the episcopal see, which had been placed at Lindisfarne by Bishop Aidan, remained fixed at Durham; and the cathedral church was soon endowed with considerable benefactions by King Ethelred and other great men (2). Durham, in Latin *Dunelmum*, (Bishop Godwin tells us) was so called from *Dun*, which in the Saxon language signified a mountain, and *Holm* which signified a river-island; because the river Were surrounds on all sides the mountain on which the city stands (3).

(2) Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra, col. 23, 29.

(3) Godwin, ubi supra.

[C] That young lord repudiated Aldhun's daughter] Malcolm King of Scotland, having invaded the northern parts of England, laid siege to Durham. Walthoef Earl of Northumberland, being an old man and not able to make head against the enemy, shut himself up in the royal city of Bebbanburg. But his son Uctred, at that time married to Ecgfrid, putting himself at the head of the Northumbrians and Yorkshire-men, fell upon the Scots, and gave them a total overthrow, Malcolm himself narrowly escaping by flight. King Ethelred hearing of this victory sent for Uctred, and, as a reward of his valour and conduct, gave him the earldom of Northumberland, though his father was not yet dead; and annexed to it that of York. The young Earl was scarce invested with these new honours, when he repudiated his wife (4). Simeon of Durham assigns no reason for this divorce:

(4) Sim. Dunelm. de Uctredo Comite Northanhymbrorum. apud X Scriptor. col. 79, 80.

but it is very probable, Uctred now thought himself too great a man to be son-in-law to a Bishop, and that he aspired after a nobler alliance: for having first married the daughter of a rich citizen named Stry, and thereby (probably) acquired a considerable increase of wealth, he soon got rid of her by divorce, and obtained in marriage Elfgiva the daughter of King Ethelred (5). As for Ecgfrid, she was married to a Thane in Warwickshire named Kilvert: but being divorced from this second husband, she returned to Durham, and there shut herself up in a convent during the rest of her life (6). Our author places the siege of Durham, mentioned in this remark, in the year 969; whereas Aldhun did not remove from Lindisfarne till about 996; which two dates are utterly irreconcilable. It is not easy to say whence this chronological mistake arose, whether from the negligence of the author, the copyist, or the printer. It is certain that Aldhun's daughter was not married to Uctred till after her father's settlement at Durham, nor was she divorced from him till after the above-mentioned siege.

(5) Ibid. col. 80.

(6) Ibid.

[D] The Bishop was so affected with the news, that he died a few days after.] When he heard of the dreadful slaughter of the English, he fetched a deep groan, and cried out; 'Wretch that I am! Why have I lived to this time? Was it to see the destruction of my people? O holy confessor Cuthbert, beloved of God! if ever I have done any thing pleasing in thy sight, now reward me by not suffering me to survive the slaughter of thy people.' *O me, inquit, miserum! ut quid in hæc tempora servatus sum? an ideo huc usque vixi, ut tantam viderem cladem populi? O, inquit, sanctissime, O dilecte Deo confessor Cuthberte, si quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc queso mihi vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo mortuo non sim ego diutius superstes* (7).

(7) Id. Ibid. col. 30.

T

A L D R E D, Archbishop of York in the reigns of Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William the Conqueror, was a Monk of Winchester, afterwards Abbot of Tavistock, and from thence promoted to the see of Worcester in the year 1046 (a). Four years after his consecration, he took a journey to Jerusalem, through Hungary; a thing which no English Bishop had attempted before him (b). Being returned into England, he was sent by King Edward on an embassy to the Emperor Henry II [A]. He stayed a whole year in Germany, and learned many things relating to Church discipline, the practice of which he afterwards introduced into England (c). He had the administration of the see of Wilton three years, during the absence of Bishop Herman [B]; and

(a) Sim. Dunelm. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. ad an. 1046.

(b) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Episc. apud X Scriptor. res, 1700.

(c) Stubbs, ibid.

[A] He was sent by King Edward on an embassy to the Emperor Henry II.] The design of this embassy was, to desire the Emperor to send letters and Ambassadors to Solomon King of Hungary, to prevail with him to send home Prince Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, whom King Edward had designed for his heir (1). For King Edmund having left two sons, Edmund and Edward, King Canute, for fear they should disturb him in the possession of the throne, sent them into Denmark, under pretence of travelling, but with a secret intention of having them murdered. The person, with whom he had intrusted the young Princes, knowing his design, instead of carrying them into Denmark, conducted them to the King of Sweden, whom he acquainted with the King of England's design. The Swedish King received them with great kindness: but, being cautious of disobliging Canute, he sent the young Princes to the court of Hungary, where Solomon willingly took upon himself the care of their education. That Prince married one of his daughters to Edmund, and gave his sister-

(1) Chronic. J. Bromton. apud X Scriptor. col. 942.

in-law, the Emperor's daughter, to Edward. Edmund died soon after his marriage; but Edward had several children (2). The Emperor complied with the intention of Aldred's embassy; and accordingly Edward, with his wife Agatha, his son Edgar, and his daughters Margaret and Christina, arrived in England in 1057. But Prince Edward dying soon after his arrival disappointed the Confessor's intention (3).

(2) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, l. v.

(3) Id. ibid.

[B] He had the administration of the see of Wilton three years, during the absence of Bishop Herman] This Herman was a Flanderkin, and had been chaplain to King Edward, who advanced him to the Bishopric of Wilton. The revenues of that Bishopric being but small, Herman petitioned the King for leave to fix the episcopal see in the convent of Malmfbury: but Edward, by the advice of his nobles, refusing his consent, Herman in disgust threw up his Bishopric, and retiring into France lived three years in a monastery: in the mean time Aldred had the care of his see. But Herman disrelishing the monastick life, and hearing that the Bishop of Sherburn was dead,

(d) Stubbs, *ibid.*
col. 1701.

(e) Stubbs, *ibid.*

(f) W. Malmbs.
de gest. Pontif.
Angl. l. iii. *apud*
Rer. Anglic. post
Bedam Scriptor.
p. 271. edit.
Francof. 1601.

(g) Stubbs, *ubi*
supra, col. 1702.

(h) *Id. ibid.*

(i) Rapin, *Hist.*
d'Angleterre, l. vi.

(k) Stubbs, *ib.*
col. 1703.

(l) *Id. ib. col.*
1705.

and of that of Hereford four years, after the death of Leofgar in 1056 (*d*). In the year 1061, Kinsius Archbishop of York being dead, Aldred was advanced to that see and, with the King's consent, held the bishopric of Worcester *in commendam* [*C*], as four of his predecessors had done (*e*). Soon after, he went to Rome for his pall, accompanied by Tosti Earl of Northumberland, Giso Bishop of Wells, and Walter Bishop of Hereford. But Pope Nicolas II, being informed of his simoniacal practices, not only refused to confirm him in the archbishopric, but deprived him likewise of all he enjoyed before. Thus disappointed, he left Rome with his three companions: but as they were travelling over the Alps, they were set upon by a band of robbers, who plundered them of every thing but their cloaths; so that they were obliged to return to Rome, to get a farther supply for their journey. Then Earl Tosti interposing, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats [*D*], prevailed upon the Pope to confirm Aldred, and give him the pall; which he did, on condition that prelate should resign the see of Worcester (*f*). Being quietly seated in his chair at York, he began to do some good things: for he built a common hall for the Canons to dine in; he finished the hall at Beverly, begun by his predecessor, but left imperfect; he re-built the new cathedral church at Gloucester, which had been destroyed by the Danes; lastly, he obliged the clergy of his province to wear a decent and uniform habit, whereas before they were not distinguishable from the laity. The see of York having been greatly reduced by the persecution of the Barbarians, Aldred, with the King's consent, retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the see of Worcester for his own use (*g*) [*E*]. And now this prelate began to discover himself to be a mere worldling and an odious time-server. For no sooner was his patron King Edward dead, but he assisted Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to obtain the crown. Afterwards, when William the Norman had succeeded in his invasion, and Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury had refused to crown him, Aldred fell in with the stream, and performed the ceremony; only exacting an oath from the Norman, that he would love and protect the English equally with his own natural subjects (*h*). But when afterwards he found that the Conqueror little regarded this oath, he thundered out an excommunication against him (*i*). Soon after, the Danish invasion coming on, and the citizens of York, with the Northumbrians and others, declaring for Prince Edgar Atheling's title, Aldred sickened at the news, and died, September 10, 1069, just before the Danes landed; and was buried in the cathedral church of York (*k*). This Archbishop was the last Englishman promoted to the see of York; his successors being of Norman race (*l*). I shall give the reader a taste of this prelate's spiritual pride and priestly arrogance, in two stories; the one from his panegyrist Stubbs [*F*], who relates it

as

which see the King had formerly promised him he would annex to that of Wilton, he returned into England; and the King keeping to his promise, Herman held the united sees of Wilton and Sherburn till the ninth year of William the Conqueror, when the episcopal seat was fixed a Sarum or Salisbury (4).

[*C*] He held the Bishopric of Worcester in commendam.] William of Malmbury charges the Archbishop with obtaining this commendam simoniacally. *Hic simplicitati Edwardi illudens, moremque antecessorum pecunia magis quam ratione allegans, Archiepiscopatum Eboracensem non intermissa priori sede suscepit* (5). There is some obscurity in this passage: but the sense of it seems to be; that Aldred, abusing the easy disposition of the King, found means to retain the see of Worcester, rather by the force of money properly applied, than by virtue of the precedent he alleged.

[*D*] ——— *By threats.*] The Earl was of a fiery disposition, and upon this occasion played the bully for his friend. He went to his Holiness, and railed plentifully at him. He told him, his excommunication would strike no terror into distant nations, if it could not frighten a band of robbers in the very neighbourhood of Rome. He demanded restitution for the loss he had sustained; otherwise he might depend upon it, when the King of England came to hear of this usage, he would withdraw the tribute due to the holy chair. The thunder of these threats (says Malmbury) frightened the Pope into compliance. *Tostinus quippe gravibus verborum contumeliosis Apostolicum aggressus, in sententiam sibi placitam reduxit. Parum metuendam à longinquis gentibus ejus excommunicationem, quam propinquis latrunculi deriderent. In supplices ferere, in rebelles parum valere. Aut sua sibi per ejus auctoritatem reddenda, quæ per fraudulentiam constaret amissa; aut futurum, ut hæc rex Anglorum audiens, tributum S. Petri merito Nicolao subtraheret: se non defuturum rerum veritati exaggeranda. Hoc minarum fulmine Romani tertiti Papam flecterunt, ut Aldredo Archiepiscopatum redderet & pallium* (6). Stubbs says nothing of Earl Tosti's threats, but imputes the Pope's change of mind to the motions of pity; and the intercession of the whole court. *Itaque Papa Nicholas*

super eum pietate commotus, & totius curiæ intercessione pro eo exoratus, Archiepiscopatum ei dato pallio confirmavit (7). The same author has preserved part of the preamble of the Pope's Bull of confirmation, as follows: *Nicholaus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Confratri & Coepiscopo Aldredo Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Apostolicæ benedictionis privilegium & Salutem, & per eum suæ ecclesiæ suisque successoribus canonice promovendis imperpetuum. Quia divinitatis occulta dispensatio est, &c.* (8).

[*E*] He retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the see of Worcester for his own use.] This is what his panegyrist Thomas Stubbs tells us: but if Jolin Bromton is to be believed, his conduct in this affair merits the highest censure. For, according to that historian (9), he detained those possessions by violence and injustice; and, the better to cover his rapine, he nominated Wolstan, Prior of Worcester, to that see, agreeably to the Pope's Bull, which gave him the power of appointing his successor therein. This Wolstan, being a plain easy man, and owing his advancement to Aldred, did not attempt, during the life of the Archbishop, to recover the twelve manours unjustly transferred to the church of York: but no sooner was Aldred dead, than Wolstan defended the rights of the church of Worcester, and recovered the possessions which had been dismembered from it.

[*F*] *Two stories; the one from Stubbs.*] As the Archbishop's officers were, one day, bringing a great quantity of provisions to his palace at York, they were met upon the road by the high-sheriff of the county, who stopped them, and asked them to whom they belonged. The men answered, they were servants of the Archbishop, and were carrying those provisions for his use. The high-sheriff, despising the Prelate and his servants, ordered the officers who attended him to seize upon the carriages and provisions, and carry them to the King's granary in the castle of York. The Archbishop hearing of this, sent several of his clergy and citizens to demand restitution of the high-sheriff, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refused it. But that officer disregarding his threats, the Archbishop posted up to London, and went, attended by a numerous train of Bishops and other ecclesiastics,

(4) *Chronic. J. Bromton. apud X Scriptor. col. 946.*

(5) W. Malmbs.
de gest. Pontif.
Angl. l. iii. *apud*
Rer. Anglic.
Scriptor. post
Bedam, p. 271.
edit. Francof.
1601.

(6) W. Malmbs.
ibid.

(7) Th. Stubbs,
Act. Ebor. Episc.
apud X Scriptor.
col. 1702.

(8) *ibid.*

(9) *Apud X Scriptor. col. 952.*

as a singular instance of his constancy and resolution; the other from William of Malmfbury [G].

clerastics, to Westminster, where the King then was in council. The monarch no sooner cast his eyes upon the Prelate, than he rose up to salute him as usual; which the latter put by with his crozier, and taking no notice of the King's standing, nor of his crowd of courtiers, he addressed himself to him in these words: 'Hear me, William; when thou wert an alien, and God had permitted thee, for our sins, and through much blood, to reign over us, I anointed thee King, and placed the crown upon thy head with a blessing: but now, because thou deservest it not, I will change that blessing into a curse against thee, as a persecutor and oppressor of God and his ministers, and a breaker and contemner of those oaths and promises, which thou madest unto me before the altar of St Peter.' The King astonished at these menaces threw himself at the Archbishop's feet, and humbly begged to know by what offence he had deserved so severe a sentence. The noblemen in the presence were irritated to a high degree at the Prelate's arrogance, in suffering the King to lie at his feet without raising him. But the Archbishop turning to them said; 'Let him alone, gentlemen, let him lie; he does not fall down at my feet; but at the feet of St Peter.' After some time he thought fit to raise the King, and told him his errand. The Con-

queror was too much frightened to deny his request. He gave him rich gifts, and dispatched an express to the high-sheriff for the restitution of his goods, which were punctually restored, to the value of a sack-tring, *usque ad ligamen sacci* (10).

[G] ——— The other from William of Malmfbury.] Urfus, Earl of Worcester, had built a castle to the prejudice of a neighbouring monastery: for the ditch of the said castle took off part of the church-yard belonging to the Monks. Aldred had often by letters admonished the Earl to do justice to the Monks. But finding intreaties would not do, he went to Urfus in person, and demanded whether it was by his appointment that this encroachment was made. The Earl not denying the fact, the Prelate cried out;

Hightest thou Urfe (11);
Have thou God's curse.

This curse, says my author, seemed to take effect: for Urfus died soon after, and Roger his son enjoyed his father's honour but a very short time; for, having slain one of the King's officers; he was forced to fly his country (12).

(10) T. Stubbs's
Ibid. col. 1703.

(11) i. e. *Touus*
art called Urfus.
This name signifies in Latin a Bear.

(12) W. Malmfb.
ubi supra.

ALDRICH or ALDRIDGE (ROBERT), called in Latin *Aldrisius*, was Bishop of Carlisle in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary (a). This prelate was born at Burnham in Buckinghamshire, educated in grammar learning at Eaton school, and elected scholar of King's college in Cambridge in the year 1507; where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was about that time styled by Erasmus, in one of his epistles, *blande eloquentiæ juvenis* (b). Afterwards he became Proctor of the university, school-master of Eaton, fellow of that college, and at length Provost. In 1529 he retired to Oxford, where he was incorporated Bachelor of Divinity, March 15, 1529 (c); and the next year, performing his exercises for the degree of Doctor in that faculty, he was licensed to proceed, in April 1530 (d). About the same time he was made Archdeacon of Colchester. In 1534, May 7, he was installed Canon of Windsor; and the same year he was appointed register of the most noble order of the Garter (e), in the room of Dr Richard Sydenore, Archdeacon of Totness (f). July 18, 1537, he was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, in the room of Dr John Kyte deceased: from which time to that of his death, though there were many changes both in Church and State, yet (Mr Wood tells us) he ran through all, and consequently complied with all (g). Bishop Aldrich wrote several pieces, particularly these following: 1. Epistola ad Gulielmum Hormannum. i. e. *A Letter to William Horman*. 2. Epigrammata varia. i. e. *Various Epigrams*. 3. *Several Resolutions concerning the Sacraments*. 4. *Answers to certain Queries concerning the Abuses of the Mass*. He wrote also *Resolutions* of some questions relating to Bishops and Priests, and other matters tending to the reformation of the Church begun by King Henry VIII. John Leland, the antiquarian and poet, who was his familiar acquaintance, has celebrated him for his admirable parts and learning [A]. This prelate died March 25, 1555, at Horn-Castle in Lincolnshire, which was a house belonging to the Bishops of Carlisle [B].

[A] John Leland — has celebrated him in the following verses.]

Ad Rob. Aldrigum.

Si scires penitus meæ Camænæ
Erga te studium, benignis illam
Unis acciperes; tuoque dignam
(Ni fallor modo) diceres favore.
At qui scire meæ (rogo) tacentis
Affectum potes intimum Camænæ?
(Ut sis ergo sciens) lubenter in te
Testatis faciēt suos amores,
Attingetque tuas canora laudes
Doctrinæ solidas, jubente Granta:
Quæ te quæ juvenem bonas docebat
Artes ingenuum, elegantiamque:
Illo tempore, quo beata Erasmus
Ingentis pretii virum fovebat,
Non magno sine commodo suorum
Omnium, & tulit ut quidem secundus
Casus, præcipue tuo: Assidebas,
Nam desiderio laboriose

Exemplaria docta conferenti,
Castæ reliquias latininitatis.
Nunc, Aldrige, tibi suas Camænæ
Partes præstitit, additura metam
Succincti hendecasyllabis Phaleuci (1).

(1) Joh. Lei.
Encomia &c. illust.
viror. apud
Collectan. Ap.
pend. Part I.
P. 134.

[B] Horn-Castle in Lincolnshire was a house belonging to the Bishops of Carlisle.] Among other alienations of the church-lands in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a licence, dated November 1, 1552, was granted to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, empowering him to sell to the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral of England, *Socam sive dominium suum de Horn-Castle cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln. in villis, campis, sive parochiis de Horn-Castle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Asbby, Maving, Wilsby, Halibam, Conisby, Boughton, Fimbleby, Moreby, Meckham & Innerby in com. prædicti*. to have the same to him and his heirs, *tenend. de domino rege, &c.* There was likewise a licence granted to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the said conveyance. And for all these lordships the purchaser was only to pay the yearly rent of twenty-eight pounds to the Bishop (2).

(2) Burnet's Hist.
of the Reformation,
Vol. II. in
the Records,
n. 25.

ALDRICH (HENRY) an eminent philosopher, poet, and divine, in the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was the son of Henry Aldrich of Westminster, Gent. He was born there in the year 1647 (a), and educated in the college-school in that city, under the famous R. Busby. In act-term 1662, he was admitted into Christ-church-college Oxon, of which he was, soon after, elected student (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 31, 1666 (c), and that of Master, April 3, 1669 (d). Entering soon after into holy orders, he distinguished himself by his knowledge in every branch of divine and human learning, and became a famous tutor in his college. On the fifteenth of February, 1681, he was installed Canon of Christ-church, in the second stall (e); and the second of March following, accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (f). He bore his part in the controversy with the Papists during the reign of King James II [A], upon which, and other accounts, his merit became so conspicuous, that when, at the Revolution, J. Massy the Popish Dean of Christ-church fled beyond sea, his deanry was conferred upon Dr Aldrich; who was therein installed the seventeenth of June, 1689 (g). In this eminent station he behaved in the most worthy and exemplary manner; and promoted learning, religion, and virtue, with great application and zeal, in that noble college over which he happily presided. A great deal of it's present lustre and beauty it owes to his skilful and ingenious hand; for it was he who designed the beautiful square, called Peckwater-Quadrangle, which is esteemed a regular and compleat piece of architecture (h). Like his excellent predecessor Bishop Fell (i), he published yearly some piece of an ancient Greek author [B], for a new-year's-gift to the students of his house. He wrote likewise a system of logic, and some other things [C]. The revising of the manuscript of *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, was committed to his care, jointly with Bishop Sprat; but it doth not appear that they made any additions, or considerable alterations in it, as has been asserted by a late writer, Mr Oldnixon (k). Besides his preferments abovementioned, Dr Aldrich was also Rector of Wem in Shropshire (l). He was chosen Prolocutor of the convocation, in 1702. This worthy person died at Christ-church, on the fourteenth of December, 1710. As to his character: he was a most universal scholar, and had a taste for all sorts of learning, especially architecture. Having never been married, he appropriated his income to works of hospitality, and beneficence, and in encouraging learning to the utmost of his power, of which he was a most munificent patron, as well as one of the greatest men in England, if considered as a Christian or a gentleman. He had always the interest of his college at heart, whereof he was an excellent governor [D]. And, as he was remarkable for modesty and humility, concealing his name to those several learned tracts he published, so at his death he appointed to be buried without any memorial in the cathedral; which his thrifty nephew complied with, depositing him on the south side of Bishop Fell's grave, December 22; eight days after his decease; which happened in the sixty-third, or sixty-fourth year of his age (m).

(a) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1055. He tells us there, that our author was aged fifteen in 1662; and consequently was born in 1647.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 164.

(d) Ibid. col. 175.

(e) Athenæ, ubi supra, and J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 527.

(f) Fasti, ut supra, col. 218.

(g) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(h) See Present State of Gr. Britain, by John Chamberlayne, Esq; edit. 1735, 8vo. Part I. p. 277.

(i) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 798, and 1055.

(j) See the late Bishop of Rochester's Vindication of Bp Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himself: and Oldnixon's Reply, to the Weekly Miscellany, in a loose sheet, wherein he gives up the point.

(k) Wood, Athen. ubi supra, col. 016, 936, 1055.

(l) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 673, 674.

[A] He bore his part in the controversy with the Papists, during the reign of King James II. The tracts he then published were, 1. *A Reply to two Discourses lately printed at Oxford, concerning the Adoration of our blessed Saviour, in the holy Eucharist*. Oxford, 1687, 4to. It was an answer to O. Walker's *Two discourses concerning the Adoration of our blessed Saviour in the Eucharist*. And he writing *Animadversions upon the Reply to two Discourses*, &c. Dr Aldrich published 2. *A Defence of the Oxford Reply to two Discourses lately printed at Oxford*, &c. From the *Exceptions made to it in the second Appendix to a Compendious Discourse of the Eucharist*. Oxford, 1688, 4to. This second Appendix was written by Obadiah Walker, and *The Compendious Discourse*, &c. by Abraham Woodhead (1). Bishop Burnet ranks our author among those eminent English clergymen, who 'examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language (2).'

[B] He published yearly some piece of an ancient Greek author. We have not been able to get an account of what he published of that kind, except these following pieces. 1. *Xenophontis Memorabilium libri quatuor*. Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1690, 8vo. 2. *Xenophontis Sermo de Agésilao*. Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1691, 8vo. 3. *Aristæa Historia LXXII. Interpretum*. Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1692, 8vo. 4. *Xenophontis de Re Equestri lib.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8vo. 5. *Epiætetus* &

Theophrastus. Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1707, 8vo. 6. *Platonis, Xenophontis, Plutarchi, Luciani, Symposia*. Gr. Oxon. 1711, 8vo. This last was published after his decease. — He composed also Bishop Fell's epitaph, and some others, which are expressed in a very polite and elegant manner (3).

[C] He wrote likewise a *system of Logic, and some other things*. It was printed under the title of *Artis Logicæ Compendium*. Oxon. 1691, 8vo. in six sheets; and reprinted several times since, with variations and additions. The learned author composed it for the use of his noble pupil, Frederic-Christian Howard, son to Charles Earl of Carlisle. — He also printed *Elements of Geometry*, in Latin, in a large thin octavo; probably for the use of some of his friends, or pupils: for it was never published. — And likewise, had a hand in Gregory's *Greek Testament*, printed at Oxford in 1703, fol. — Some of his notes are printed in the new edition of Josephus, by Havercamp.

[D] Whereof he was an excellent governor. This part of his character is well expressed by the author of the dedication to his edition of the *Symposia*, in the following elegant words. — *Qui in omni vitæ cursu præclarum aliquid vel benignum alumnis suis paravit. — Qui patronus fuit munificentissimus; amicus amicitissimus; mortalium, pene dixerim, optimus; illum denique opum honorum contemptorem animum, omnium scientiarum omnium virtutum capacem, cælo (unde præfatus fuit) redditum, jurat, & jurabit usque, plausu & gratulationibus prosequi.* C

ALDULPH or ARDULPH or EARDULPH, King of Northumberland, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, succeeded King Oswald, and was inaugurated in St Peter's church at York, the twenty-sixth of May 796 (a). King Ethelred, the immediate predecessor of King Oswald, the better to secure himself on the throne, had banished several of the principal Northumbrian Lords, and among the rest Aldulph, whom he suspected of carrying on designs against his person and crown. But the malecontent

(a) Simeon. Duneelm. de gest. Reg. Angl. an. 796.

(l) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; p. 443. edit. 1730, 4to.

(m) Willis, ibid. & p. 444.

(3) Willis, ubi supra, p. 534, 435.

malecontent party prevailing, and King Ethelred being assassinated, Oswald was elected in his room. This Prince reigned but twenty-seven days, being driven out by the opposite faction, who placed Aldulph on the throne. Two years after his accession, a conspiracy being formed against him by the murderers of the late King Ethelred, at the head of whom was one Wada; King Aldulph engaged them in a place called by the Anglo-Saxons *Billingaboth* near *Walalege*; and many being slain on both sides, Wada and his forces were put to flight, and the King obtained a glorious victory (b). In the year 801, this Prince led an army against Kenwolf King of the Mercians, who had afforded shelter to his enemies: but, through the interposition of the Bishops and Nobles on both sides, the two Monarchs were reconciled, and made a league of the most firm and lasting friendship (c) [A]. Aldulph had the address to maintain himself upon the throne by the help of the most powerful faction of the two, which at that time divided the kingdom of Northumberland. Nevertheless the other made several attempts from time to time to advance itself. Alcred, who had swayed the sceptre of that kingdom, had left a son named Alcmund, who was at the head of this last party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, Aldulph, who judged it necessary to sacrifice him to his own safety, caused him to be privately murdered. His death being looked upon by the opposite party as a martyrdom, Alcmund was placed in the number of the faints; and this furnished the King's enemies with a pretence to take up arms, and to put themselves under the command of a Lord named Aldrick. This rebel being overcome and slain in battle, the malecontents continued some time without making any fresh attempt. But the face of affairs soon changed: the party opposed to the King became so powerful, that this Prince was forced to save himself by flight, and take refuge in the court of Charlemagne, where the English were always well received. Nor did Aldulph ever recover his crown: for, two years after, the kingdom of Northumberland submitted to the power of Ecbert King of Westex; which put an end to the Heptarchy (d).

(b) *Vicioriam regaliter sumpsit.* Sim. Dunelm. ib. an. 798.

(c) *Id. ibid. an. 801.*

(d) Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, lib. iii. in *Abregé de l'Hist. de Northumb.*

I find an A L D U L P H Bishop of Lichfield in the reign of Offa King of the Mercians; whom I mention for no other reason, but because in his time the see of Lichfield was erected into an Archbishopric [B].

[A] *The two monarchs — made a league of the most firm and lasting friendship.* Simeon of Durham quotes a tetrastick, which he says was fulfilled by this treaty of peace between the two Kings. It is this:

Gratius astra nitent, ubi nothus
Definit imbriferos dare sonos;
Lucifer ut tenebras pepulerit,
Pulchra dies roseos agit equos (1).

That is,

*When the moist south no longer blows,
Each star its grateful radiance shows;
When Lucifer dispels the night,
The day holds forth its rosy light.*

(1) Simeon Dunelm. de gest. Reg. Anglor. an. 796.

[B] *In Bishop Aldulph's time, the see of Lichfield was erected into an Archbishopric.* King Offa being successful in his wars, and making the greatest figure in the Heptarchy, resolved, in the year 765, upon the erecting Lichfield into an Archiepiscopal see. Lambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, made use of all his interest to prevent the dismembering his jurisdiction; and, the contest being brought before the court of Rome, the Archbishop urged the grant of Gregory the Great, to the see of Canterbury. However, King Offa prevailed in his application, and obtained of Pope Adrian I, that all the Bishops within the kingdom of Mercia should be suffragans to the Bishop of Lichfield as their Metropolitan (2).

T

(2) Math. Westm. Hist. an. 765.

A L E X A N D E R, Bishop of Lincoln in the reigns of Henry II and Stephen, was a Norman by birth, and nephew of the famous Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who first made him Archdeacon of Salisbury, and afterwards, by his interest with the King, raised him to the mitre (a). Alexander was consecrated at Canterbury, July 22, 1123. Having received his education under his uncle the Bishop of Salisbury, and been accustomed to a splendid way of living, he affected show and state, more than was suitable to his character, or consistent with his fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his station [A]. The year after his consecration,

(a) Math. Paris. Hist. Angl. edit. 1640. Tom. I. p. 68. Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Lincoln. an. 1123.

[A] *He affected splendor more than was consistent with his character or fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his station.* Henry of Huntingdon, who dedicated his history to Bishop Alexander, calls him, in the preface, *Florem & cacumen regni & gentis, The flower and top of the kingdom and nation.* The same author has preserved the following flattering verses on this Bishop.

Splendor Alexandri non tam renitefcit honore,
Quam per eum renitefcit honor; flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans, thesauros cogit honoris;
Et gratis dare festinans, ne danda rogentur,
Quod nondum dederit, nondum se credit habere.
O Decus, O morum directio, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,
Lene jugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertatque decens venere, pudorque facetus.
Lincolniæ gens magna prius, nunc maxima semper;
Talis & ille diu sit nobis tutor honoris (1).

(1) H. Huntingdon. Hist. l. vii. p. 382. apud Scriptor. post Bedam, edit. Francof. 1607.

Which may be thus rendered into English:

*Honour, which us'd to dignify a name,
Is dignify'd by Alexander's fame.
In bounty rich, in using riches wise,
His treasure only in bestowing lies.
His charity prevents the suppliant's moan;
Nor ought, but what he gives, he calls his own.
O Glory, and exemplar of the state!
On thee the Graces and the Virtues wait;
Unerring faith, and chearful clemency,
With cautious pow'r, and decent liberty;
The yoke ungalling, and correction sweet,
Doctrine that ever charms, and modest wit.
Lincoln, thy envied glories higher rise,
And Alexander lifts thee to the skies.
Late may he lay in dust his honour'd head,
Who teaches all in honour's paths to tread.*

(b) Girald. Cambrensis de vitis Episcop. Lincoln. c. 22.

(c) At the suppression of the monasteries, the first of these was found to be worth 256 l. 13 s. 7 d. the other 88 l. 5 s. 5 d. per annum. Godwin, ubi supra.

(d) Chronic. Joh. Bromton, apud X Scriptor. col. 1027.

(e) Godwin, ubi supra.

consecration, his cathedral church at Lincoln having been accidentally burnt down, he re-built it, and secured it against the like accident for the future by a stone roof (b). This prelate increased the number of Prebends in his church, and augmented it's revenues with several manours and estates. In imitation of the Barons and some of the Bishops, particularly his uncle the Bishop of Salisbury, he built three castles; one at Banbury, another at Sleaford, and a third at Newark. He likewise founded two monasteries; one at Haverholm, for regular Canons and Nuns together, the other at Tame for White-Fryars (c). When King Stephen resolved to take the castles from the Barons [B]; that of Newark held out against the King's officers, but was forced at last to surrender. As for the Bishop himself, after seven months imprisonment, and being kept to very slender diet, he with difficulty obtained his liberty (d). From that time he applied himself to the governing and ornamenting his church, which he rendered the most stately and flourishing of any in England. He went twice to Rome, in the years 1142 and 1144. The first time, he came back in quality of the Pope's Legate, for the calling a Synod, in which he published several wholesome and necessary canons. In August, 1147; he took a third journey to the Pope, who was then in France; where he fell sick through the excessive heat of the weather, and returning with great difficulty to England, he died in the twenty-fourth year of his prelacy (e). About a year before his death, he received a letter from the famous St Bernard [C], who seems to have been pretty well acquainted with his temper and character.

I call these verses *flattering*; because, as an historian, Huntington seems to have drawn a more faithful picture of this Prelate, acknowledging his virtues, and not dissembling his faults: for thus he described him after his death. 'Nutritus in summis deliciis à Rogero avunculo suo Salisberiensis episcopo, majores inde animos contraxit quam opportunum esset suis. Siquidem præterire volens principes cæteros largitione munerum & splendore procuratorum, cum proprii reditus ad hoc non sufficere possent, à suis summo studio carpebat, unde egestatem suam nimietate prædicta comparatam complere possit; nec tamen complere poterat, qui semper magis magnificentie dispersebat. Fuit autem vir prudens, & adeo munificus, ut à curia Romana vocaretur magnificus (2). — Having been educated in luxury and pleasure under his uncle Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, he entertained higher thoughts than were suitable to his rank and fortunes: for, vying with the nobles in liberality and splendor, and his income not being sufficient to support his expences, he was forced to rack his tenants, for money to supply his wants occasioned by his prodigality; which yet he could not fully supply, inasmuch as his profuseness continued daily to increase. However he was a prudent man, and so bountiful, that he was styled by the court of Rome the Magnificent.'

[B] King Stephen resolved to take the castles from the Barons.] As a comment on these words, we shall transcribe a short account of this matter from one of our historians. 'Stephen, having now gotten a little respite from his enemies, began to consult with himself how he might ease himself of such troublesome contents with his subjects; and because he now found, that the castles he had permitted his nobility to build, were the greatest impediments of his peace at home, and the readiest harbour of rebels, he resolved to forbid, that any should be built hereafter, and demolished some of the most dangerous lately erected; and to this end called a great council at Oxford. Here some of his lords, who much envied the magnificent and stately castles erected by the clergy (whose buildings both in number and strength much exceeded those of the nobility) but especially the Bishop of Salisbury, who had built several great castles at Salisbury, the Devizes, Sherburn, Malmesbury, and (3) Newark; whispered into the King's ears, who was very jea-

lous and suspicious of such designs, That these fortresses were intended for the reception of the Emperess Maud and her party: and by their surmises so wrought upon the King's fears, that he sent for the Bishop of Salisbury to Oxford. The Bishop, foreseeing the danger impending, would have excused himself from his attendance upon the King, by reason of his great age; but that plea would not be allowed, he must go. The Bishop therefore taking with him his nephews Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigell Bishop of Ely, with a retinue of well-armed men, went to Oxford; where at his first coming, his servants going to take them up lodgings, happened into a quarrel with the servants of the Earl of Britain, and killed one of them in the fray, the nephew of the Earl being dangerously wounded. This being brought to the King's ears, he calls for the Bishop, and demands satisfaction for the breach of peace made by his servants in his court, which was this, that he should immediately yield up the keys of all his castles to him, as pledges of his fidelity. The Bishop refused to do it; whereupon he commanded the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be seized upon, and kept under a guard. The Bishop of Ely had made his escape, and got into the castle of the Devizes. The King presently took into his hands by force the castles of Salisbury, Sherburn, and Malmesbury; and after three days assault, that of the Devizes was surrendered to him, whither he sent the two Bishops prisoners, and seized the Bishop of Salisbury's treasure, which amounted to forty thousand marks (4).'

[C] He received a letter from the famous St Bernard.] Among other things, St Bernard, in his letter, cautions him not to be dazzled with the lustre of secular grandeur, nor to look upon any worldly advantage as permanent; nor value his fortune more than himself: to guard against the flattery of prosperity, for fear of a turn of misfortune which will last longer: not to be charmed with the transient satisfactions of life; for that scene will quickly be shut up, and make way for another both lasting and uncomfortable. He advises him not to deceive himself with any distant prospect of death: for such delusive hopes lead directly to danger and surprize, and are the likeliest way to hurry a man into the other world without preparation (5).

(4) S. Daniel, Hist. of England, sub an. 1138.

(5) Bernardi Epist. 64.

ALEXANDER NEQUAM, or NECKHAM. See NECKHAM.

ALEXANDER (WILLIAM) an eminent nobleman, statesman, and poet of Scotland, in the reigns of King James, and King Charles I. His surname is said by the historians of his own country, to have been taken from the proper name of his predecessor Alexander Macdonald; who holding, under the family of Argyle, the lands of Menstrie, this became the place of his residence. Andrew Alexander, in the reign of James V, is observed to be the first who is mentioned in the records of Scotland. He, by Catherine Graham his wife, had Alexander his son and heir; who obtained a grant from Archibald, master of Argyle, of the said lands of Menstrie, to himself and Elizabeth Douglas his wife, in life-rent, and to Andrew Alexander their son, in fee, which

which was ratified under the great seal in 1529; whose heir and successor, was this William Alexander (a). He was born in the year 1580, as we compute from an inscription quoted towards the end of this narrative. He soon appeared such a promising youth, that the beams of those bright endowments of nature, which shone out, and gilded his dawning years, made his friends desirous of improving them to the height of excellence, by a liberal education; and so much was he distinguished for both, that they recommended him, in the quality of a tutor, or rather companion, to the Earl of Argyll in his travels. After some time spent in foreign parts, he returned to Scotland, and betook himself a while, it seems, to a rural retirement. There he finished his poetical complaint, of the unsuccessful address he had made to his first mistress; which he intitled *Aurora*. For he had, before he went abroad; and three lustres were expired, as he expresses it himself (b), or was fifteen years of age, seen some rare beauty, who had smitten him so deeply, that neither the diversion of travel, nor the sight of so many fair foreigners, as he calls the river Loir to witness he had there met with, could remove his affection (*). Wherefore now, after his return, this courtship was revived, and he wrote above an hundred sonnets, &c. upon it; till matrimony disposing of her to another person, he also had recourse to the same, as a remedy to wean his passion for the former object. For he tells us, that the lady so unrelenting to him, had matched her morning to one in the evening of his age (c). That himself should now change the myrtle-tree for the laurel, and the bird of Venus for that of Juno (d). That he was at last bound to one, whereby he should escape bondage from all others. That the torch of Hymen had burnt out the darts of Cupid; and that he had thus spent the spring of his age, which now his summer must redeem (e). Now therefore it was that he removed to the court of King James VI, and lived there in the capacity only of a private gentleman (f), but with the character of a learned and accomplished one. He still found occasion to exercise his poetical talents, from the recommendation they made of him even to the King, who might be the readier to encourage those studies in another, which he had so publickly professed himself. Further notice of, and perhaps acquaintance with him, might be promoted by the situation of his abode; being so commodious for those sports, wherewith his majesty was wont, in his journies of pleasure, there to divert himself. But the poetry to which Mr Alexander now turned his pen, was that solid and sublime species of it, which would hold up the clearest mirror to Princes and Potentates; which would best animate the lifeless precepts of philosophy, and render it's gravest lessons most agreeably affecting; for the better government, not only of a people in general, but the passions and appetites of the governors themselves; by the most sovereign precedents, and harmonious precautions, of the uncertainty of life, and the insufficiency of it's felicities, the vanity of grandeur, the corruption of power, and burden of riches. To this purpose he formed himself, somewhat after the plan of the antient Greek and Roman tragedies, at least in their choruses between the acts; not so much to have his dramattick compositions personated in mimicry upon the narrow stage of a play-house, as to be really and more extensively acted in human life, by those who bore the parts of the greatest actors in the common theatre of mankind. And to this effect, we find a tragedy of Mr Alexander's published, upon the story of Darius, at Edinburgh, in 1603. The choice of his measure in this (as in his other plays) is alternate rhyme, which I leave the critics to defend (g) and decry (h); and as to his style, if it is not always pure, our author has modestly pleaded his country, and allowed the preference to our dialect, in the preface thereof. It was the year after, published again at London, with some verses before it in praise of the author, by J. Murray, and Walter Quin, who has here also an anagram upon the name of William Alexander, which has been reprinted elsewhere (i). But that preface is not here revived; and there are two poems of our author's at the end of this edition, which were never afterwards printed again; the one, congratulating his majesty upon his entry into England; the other, written shortly after, upon the inundation of Doven, a water near our author's house, upon which, his majesty was wont to recreate himself with the pastime of hawking. As it contains a fine compliment, we shall here subjoin the sense of it [A], and proceed to observe, that the same year this play was reprinted in England, was published here his *Aurora*, also in quarto, 1604; which, as it was the fruit of, he made an oblation to Beauty, by dedicating it to Agnes Douglas, Countess of Argyll. But these poems were never after reprinted, though bound up with the succeeding augmentation of his plays. In the same year last mentioned, his *Parænesis* to Prince Henry, was here also published; therefore how truly it's publication was deferred till after the death of that Prince, lies upon Mr Langbain to reconcile (k); in which, among other noble instructions, he shews, how the happiness of a Prince depends on his choice of a council; such, as can throw off private grudges, regard publick concerns, and will not, to betray their feats, become pensioners. Further shews, the use of

(a) The Peerage of Scotland by George Crawford, Edin: fol. 1716, p. 462.

(b) *Aurora*: containing the first fancies of the author's youth; by W. Alexander of Menstrie, Lond. 4to. 1604. Sonnet. 2.

(*) Ibid. Son. 36.

(c) Id. Son. 100.

(d) Ib. Son. 106.

(e) Id. Song 10.

(f) Crawford, ubi supra.

(g) Dryden, in Pref. to An. Mirab. and Sir W. Davenant, in Pref. to Gondib.

(h) Rymer, in Pref. to Rapin, on Aristotle's Treatise of Poetry.

(i) Ger. Langbain's account of the English Dramatic Poets, 8vo. 1691. p. 5.

(k) Ibid. p. 4.

[A] *Subjoin the sense of it.* Intimating, as if those waters had forsaken their banks, upon his majesty's leaving the kingdom; and, in spreading over the plains, strove, by a licentious greatness, to recover respect; which served but to make the inhabitants more feelingly mourn their loss of such a ruler, as had kept all things among them in bounds and regularity:

so that they, like the Antipodes, while he is shining day upon England, are beginning their night; which makes his Muse droop with sorrow: but, if his Phœbus would deign to shine upon her, she might raise her flight, to build amidst his rays. And so she did not long after, as may above appear.

histories, and how the lives of great men are to be read with greatest profit: lays open the characters of vicious Kings; those abandoned to avarice, to flattery, and, the most contemptible of all, to effeminacy and lust: displays the glories of martial accomplishments; and hopes, if the Prince should ever make an expedition to Spain, that he might attend him, and be his Homer to sing his acts there. Whether the author was yet arrived in England, does not appear, by any of these writings; and whether he published any more, separately, till the year 1607, we have not yet directly learnt. But in this year came out his three other plays, which with that beforementioned, are intitled, *The Monarchick Tragedies; Cræsus, Darius, The Alexandrian, Julius Cæsar; newly enlarged* (*). By William Alexander, Gentleman of the Prince's privy chamber: and with them are bound the poems aforesaid. These plays are dedicated to King James, in a poem of thirteen stanzas, and have a copy by Sir Robert Ayton before them, expressing, that the King himself had graced our author's labours with his glorious name; so that, patron, subject, style and all, make him the *Monarchick Tragedian* of our island. And though indeed those plays, for the reasons before given, must, to all royal readers of them, administer a kind of terrible pleasure; yet his majesty is said, not only to have been delighted with our author's conversation, but his works (l); and to have called him his *Philosophical Poet*. Inasmuch, that no stream appears to have more visibly wasted him to those honours wherewith he was a few years afterwards graced, than what thus flowed through his own hand, from the fountain of the Muses. We might be endless in giving instances of his fine sense out of these plays; but, to those who have not read him, a few may be here acceptable, and enough to shew his preference of *Merit* to *Dignity*; his grief that it is not made a guide in the choice of *Favourites*; his thoughts on the wretched condition of *Ministers*, with that of *Kings* themselves; and lastly, who is to be accounted the greatest *Conqueror*; as may be seen below [B]: and we shall refer to other topics, gathered out of him, in a collection from our old poets, lately published (m). Besides those authors beforementioned, others have celebrated these performances; as John Davis of Hereford, who, in a book of Epigrams, published about the year 1611, has one to Mr William Alexander of Menstrie, in praise of these tragedies (n), wherein, though a stranger to his person, he thinks himself obliged in justice to applaud his writings; as having made himself thereby, a Sovereign even over Monarchs; and thinks, Alexander the Great had not gained more glory with his sword, than this Alexander has acquired by his pen. Michael Drayton calls him *my Alexander*, whose name he would ever have known to stand by his; yet attempts but to shew the friendship that was between them, not the merit of his numbers, which were brave and lofty, so like his mind was his muse (o). We are informed, that not long after, was first published, the supplement he wrote to complete the third part of Sir Philip Sidney's celebrated Romance; and that it is to be found in the true fourth, as well as the subsequent editions thereof, with the initial letters of his name (p); though Anthony Wood only mentions it in the eighth,

(*) See a criticism upon these tragedies, in the Lives and Characters of the English dramatic Poets, being an abridgment and continuation of Langbain (by C. Gildon) printed 8vo. about the year 1698.

(l) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 463.

(m) Mr T. Hayward's British Muse, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. 1738.

(n) Davis's Scourge of Folly, &c. 8vo. sine anno p. 98.

(o) See M. Drayton's Elegies, at the end of his Battle of Agincourt, and other poems, fol. 1627, p. 207.

(p) Arcadia, 4th Edit. folio, 1613.

[B] *May be seen below.* And first, having spoken of hereditary honours, and the borrowed feathers of titles, that fall by succession, and not by desert; and having shown his scorn, to beg his worth from dead mens names, or gain credit only by his coat, he proceeds thus, upon

MERIT.

What comfort's this, to have the highest seat,
And all the blis that majesty imparts;
If those, whom only we excel in state,
Be our superiors in far better parts?
More than a crown, true worth should be esteem'd;
One, fortune gives, the other is our own;
By which, the mind, from anguish is redeem'd;
When Fortune's goods, are by herself o'erthrown (1).

(1) Cræsus, Act iii, Scene ii.

FAVOURITES.

O, more than happy ten times, were that King!
Who were unhappy but a little space,
So that it did not utter ruin bring,
But made him prove, a profitable thing!
Who, of his train, did best deserve his grace;
Then cou'd, and wou'd, of those, the best embrace:
Such vultures fled, as follow but for prey,
That faithful servants might possess their place:
All gallant minds, it must with anguish sting,
While wanting means their virtue to display.
This is the grief, which bursts a gen'rous heart;
When favour comes by chance, not by desert (2).

(2) Darius, Act iv, Scene iii, in chorus.

MINISTERS.

Although we cou'd, to quit our state, consent,
Us, from suspicion, nought but death could purge:
Still greatness must turmoil, or else torment;
If borne, a burden; if laid down, a scourge (3).

(3) The Alexandrian Tragedy.

KINGS.

And while they live, we see their glorious actions,
Oft wrested to the worst; and all their life
Is but a stage of endless toil and strife;
Of tumults, uproars, mutinies, and factions.
They rise with fear, and lie with danger down;
Huge are the cares that wait upon a crown (4)!

(4) Darius, Act v, in chorus.

THE CONQUEROR.

O! what a great indignity is this?
To see a conqueror to his lust a slave!
Who wou'd the title of true worth were his,
Must vanquish vice, and no base thoughts conceive:
The bravest trophy ever man obtain'd,
Is that, which o'er himself, himself hath gain'd (5).

(5) Ibid. Act. iii.

Then let us live, since all things change below,
When rais'd most high, as those who once may fall;
And hold, when by disasters brought more low,
The mind still free, whatever else be thrall:
Those, Lords of fortune, sweeten ev'ry state,
Who can command themselves, though not their fate (6).

(6) Jul. Cæsar, p. ult.

as perhaps having only that at hand, when he made this remark (q): an exercise for his Muse, still in a kind of poetry, though not in verse. In the month of July, 1613, the same year that supplement was printed, we find Mr Alexander mentioned, to have been sworn one of the Gentlemen Ushers of the Presence to Prince Charles (†). But now his Muse laboured with a more solemn birth than any of her tragick productions, and brought forth a fruit unusual to the soil of courts, which gave him the title of a *Divine Poet*; being a sacred poem, as large as all his others, called *Dooms-Day; or, the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment*. It was printed at Edinburgh in quarto, 1614, and afterwards in the folio edition of his works; also again by itself, in a quarto edition at London (r). It is divided into twelve hours, as the author calls them, or books; and the first book was, a few years since, reprinted in octavo, with intention to give us the remainder of his poetical writings in a correct edition. The editor, A. Johnson, tells us, that having communicated the author's whole works to Mr Addison, for his perusal; he said, in approbation of them, *That he had read them over with the greatest satisfaction*; and gave it as his judgment, 'That the beauties in our antient English poets, are too slightly passed over by the modern writers; who, out of a peculiar singularity, had rather take pains to find fault, than endeavour to excel (s).' In the year abovementioned, the King, looking on him as a wise man, made him Master of the Requests, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood (t). And now begins the other part of his character; the man of business, title, and great undertaking; for little more of the Poet appears, except that two years after, came forth a new edition of his plays, in a pocket volume (u). Thus, as it is hard to reside long in courts, without imbibing some of the tincture which prevails there, our *Philosophical*, our *Divine Poet*, seems, upon these promotions, to have turned Politician! and instead of enlarging his flowery acquisitions on the banks of Parnassus, grew ambitious of spacious dominions in Terra Firma; having projected the settlement of a large colony, and making great plantations at Nova Scotia in America, at his own expence, and that of such adventurers as should be engaged in the undertaking. His Majesty made him a grant of that country by his royal deed, on the twenty-first of September, 1621 (x), and did intend to erect an order of Baronets, for encouraging and supporting so grand a work; but, to the jealousies which began to disturb the two or three last years of his reign, the suspension thereof is ascribed, till a more favourable conjuncture of affairs should offer; which that King did not live to see. But his son, King Charles I, on his coming to the crown, was very forward to countenance and prosecute the same; which, as it was schemed or painted out, especially in the pamphlet which Sir William himself published, to encourage adventurers, promised mighty advantages to the nation. This pamphlet he now set forth, is intituled, *An Encouragement to Colonies*; quarto, London, 1625, and the same was published again with an additional title, or another on the same subject, five years after (y). The King was won by these representations, that he made Sir William Alexander Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded, in the said first year of his reign, the order of Knights Baronet in Scotland, whose aid was appropriated for the said plantation and settlement, upon the consideration of each having a liberal portion of land allotted him there. The number of these Baronets were not to exceed one hundred and fifty; and they were endowed with ample privileges, pre-eminence, &c. as that, the title should be heritable, and they take place before all Knights, called *Equites Aurati*; all lesser Barons, commonly called Lairds; and before all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, his Majesty's Lieutenant of Nova Scotia; who (with his heirs, their wives and children) is not only excepted, in each of their letters patents, granted to the Knights his companions; but likewise the charter granted to himself by the King, in the year aforesaid, did bear expressly this exception and provision. Further, that they should have place in all his Majesty's and his successors armies, near and about the royal standard, for the defence thereof; with other honourable distinctions of title and precedency, to them, their wives, and heirs. But none of them to be created Baronets, either of Scotland, or Nova Scotia, till he had first fulfilled the conditions designed by his Majesty, for the good and increase of that plantation; and till he had confirmed the same to the King, by his Majesty's Lieutenant there. These patents were ratified in parliament, and registered in the books of Lyon, King of Arms, and the Heralds: but after Sir William sold Nova Scotia to the French, they were drawn up shorter, and granted in general terms, with all the privileges, &c. of former Baronets; and it is now become an honourable title in Scotland, conferred at the King's pleasure, without limitation of numbers. For a fuller view of the first form of these patents, with the armorial ensigns granted to the order, and the badge thereof, which they wore about their necks in an orange coloured ribbon; as also of the arms, supporters, and motto, of Sir W. Alexander himself, we refer to the volumes containing the same (z). He had now further given him, a peculiar privilege of coining small copper money; a grant which was inveighed against, even at that time with great bitterness (a); and indeed the whole enterprize, at least as to Sir William's aims and ends, has had but an ill-favoured representation made of it, by some of his own countrymen, and especially in a Work, otherwise designed to honour both them and him [C]. But such like reflections are the usual

(q) Athen. Oxon. last edit. Vol. I. col. 228.

(†) In a Letter of Mr T. Lorkin's to Sir T. Puckering, among the MSS. in the Harleian Library.

(r) *Regis*, 1641.

(s) *Dooms-Day*, or the last Judgment, a poem, by W. Earl of Stirling, 1720, in Pref.

(t) Crawford, p. 463.

(u) *Tales*, 1616.

(x) Crawford, ubi supra.

(y) *Intituled*, The Map and Description of New England; together with a Discourse of Plantations and Colonies, Lond. 4to. 1630.

(z) The British Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour, &c. Vol. II. 3d. edit. 1690. 1729. and Vol. III. intituled, English Baronets, 1690. 1727, p. 326, &c.

(a) Crawford, ubi supra.

[C] *A work, otherwise designed to honour both them and him.* For, not to mention here, the private schemes and proposals of the author, Sir Thomas Urquhart, being a prisoner of war; for restoring him to his

usual attendants upon great attempts, when they are not brought to successful conclusions. The King however continued his encouragements to Sir William; and being fully satisfied of his abilities and fidelity, was pleased in the year 1626, to make him Secretary of State for Scotland (*b*), in the place of the Earl of Hadding-toun; and afterwards, in September 1630, a Peer of that kingdom, by the title of Viscount Stirlin (*c*); and in this quality, he had the compliments paid him of his countryman, Dr Arthur Jonston, the King's physician, a noted Latin poet, in an epigram, turning much upon the sense of that before-mentioned; and also in a panegyric epistle, too long to be here recited (*d*). In less than three years after this, the King advanced him to the honour of Earl of Stirlin, by his letters patent bearing date the fourteenth of June, 1633, at the solemnity of his Majesty's coronation, in the palace of Holyrood house. His lordship discharged that office of Secretary of State, with universal reputation near fifteen years, even to the time of his death; which happened on the twelfth of February, 1640 (*e*); having, three years before, permitted a new edition of his poetical works, or the greatest part of them, to be published: that is to say, 1. *The Four Monarchick Tragedies*. 2. *Doomsday*; before which there are some verses by William Drummond; as in Drummond's book of poems, there are also others to, and by our author (*f*). 3. *The Parenesis*, to Prince Henry. 4. and lastly, *Jonathan*; an Heroick Poem intended, the first book: which was now, I think, first published. These three poems are written in the *Ottavo Rima* of Tasso; or, as his friend Drayton describes it, A stanza of eight lines; six interwoven, and a couplet in base (*g*). The author's style and versification are much polished in this edition, especially of the plays; and the plans, with the subject matter, improved in some of them. The whole is fronted with a new title (*b*), and the dedication aforesaid, to King James, prefixed; which if Langbain had observed more than he did the date of the book, he had not said it was addressed to King Charles (*i*). Before one copy of this edition, a good effigies of the author has been found, though missing in many. It was engraved by W. Marshall; and is one of his best performances. It represents his lordship in a close-bodied coat; a full ruff about his neck, and the badge of his new-created order hanging at his breast. Liveliness and gravity are well tempered in his countenance: his hair is short, and well curled; and his beard tapering gradually to a point, according to the fashion of the times. The oval frame is encompassed with two olive branches; and the inscription in it, is, *Vera Effigies Gulielmi Comitiss de Sterlin. Etatis sue 57*. So that, he was threescore years of age at the time of his death, three years after the said publication

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Idem*, ex Chart. in Publ. Archiv. dat. 4 Sep. 1630.

(*d*) *Vide* Epigrammata Arthuri Jonstoni, Scoti, Med. Regii. 8vo. Abre-donizæ, 1632. p. 30. & Parerga, ejusd. Auth. p. 59.

(*e*) Crawford, ubi supra.

(*f*) See the most elegant and elaborate poems of that great court-wit, Mr W. Drummond, &c. 8vo. 1659.

(*g*) Epist. to the Barons wars.

(*b*) Intituled, Recreations with the Muses, fol. 1637, and again in 12mo. about 1727.

(*i*) Account of the dramatic Poets, p. 5.

(7) The Discovery of a most exquisite jewel, &c. found in the kennel of Worcester streets, the day after the fight, &c. 8vo. 1632.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 207, &c.

his liberty and estate at Cromarty; nor other strange singularities in the said work; it contains chiefly, the praises of such Scotmen who had been famous in arms and arts, since the year 1600: Therefore a kind of continuation of Dempster, how little soever thereof appears in the title (7). Herein, having mentioned Sir William Alexander (afterwards created Earl of Stirlin) with applause; as the first, who of late, had been famous for English poetry, and named some of his works; he yet goes on thus (8): 'The purity of this gentleman's vein was quite spoiled by the corruptness of his courtiership, and so much the greater pity; for, by all appearance, had he been contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was born to, and not aspired to those grandures of the court, which could not without pride be prosecuted, nor maintained without covetousness; he might have made a far better account of himself. It did not satisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the Muses, and be esteemed a King among Poets, but he must be King of some new-found-land; and, like another Alexander indeed, searching after new worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia! He was born a Poet, and aimed to be a King; therefore would he have his royal title from King James, who was born a King, and aimed to be a Poet. Had he stopped there, it had been well; but the flame of his honour must have some oyl wherewith to nourish it: like another King Arthur, he must have his knights, though nothing limited to so small a number! For how many soever, who could have looked out but for one day, like gentlemen, and given him but one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, (without any need of a key for opening the gate to enter through the temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the only way to honour) they had a scale from him, whereby to ascend unto the platforms of virtue; which they, treading under feet, did slight the ordinary passages; and, to take the more sudden possession of the temple of honour, went upon obscure by-paths of their own, towards some secret *angiports* and dark postern-doors, which were so narrow, that few of them could get in, until they had left all their gallantry behind them: Yet, such being their resolution, that in they would, and be worshipful upon any terms; they misregarded all

formerly-used steps of promotion, accounting them but unnecessary; and most rudely rushing in unto the very sanctuary, they immediately hung out the orange colours, to testify their conquest of the honour of Knight Baronet. Their King nevertheless, not to stain his royal dignity, or to seem to merit the imputation of selling honour to his subjects, did, for their money, give them land, and that in so ample a measure, that every one of his Knight Baronets had, for his hundred and fifty pounds sterling, heritably disposed unto him, six thousand good and sufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which, being but at the rate of six-pence an acre, could not be thought very dear; considering how prettily, in the respective parchments of disposition, they were bounded and designed; fruitful corn-lands, watered with pleasant rivers, running along most excellent and spacious meadows; nor did there want abundance of oaken groves, in the midst of very fertile plains (for if they wanted any thing, it was the scrivener, or writer's fault; for he gave orders, as soon as he received the three thousand Scots marks, that there should be no defect of quantity, or quality, in measure, or goodness of land) and here and there most delicious gardens and orchards; with whatever else, could in matter of delightful ground, best content their fancies; as if they had made purchase among them of the Elysian-fields, or Mahummed's paradise. After this manner, my Lord Stirlin, for a while, was very noble; and, according to the rate of sterling money, was as twelve other Lords, in the matter of that frankness of disposition, which not permitting him to dodge it upon inches and ells, better and worse, made him not stand to give to each of his champions, territories of the best, and the most; and although there should have happened a thousand acres more to be put in the charter, or writing of disposition, than was agreed upon at first, he cared not; half a piece to the clerk, was able to make him dispense with that. But at last, when he had enrolled some two or three hundred knights; who, for their hundred and fifty pieces each, had purchased amongst them, several millions of *Neocalcedonian* acres, confirmed to them and theirs for ever, under the great seal; the affixing whereof, was to cost each of them but

tion of his plays and this print, as is abovementioned. We have before referred to a criticism made on these plays; how judiciously, an ordinary critick may perceive [D]. But here the issue of his brain, gives us an easy transition to that of his body. He left by his wife Janet, the daughter and heir of Sir W. Erskine, 1. William Lord Alexander, his eldest son; who dying his Majesty's Resident in Nova Scotia, during the life-time of his father, his son William succeeded his grandfather in the earldom, but died about a month after him. 2. Henry Alexander, Esq; afterwards Earl of Stirling. This is the son, who, according to two authorities here followed (k), married a daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, Alderman of London; and had a son, from whom the present Earl is descended. 3. Sir Anthony; but this is the son, who, according to the order of descent, married, if we adhere to another, not the daughter, but the granddaughter of that Vanlore, and not Vanlore, as his name in the said account is erroneously spelt; which account is underneath transcribed [E]. 4. John: and two daughters; the Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary; both married, and the latter had issue.

(k) Crawford, ubi supra. And the British Compend. Vol. II. and Vol. III. 4th edit. 1670. 1741, by Fra. Nichols, p. 274.

‘ thirty pieces more; finding that the society was not like to become any more numerous, and that the ancient gentry of Scotland esteemed of such a whimsical dignity as of a disparagement, rather than addition to their former honour; he bethought himself of a course more profitable for himself, and the future establishment of his own state; in prosecuting whereof, without the advice of his knights, (who represented both his houses of parliament, clergy and all) like an absolute King indeed, disposed heritably to the French, for a matter of five or six thousand pounds English money, both the dominion and propriety of the whole continent of that kingdom of Nova Scotia; leaving the new Baronets to search for land amongst the Selenites in the Moon, or turn Knights of the Sun; so dearly have they bought their Orange Ribband, which (all circumstances considered) is, and will be no more honourable to them, or their posterity, than it is, or hath been profitable to either.’

[D] A criticism made on these plays; how judiciously, &c.] As it is sufficiently censured in Mr Addison's judgment of them beforementioned, we shall only point out a few mistakes of this critick, said to be Mr Charles Gildon, who published a sort of epitome and continuation of Langbain, before cited. One of his mistakes is, the intention of our author; who never designed to creep after any model of the antients, as to unities of action, or other rules of the drama. He calculated them not for the amusement of spectators, or to be theatrically acted, so much as for readers of the highest rank; who, by the wisest counsels and cautions that could be drawn from the greatest examples, of the ill effects of misgovernment, and confident reliance upon human grandure, might be taught to amend their own practices, to moderate their own passions and their power over all in subjection to them: and if they have but this end with such readers; to term them historical dialogues, or any thing else, can be no discredit to them, from any others. He owns

my Lord is a very good historian; and his Lordship has enough in his own writings to prove himself a better poet than many whom this critick has more extolled. We shall offer but another of his mistakes; and that's an egregious one: for having told us, my Lord seems often to have a peculiar fancy to punning; he cannot give two instances of it, without owning he has wronged my Lord in the reader's judgment; because it was the vice of the age, and these punning fits come not often upon him (9). There's a critick for ye! But, to return his own words, enough of these ridiculous quotations.

[E] Which account is underneath transcribed.] From a letter written to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford, by G. Garrard, afterwards master of the Charterhouse, and dated December 16, 1637, wherein these are his words. ‘ A grandchild of Vanlove's, rich Vanlove, was to be married to a son of Sir Thomas Read's; he who lay some years in the Fleet, and spent but eighteen-pence a week: he lives now at Brocket-Hall near Hatfield. Read hath estates upon this second son of his, 1500 l. a year, and the match was intended with Mrs Vanlove, who had a portion of 4000 l. and 400 l. a year, after the death of her father, young Peter. Monday the 11th of this month, they were to be married. The day before, in the afternoon, she sends to speak with one Mr Alexander, a third son of the Earl of Sterling, Secretary of Scotland here; he comes, finds her at cards, Mr Read sitting by her; she whispers him in the ear, asking him if he had a coach (he was of her acquaintance before) he said, yes: she desired Mr Read to play her game, and went to her chamber, Mr Alexander going along with her. Being there, she told him, that to satisfy her friends, she had given way to marry the gentleman he saw, but her affection was more to him; if his was so to her, she would instantly go away with him in his coach, and be married. So he carried her to Greenwich, where they were married by six that evening (10).’ G

(9) The Lives and Characters of our English dramatic Poets, &c. 8vo, without date, but printed about the year 1698, or rather the year after, pag. 3.

(10) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, fol. Vol. II. 1739, p. 141.

ALEYN (CHARLES) an elegant historical Poet, in the reign of King Charles I; whose works, though written above an hundred years since, do still, as they did, when a certain author wrote of them (a), live in fame and reputation [A]. He received his education in Sidney-college Cambridge; and afterwards settling in London, was entertained in the quality of an usher, by Thomas Farnaby, the famous Grammarian and Commentator, at his great school in Goldsmith's Rents, near Redcross-street, in the parish of St Giles's Cripplegate (b). In the former part of King Charles the First's reign, he exercised his genius upon a very heroic and renowned subject; the two most glorious victories obtained by the English in France, under the auspicious banners of King Edward III, and his martial son, the Black Prince; which, at the instance of some noble favourers, he published in two poems, anno 1631 [B]. After he left Mr Farnaby's school

(a) William Winstanley's Lives of the most famous English Poets, 8vo. 1637, pag. 165.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in Fajis, col. 18.

[A] Do still live in fame and reputation.] For we have lately had several of his select thoughts revived, in a good collection drawn out, by way of common place, from many ingenious poets who flourished in the two last centuries (1). By which revival it appears, as well as from many other parts of his poems themselves, not extracted into the said work, that the author really is, according to the general character which has been given of him, very pithy and sententious (2).

[B] He published in two poems, anno 1631.] But finding encouragement to make many improvements and enlargements thereof, he published the second edition of those poems, by the title of *The Battails of Cressy*

and Poitiers, under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his sonne Edward, Prince of Wales, named the Black. By Charles Aleyn. Printed by Thomas Harper, &c. 8vo. 1633. Both poems are written in stanzas of six lines; four alternate, with a distich in base, and comprized in an hundred and twenty-five pages. They are dedicated by the author, *To the honourable, and truly generous the Lord of Colerane*; to whose munificence the publick seems obliged for this edition, by that expression of the author's to him, wherein he says, This piece stands an humble tabernacle, sacred to honour; and shall in this be advantaged, that it must be entred by the temple

(1) See the British Muse, &c. in three volumes 12mo. 1738, by Thomas Hayward, Cent.

(2) W. Winstanley, ubi supra.

(c) *Id.* 156d.

in Cripplegate, he was recommended into the family of Edward Sherburne, Esq; Clerk of the Ordnance, who lived in that neighbourhood, to be domestick tutor to his son, afterwards Sir Edward Sherburne (c), who succeeded his father in the office of Ordnance; and was Commissary-General of the artillery to King Charles, at the battle of Edgehill, &c. and likewise of note for some poetical performances of his own. How long our author continued in this situation we know not, before his Muse brought forth another elaborate poem, in honour of King Henry VII, and that important battle, which gained him the crown of England. This work was published, with some commendatory poems before it (as the other had been) in the year 1638 [C]; and by the judicious deliberation he took

in

'temple of your virtue.' There are five copies of verses prefixed, in praise of him and his work; by Thomas May, John Hall, John Lewis, Gilb. W. and Henry Blount. The first is written in Latin, and shews how much of his glory King Edward owes to Charles Aleyn. The second commends his justice and truth; and tells him, his art shall teach succeeding ages how to write. The third wishes his hopes may not live, if he can judge which is more rare, the acts of those brave heroes, or his expression of them. The fourth says, that men trained in war, scarce know which has acted best, the sword or pen; that the author writes so clearly, that he who reads the book, shall see the battles; and that he paints the wounds, groans, and death of the enemy, in such strong colours, as would make a coward faint to read them. And the last, having told him that his Bayes, and Edward's sword, mutually advance each other; says, that his readers will best praise his battles, with fearful tremblings, and their hair on end. After these encomiums, we may be expected to shew out of the author's own performance, as far as a little taste at least will do it, how far he has deserved them; and the rather, because his poems are grown more scarce than they deserve to be. In the first place then, see how the brave Black Prince spirits up his army at the battle of Crefsy.

Couragious Edward spurs their valour on,
And cheers his sprightful soldiers: where he came,
His breath did kindle valour, where was none;
And where it found a spark, it made a flame.
Armies of fearful Harts will scorn to yield,
If Lions be their Captains in the field (3).

(3) Battle of Crefsey, p. 35.

Then in the engagement, see how, by his showers of arrows, the enemies drop, like ripe grapes by a storm of hail.

As when the colder region of the air
Moulds rain to hail-shot, the relenting tree
Of the plump god, lusty before, and fair,
Lofeth her rubies with heaven's battery;
Thus fell the foe: for shoot, tho' in the dark,
'Tis hard to miss, when the whole field's a mark (4).

(4) *Id.* p. 42.

But after the engagement, see what pitiful spectacles the French were;

Here a hand sever'd, there an ear was cropp'd;
Here a chap fal'n, and there an eye put out;
Here was an arm lopp'd off, there a nose dropp'd;
Here half a man, and there a less piece fought:
Like to dismember'd statues they did stand,
Which had been mangled by time's iron hand (5).

(5) *Id.* p. 50.

And then, what a condition the English pikes and lances were in.

The artificial wood of spears was wet
With yet warm blood; and trembling in the wind,
Did rattle like the thorns which nature set
On the rough hide of an arm'd porcupine:
Or looked like the trees which dropped gore,
Pluck'd from the tomb of slaughter'd Polydore (6).

(6) *Id.* p. 49.

Out of his second poem, on the battle of Poitiers, we shall only offer this touch upon the Black Prince.

2

And now my fancy sees great Edward rise,
Mars his Enthusiast: his actions were
Raptures of valour, and deep extacies
Of man above himself; for drawing here;
His spirits from their matter, passed more
Himself, than he surpass'd the world before.

He, on the stage of Aquitaine, did play
That part, which none beside can personate:
In ev'ry course, or found, or made a way,
And prostrates, as infallible as fate.
Like to death's harbinger his passage made;
And there death lodged, where he lodg'd his blade (7).

(7) Battle of Poitiers, p. 31.

In these two poems, it may be here further observed, that a man of copious reading might easily point out many fine sentiments, which the author has happily translated, both from the antients and moderns. And not only from some Latin poets, but even from some of our most celebrated English authors in prose; if that may be called prose in them, which passes for poetry, as turned by him into rhyme and measure. For Mons. Dacier would dispute it; and argue, that a poem transposed, would still be poetry; and that a true piece of prose, will still continue such, through all the disguise of versification: for that, it is the thought, and not the structure of the words, which makes it one or the other (8). Which may be more true, in the general story of a poem, or some select, than in every single sentiment. For there are few poems so continually upon the stretch of metaphors, hyperboles, and the language of the gods, as not to descend in some parts, to the diction of meer mortal men. Thus that pathetic apostrophe to Death itself, in Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World (9), has been quoted and admired as one of the finest pieces of prose upon that subject, in any antient or modern author (10); yet those words, transplanted into a dramatic poem, have been applauded on the theatre, as fine poetry (11). Thus that beautiful assemblage of ideas, accounting for the fears of death, in one of Nat. Lee's tragedies (12), has been prescribed as a good poetical preservative against those fears, by a critical writer just before quoted (13); and yet, when Sir Francis Bacon first wrote those very words, he never dreamt of writing poetry; nor have they been taken ever since, as they stand in his book, for any other than good prose (14). And thus might we produce, but that it may be thought too tedious or minute, half a dozen, if not half a score distichs from this last poem of our author, Charles Aleyn's, the Battle of Poitiers, which are visibly verified from Lord Bacon's prose, chiefly in his book before-mentioned. Not but our poet has many elegant thoughts and sentences of his own; so that it appears the foreign helps to invention, which he, as other able poets, made use of, proceeded rather from the want of industry, to cultivate his own cogitations, and reap in the fruits of his own harvest, than any sterility in the field of his fancy. All we shall here further observe of these two poems is, from a Manuscript Continuation of them; containing the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V (15), which has been before cited and made use of in another work (16). This learned author, whoever he was, says, in the entrance of those poems, that he forbears to recount the glories of King Edward the Third's reign, Crefsy and Poitiers, because they were already drawn by a happy pen.

(8) Reflexions sur la Poetique, d'Anfrot.

(9) See the conclusion of that History.

(10) See the Centor, Vol. II. 12mo. 1717. p. 89.

(11) See Dr George Sewall's Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh, fourth edit. 12mo. 1720. p. 65.

(12) N. Lee's Tragedy of Lucius Junius Brutus, in his dramatical works, Vol. I. 12mo. 1734. Act iv. Scene ult. p. 70.

(13) The Centor, Vol. I. pag. 28.

(14) See Sir F. Bacon's Essays, in the chapter of Death.

(15) Therefore intitled Τριπαραχρηστικα, 8vo. 1050.

(16) General Dictionary; in the Article of Su John Gualoffe.

[C] This work was published, &c. in the year 1638] Under the following title; *The Historie of that wise and fortunate Prince, Henrie, of that name the seventh, King of England. With that famed battaile, fought between the said King Henrie, and Richard III, named Crook-back, upon Redmore, near Bosworth.* In a poem by Charles Aleyn, 8vo. printed for Thomas Cotes. This poem,

poem,

in his publications, we may not expect to meet with much more of his labours, though something more of his in print does appear [D]; since we are informed he was so soon after called to his last rest: for it is said that he died about the year 1640; and that he was buried in the parish of St Andrew's Holbourn (d).

(d) *ib.* 162.

poem, as the others, is written in stanzas of six lines; and contains an hundred and fifty-six pages. It is licensed by Dr Thomas Wykes; who says in his Latin Imprimatur, that he has read over this historical poem, and judges it worthy of being made publick. Among the verses to this prefixed, there is one copy, to his ingenious friend, Mr Charles Aleyn, on his learned poem, by Edward Sherburne, his pupil beforementioned; in which he tells our author, that his words yield Henry more honour than did his own weapons; and there is another poem or epigram by his friend Edward Prideaux; which, because short and shining, must here obtain a place.

When Fame had said thy Poem should come out
Without a Dedication; some did doubt
If Fame in that had told the truth; but I,
Who knew her false, boldly gave Fame the lye:
For I was certain, that this Book, by thee,
Was dedicated to Eternity.

As this poem is longer than the other two, it is fuller fraught with variety of matter, actions, and characters; and also richly adorned with many flowers of rhetoric; allusions; historical, poetical, and philosophical; and many general and comprehensive maxims, moral and political: so that it is animating or instructive in most parts; and as for versification, it may vie in elegance with several contemporary performances, which have happened to acquire greater fame. If his cadence is not always smooth, 'tis generally to make way for something that is nervous and masculine; which was

more regarded by the poets in that age; and before our modern refiners sacrificed strength to softness, and sense to meer sound. Many quotations having been made from this work, we shall content ourselves here with one stanza, of several he has written upon Empson and Dudley, those two voracious instruments of Henry's avarice, as a short specimen of his genius in this poem: and what may casually incite the curiosity of some ingenious reader, knowing in our English history, to peruse and consider the poem itself, and those beforementioned, with intention, if they shall be found deserving it, of reviving them together, with some good historical illustrations.

And as the lower orbs are wheel'd about,
Rapt by the motion of the orb above:
So were inferior agents soon found out,
Which mov'd and turn'd, when He began to move:
For 'tis observ'd; that Princes sooner get
Men for their humour, than their honour fit (17).

(17) *History of Henry VII.* p. 146.

[D] *Something more of his in print does appear.* Besides those three poems, there are in print some little copies of commendatory verses ascribed to him, before the works of other writers, especially some noted dramatic poets of his time; and particularly, before the earliest editions of some of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. And there was published, *The History of Eurialus and Lucretia*, by Charles Aleyn, the year before (18) that, in which he is reported as above to have died. It is a translation; and the story is to be found among the Latin epistles of Æneas Sylvius. G

(18) *London, 8vo. 1639.*

A L F O R D (*the Historian*). See G R I F F I T H.

A L F R E D. See Æ L F R E D.

A L F R I C U S (*Archbishop*). See Ë L F R I C U S.

A L L A M (A N D R E W) a writer in the XVIIth century, was the son of Andrew Allam, a person of mean rank, and born at Garfington near Oxford, in April 1655. He had his education in Grammar learning at a private school, at Denton, in the parish of Cudeston, near his native place, under Mr William Wildgoose of Brazen-nose college, a noted schoolmaster of that time. He was entered a batteler of St Edmund's hall, in Easter term 1671. After he had taken his degrees in arts; he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length vice-principal of his house. In 1680, about Whitfuntide, he entered into holy orders; and, in 1683, was made one of the masters of the schools. His works that are extant are: 1. The learned *Preface or Epistle to the Reader*, with a *dedicatory Epistle* in the printer's name, prefixed to *The Epistle Congratulatory of Lyfmacbus Nicanor, &c. to the Covenanters of Scotland*, &c. Oxon. 1684. 2. The *Epistle containing an account of Dr Cofins's life*, prefixed to the Doctor's book intitled, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in tabulas digesta*. Oxon. 1684. fol. 3. The *Preliminary Epistle*, with a review and correction of the book intitled, *Some plain Discourses on the Lord's Supper*, &c. written by Dr George Griffith, Bishop of St Asaph. Oxon. 1684, 8vo. 4. *Additions and Corrections* to a book intitled, *Angliæ Notitia, or The present State of England* [A]. 5. *Additions to Helvicus's Historical and Chronological Theatre* [B]. Mr Allam laid the foundation of a work intitled, *Notitia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, or an History of the Cathedral Churches, &c. of England*. But death prevented his completing this design. 6. He likewise translated the *Life of Iphicrates*, printed in the English version of that author by several gentlemen of Oxford. Oxon. 1684, 8vo. 7. Lastly, He assisted Mr Anthony Wood in compiling his elaborate work of the *Athenæ Oxonienses, or History of the Oxford Writers*; and is mentioned by that author with great commendation and respect

[A] *Additions and corrections to a book intitled, Angliæ Notitia, &c.* They appeared in the edition of that book, printed at London in 1684. But the author of the *Notitia* never thought fit to acknowledge the assistance he had received from Mr Allam (1).

[B] *Additions to Helvicus's Historical and Chronological Theatre.* He intended to have finished a supplement to that work, from 1660 to 1683, but was prevented by death. His additions, as far as they

went, were printed with that author at London 1687, fol. But whereas there was a column in the edition of 1687, intended to contain the names of the most famous Jesuits, from the foundation of the order to the year 1685, this (Mr Wood tells us) was not done by Mr Allam; nor that passage under 1678, which runs thus; *Titus Oates discovers a pretended Popish plot* (2).

(2) *Wood, ib.*

(1) *Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 785.*

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.

respect [C]. He died of the small-pox, the 17th of June 1685, and was buried in the church of St Peter in the East at Oxford (a).

[C] *He assisted Mr Anthony Wood, --- who speaks of him with great commendation and respect.* He was a person (says that author) of eminent virtues, was sober, temperate, moderate, and modest even to example. He understood the controversial writings between Conformists and Nonconformists, Protestants and Papists, far beyond his years, which was advanced by a great and happy memory. And I

am persuaded, had he not been taken off by the said offices (namely those of tutor, moderator, &c.) he would have gone beyond all of his time and age in those matters. He understood the world of men well, authors better; and nothing but years and experience were wanting, to make him a compleat walking library (3). T (3) Id. ib.

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 670.

A L L E N (JOHN) Archbishop of Dublin, in the reign of King Henry VIII, was educated in the university of Oxford; from whence removing to Cambridge, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Laws (a). He was sent by Dr Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope, about certain matters relating to the Church. He continued at Rome nine years, and was created Doctor of Laws, either there, or in some other university of Italy. After his return, he was appointed Chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and was commissary or judge of his court as Legate à latere; in the execution of which office he was suspected of great dishonesty, and even perjury. He assisted the Cardinal in visiting, and afterwards suppressing, forty of the smaller monasteries, for the erection of his college at Oxford, and that at Ipswich. The Cardinal procured for him the living of Dalby in Leicestershire, though it belonged to the master and brethren of the hospital of Burton Lazars. About the latter end of the year 1525, he was incorporated Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford. On the 13th of March 1528, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, in the room of Dr Hugh Inge deceased; and about the same time was made Chancellor of Ireland. He wrote; 1. *Epistola de Pallii significatione activa & passiva*; penned by him at the time when he received the archiepiscopal pall. 2. *De Consuetudinibus ac Statutis in tutoriis causis observandis*. He wrote also several other pieces relating to the Church. His death, which happened in July 1534, was very tragical [A]. For being taken in a time of rebellion by Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eldest son to the Earl of Kildare, he was, by his command, most cruelly murdered, being brained like an ox, at Tartaine in Ireland [B], in the fifty-eighth year of his age (b).

(b) Ed. Campan. Hist. of Ireland. edit. 1633, p. 120.

[A] *His death --- was very tragical.* It is construed by some, whom Mr Wood (1) calls precise writers, as a judgment on him for being concerned in the dissolution of Daventry priory in Northamptonshire, being one of the forty, which were suppressed for the

erection of the Cardinal's college at Oxford.

[B] *He was most cruelly murdered --- at Tartaine in Ireland.* The place, where the murder was committed, was afterwards hedged in, overgrown, and unfrequented, in detestation of the fact (2). T (2) Wood, ibid.

A L L E N or A L L E Y N (THOMAS), a famous mathematician in the XVIth century, was born at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire the twenty-first of December 1542, being descended, through six generations, from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the manour of Buckenhall in the said county. He was admitted scholar of Trinity-college in Oxford, the fourth of June 1561, Fellow in 1565, and two years after Master of Arts. Being much inclined to a retired life, and averse from entering into holy orders, he quitted the college and his fellowship, and retired to Gloucester Hall, in 1570; where he followed his studies closely many years, and at length became an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician [A]. Being thus accomplished with various sorts of learning, he was several times invited to the houses of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others [B]. Robert Earl of Leicester, the great favourite in Queen Elizabeth's

(1) Gul. Burton, in Orat. forebr. Tho. Alleni. Lond. 1632.

(2) In Notis ad Eadmerum, edit. 1623, p. 200.

(3) In Britannia, cap. de Saxonibus.

(4) Athen. Ox. Vol. I. col. 575.

[A] *He became an eminent Antiquary, Philosopher, and Mathematician.* The author of his funeral oration (1) calls him not only the Coryphaeus, but the very soul and sun of all the Mathematicians of his time. Mr Selden (2) tells us, he was 'omni eruditionis genere summoque judicio ornatissimus, celeberrimæ Academicæ Oxoniensis decus insignissimum. i. e. A person of the most extensive learning and consummate judgment, the brightest ornament of the famous university of Oxford.' And Camden (3) says, he was 'Plurimis optimisque artibus ornatissimus. i. e. Skilled in most of the best arts and sciences.' Mr Wood (4) gives him the character of an excellent man, the father of all learning and virtuous industry, an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and sciences. The same author, having searched in the chapel of Trinity-college for an epitaph on Mr Allen's grave, but having found none, gives us, instead thereof, part of his character transcribed from a certain manuscript, in the library of the said college, running thus. 'Vir fuit elegantium literarum studiosissimus, Academicæ disciplinæ tenacissimus, apud Sæteros & Academicos semper in magno pretio, eorumque qui in ecclesiâ Anglicana atque in Universitatē Oxoniensī pro meritis suis ad dignitates aut prefecturas subinde pro-

vesti fuerunt. Fuit sagacissimus observator, familiarissimus conviva, &c. i. e. He was a man of diligent application to polite literature, strictly tenacious of academical discipline, always highly esteemed both by foreigners, and those of the university, and by all in the Church of England, and the university of Oxford, whose merits had raised them to the highest dignities and stations in either. He was a sagacious observer, an agreeable companion, &c.'

[B] *He was invited to the houses of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others.* He was often courted to live in the family of Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great friend and patron of the Mathematicians; which invitation he partly embraced, and spending some little time at the Earl's house, he there became acquainted with those celebrated Mathematicians Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torporley, &c. He was also strongly solicited by Albertus Laski, Count or Prince of Sirade in Poland (who was in England in 1583) to go with him into that country, and reside there, with a promise of preferment. But Allen, being fond of retirement, and an academical life, declined the Count's offer, and, like a true Philosopher, despised riches and greatness (5).

[C] *The*

(5) Wood, ubi supra.

Elizabeth's reign, had a particular esteem for Mr Allen [C], and would have conferred a bishopric on him; but his love of a retired life made him decline the offer. He was also highly respected by other famous men, of his time, as Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr Selden, &c. (a). His great skill in the mathematics made the ignorant and vulgar look upon him as a magician or conjurer. He was very curious in collecting scattered manuscripts relating to every faculty, particularly history, antiquity, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics, &c. These collections have been quoted by several learned authors, and mentioned to have been in the *Bibliotheca Alleniana*: but they are now lost in obscure hands. His works are: 1. *Claudii Ptolemei Pelusensis, de Astrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartite constructionis liber secundus; cum expositione Thomæ Alleyn Angli-Oxonienfis. i. e.* 'The second Book of Claudius Ptolemy of Pelusium, concerning the judgment of the stars, or, as it is commonly called, of the Quadripartite construction, with the Exposition of Thomas Allen of Oxford.' 2. *Claudii Ptolemei de Astrorum judiciis lib. tertius cum Expositione Tho. Alleyn, &c.* [D]. Our author likewise wrote notes on many of Lilly's books, and some on John Bale's book *De Scriptoribus maj. Britannie*. Having lived to a great age, he died at Gloucester-Hall the thirtieth of September 1632 (b) [E].

(a) See the Remark [A].

(b) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 574. 575.

[C] *The Earl of Leicester* --- had a particular esteem for Mr Allen.] The Earl's intimacy with Allen, and the abovementioned John Dee, exposed him to the calumnies of the author of a book intitled, *Leicester's Commonwealth*; in which it is said, that they (meaning the Earl, &c. whom he brands with the name of *Atheists*) used the art of *figuring and conjuring, for procuring the said Earl's unlawful designs, and that also by their black art, they endeavoured to make a match between Queen Elizabeth and him.* This is plainly a foolish and malicious charge. However, it is certain, the Earl placed such confidence in Allen, that nothing material in the state was transacted without his knowledge; and that the Earl had constant information, by letter from Allen, of what passed in the university (6).

[D] *Claudii Ptolemei Pelusensis, &c.*] Mr Wood (7), who saw these two pieces in manuscript, tells us, they fell into the hands of William Lilly, the famous Astrologer, who gave them to Elias Ashmole, Esq; in 1652. One of these copies was transcribed from the original given by Mr Allen to Sir Thomas Aylesbury: the other was in the possession of John Huniades, the great chymist, who gave it to Lilly.

[E] *He died at Gloucester-hall the 30th of September, 1632.*] The day after his death, an oration was delivered, in praise of the deceased, by Mr William Burton (8) of that house, in the common refectory, before the Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and halls, and many of the university then present; all of whom accompanied the body to Trinity-college, where, after another oration spoken by Mr George Bathurst, it was solemnly interred. Mr Allen left his curious collection of manuscripts to Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave them to the Bodleian library. Some of them, Mr Wood tells us (9), had, about the time of Allen's death, fallen into the hands of Mr Richard James, of Corpus-Christi college, and were by him deposited in the Cotton library; and others were in the possession of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Master of the Requests. His picture, painted to the life, he gave to the President of Trinity-college, and his successors, to remain in the said President's dining-room for ever. Another copy he gave to the Cotton library, and a third to his old friend Dr Thomas Clayton, head of Pembroke college.

(8) See Remark [A], init.

(9) Ubi supra.

A L L E N (THOMAS) a learned divine, was born in the King's school at Worcester, and from thence removed to Brazen-nose college in Oxford, at sixteen years of age, anno 1589. He made a great progress in philosophy, and became a most noted disputant. He was elected a Probationer-fellow of Merton-college, in 1593. Afterwards he went into holy orders: but, instead of frequent preaching, he applied himself to the more abstruse and critical parts of learning. This recommended him to the esteem of Sir Henry Savile, by whose interest he obtained a fellowship of Eton-college. He wrote Observations in Libellum Chrystomi in Efaïam. *i. e. Observations on St Chrystom's book upon Iſaiab* [A]. He died in 1636, and was buried in Eton-college chapel (a) [B].

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

[A] *He wrote Observations, &c.*] This piece is printed in Sir H. Savile's edition of St Chrystom's works, Vol. VIII. p. 139, &c. Sir Henry was assisted by Mr Allen, in his annotations on St Chrystom's homilies, on St Matthew, and the other Evangelists, as he acknowledges in his preface to those annotations, in which he styles our author 'Vir doctissimus, Græcarum literarum non minus quam Theologiae peritissimus. *i. e. A very learned man, and no less skilled in the Greek learning than in Divinity* (1).

[B] *He was buried in Eton-college chapel.*] Over his grave was placed a flat stone, having the following inscription carved on a brass plate fixed thereto. 'Tho-

'mas Allenus Wigornienſis, vir pietate inſignis, Theologiae præſtantiffimus, multarum optimarum linguarum variæque eruditionis callentiſſimus, in collegium hoc (in quo diu focius vixit) in collegia inſuper alia, locaque in quibus aliquam vitæ ſuæ partem poſuit pie munificus, hic jacet. Obiit die decimo menſis Octobris, an. 1636. *i. e. Here lies Mr Thomas Allen of Worcester, a man of exemplary piety; an excellent Divine, well ſkilled in many of the beſt languages and various branches of literature, a pious and munificent benefactor to this college, and to other colleges and places in which he ſpent any part of his life. He died the 10th of October, 1636* (2).

(2) Id. Ibid.

A L L E I N (RICHARD) was the son of a clergyman of the same name, Rector of Dicheſt in Somereſetſhire, which preferment he held fifty years (a). Our Richard was born at the aforeſaid place, in the year 1611 (b). The firſt part of his education under his father, fitted him for the univerſity in 1627 (c). In that year he was entered a Commoner of St Alban's Hall in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (d). Thence he removed it ſeems, to New Inn, where having received his Maſter's degree (e); and then taking holy orders he became aſſiſtant to his father, and carried on the work of the miniſtry in his own country (f). His father inclining to what is called Puritanism, he fell naturally into thoſe opinions, and being a man of great zeal and competent learning he

(d) So Calamy, Wood calls it New Inn.

(e) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(f) As he teſtifies himſelf in various parts of his works, particularly towards the cloſe of the firſt part of *Vindicia Preſtati.*

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

(a) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 580.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 689.

(c) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

he came early to be much considered. In the month of March, 1641, he succeeded Richard Bernard in the rectory of Batcomb, in Somersetshire, where that divine had continued twenty-eight years, having for his predecessor Dr Bifs, who lived in the days of the Reformation (*g*). Mr Allein discharged his duty here, with much industry and fidelity, and being a zealous Covenanter, had now and then some disturbance from the King's forces in those parts. He was however a great enemy to that enthusiastick spirit which broke out in this country, on the ruin of the established Church, as appears by his subscribing a representation, intitled, *The Testimony of the Ministry of Somersetshire, to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to the solemn League and Covenant*, which was printed in 1648 (*b*). His industry and affection to the Cause, procured himself and his father to be constituted Assistants to the Commissioners, appointed by parliament for the ejecting scandalous ministers (*i*). This was in 1654, and Mr Wood tells us, that they acted in this capacity with feverity enough (*k*). However, upon the Restoration, Mr Allen shewed a disposition to yield obedience to the government, but could not, it seems, come up to the terms of conformity, which occasioned his being ejected from his living, after he had held it upwards of twenty years (*l*). After this misfortune he continued to exercise his function privately, preaching sometimes at his own house, and at other times at the houses of gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Once he was apprehended at the seat of Mr More, who had been a member of parliament, and who had invited him thither to preach to his family, and to some of his neighbours. The penalty was five pounds, which that gentleman very honourably paid for Mr Allen, though he went to prison for his own fine (*m*). But if this made him cautious, it did not however make him indolent, he went still on in the way of his profession, notwithstanding that he was often summoned to quarter-sessions, and there severely reprimanded for keeping a conventicle (*n*). However, he was not imprisoned as other ministers were, because, as it was generally supposed, his great learning, piety, and unblameable life, had gained him so high a reputation, that it would have been a very unpopular thing, to have sent a man of his character to a county-goal (*o*). After the five miles act took place, he was obliged to leave Batcomb, and to retire to Froome-Selwood, where he lodged at the house of Mr Smith, and continued there in the constant exercise of his ministry, notwithstanding the dangers to which he was exposed (*p*). At length he gave way to fate, on the twenty-second of December, 1681, being upwards of sixty-four years of age (*q*). He was distinguished for his plain, practical, and pathetic manner of preaching; for his great delight in the duties of the pastoral office, such as catechizing, visiting the sick, and instructing the ignorant. His writings also, of which in the notes we shall give a particular account, were much esteemed, and often printed [*A*]. As he chose to leave his living rather than strain his conscience, so his Nonconformity was no way tinctured, either with spleen to the established Church, or disloyalty to his Prince. On the contrary, he lived in a fair correspondence with the clergy in his neighbourhood, and had much respect paid him by the gentry of his acquaintance, tho' of opposite sentiments (*r*). The reverend Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. and Vicar of Froome-Selwood, preached his funeral sermon, and therein gave full and fair testimony to his piety, meekness, and moderation (*s*), of which he was the better judge, from his long acquaintance with him, and frequent visits to him, in his last sickness. However, the meek and charitable Anthony Wood, to destroy, as far

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra.
Calamy, ubi supra.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*i*) Scobell, Collections, Part ii. p. 335.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 580.

(*l*) Calamy, ubi supra.
Wood, ubi supra.

(*m*) Calamy, ib.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 690.

(*q*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*r*) I collect this from Mr Allein's books, which I have carefully perused; and Dr Annet's Preface to his Instructions about Heart-Work, 8vo. 1682.

(*s*) Wood, ubi supra.

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 73.

(2) Athen. Ox. Vol. II. col. 689.

[*A*] Much esteemed and often printed.] The first (*1*) work he published so far as I know, or can learn, was, *A Letter to a Friend*, proving, 1. That valid ordination ought not to be repeated, and, 2. That ordination by Presbyters is valid. Addressed to Mr John Humfrey, 1661, 4to. but as this hath not his name, we begin with 1. *Vindicia Pietatis, Or, a Vindication of Godliness in the greatest Strictness, and Spirituality of it, from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy*. Mr Wood says, that it was printed in 8vo. in the year 1664, and again 1669. He then speaks of *Directions for attaining and maintaining of a godly Life*, as if they had been added to the last edition. *The godly Man's Portion and Sanctuary*, being the second part of *Vindicia Pietatis*: Mr Wood makes a distinct book (*2*), but the edition I have varies from all these. It consists of two parts, the *Vindicia Pietatis*, and the *Directions for a godly Life*, printed together at London, without a Printer's name in 1665, with a dedication to the inhabitants of the parish of B—— in the county of S—— i. e. Batcomb in the county of Somerset. *The godly Man's Portion*, is joined thereto; but is printed in 1663, whence I conceive, the first edition to have been in that year, if not in the year before it. The reason the book is without the Printer's name, is, because it was not licensed. On its publication the book was greedily bought up, and the King's bookseller having notice where there was a parcel of them lodged for sale, caused them to be seized; in consequence of which, they were sent to the King's kitchen, there to be employed for other purposes than reading. Thence however, he took care to purchase them at

the rate of waste paper, bound them up and sold them. But this artifice being discovered, he was brought on his knees at the council-table, and the books sent once again to the King's kitchen, there to be bisk'd, that is, struck over with ink, so as to be illegible (*3*). 2. *Heaven opened, or a brief and plain Discovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace*. Mr Wood calls this the third part of the *Vindicia Pietatis* (*4*), but it is not so stiled in the edition I have, which is printed in 1665, with a preface to the reader, wherein it is said, that the author intended to have added it to his other book, but that he found it growing to too great a bulk. 3. *The World conquered, or a believer's Victory over the World laid open, being the fourth Part of Vindicia Pietatis*, London, 1668, 8vo. All which pieces Mr Wood says, were printed together in 1671, under the title of the Works of Mr Allein, in four Parts (*5*). 4. *Godly Fear, or the Nature and Necessity of Fear, and its Usefulness, &c.* London, 1674, 8vo. This is no more than a collection of sermons on several texts. 5. *A Rebuke to Backsliders, and a Spur for Lovers, in several Sermons lately preached to a private Congregation*, London, 1677, 8vo. There was another edition in 1684, which is said in the title page to have been published for the awakening a sleepy Age. From the preface to this book it appears, that the author when he wrote it was sickly, and in a declining state of health. 6. *A Companion for Prayer, or Directions for improvement in Grace, and practical Goodness, in Times of extraordinary danger*, London, 1680, in 12mo. 7. *Instructions about Heart-work, what is to be done*

(3) Calamy, ubi supra, p. 581.

(4) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

(5) Ubi supra. I wonder that in Dr Calamy's account in his Life of Baxter, Vol. II, p. 580, Wood's List is only imperfectly copied. I have done all I can at this distance of time to render it complete.

far as in him lay, the credit of Mr Jenkins, stiles him a lukewarm conformist; on the strength of these facts.

on God's part and ours, for the Cure and keeping of the Heart, that we may live in the Exercise and Growth of Grace here, and have a comfortable Assurance of Glory to Eternity, London, 1681, 8vo. — This is a posthumous work, and before it there is an epistle to the reader by Dr Annesley. Wood places the first edition of this book in 1682 (6), but therein he is certainly mistaken (7). The second edition came

out in 1684, and then his Companion for Prayer was added to it by way of appendix. He also wrote *A brief Character of Mr Joseph Allen*, which makes the third chapter in the account of his life published in 1672. He was related to our author, and several pieces written by Joseph, are inserted in the works of Richard Allein, as the reader may see by consulting the notes upon that life, in this work. E

A L L E I N (JOSEPH) the son of Mr Tobias Allein, was born in the Devizes in Wiltshire, in 1633 (a). An extraordinary tincture of religion discovered itself in all his actions, even in his childhood, insofar that at eleven years of age he was much addicted to private prayers, and on the death of his brother Edward, who was a worthy minister of the gospel, he earnestly intreated his father, that he might receive such an education as might fit him for the same work. In the space of four years he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and was by his master declared fit for the university (b). His father kept him however some time at home, where he was instructed in Logick, and at the age of sixteen, was placed in Lincoln college at Oxford. There he continued to the eighth of November 1651, when he was admitted of Corpus Christi college, a Wiltshire scholarship being then vacant. He was very remarkable while at college, for his great assiduity in his studies, a settled gravity in his temper, and a cheerful readiness to assist others. He might in a little time have attained a fellowship, which he declined for the sake of the office of Chaplain, being exceedingly pleased with the opportunity this gave him of exerting his gifts in prayer. In July 1653 (c), he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and became a tutor. In this arduous employment, he behaved himself with equal skill and diligence, several of his pupils becoming very eminent Nonconformist ministers, and not a few attained to good preferment in the established Church (d). In 1655, being then in the one and twentieth year of his age, he became assistant in the ministry, to Mr George Newton, in Taunton Magdalen, in Somersetshire. There, on the fourth of October in the same year, he married his beloved wife, and settled himself in the world (e). His income was very small, at first not above forty, never above eighty pounds a year, which however was somewhat increased by the pains of his wife, who kept a boarding-school (f). During seven years that he lived in this manner, he discharged his pastoral duty with incredible diligence, for besides preaching and catechizing in the church, he spent several afternoons in a week, in visiting the people of the town, and exhorting them to a religious life. These applications were at first, far from being welcome to many families; but his meekness, moderation, and unaffected piety, made him by degrees the delight of his parishioners (g). He was deprived in 1662, for Nonconformity. He preached however privately, generally six or seven, sometimes fourteen or fifteen times a week. His zeal and industry in this course, brought him at length into trouble, so that on the twenty-sixth of May, 1663, he was committed to Ivelchester jayl, where at that time, there were seven ministers, and fifty Quakers, confined in one room, where they suffered great hardships; however, they still continued to preach till the assizes (h). These were held before Mr Justice Foster, and at them, viz. on the twenty-fourth of August, he was indicted for preaching on the seventeenth of May preceding, of which indictment he was found guilty, sentenced to pay a hundred marks, and to remain in prison till his fine was paid. At the time of his receiving sentence, he said; *That he was glad that it had appeared before his country, that whatsoever he was charged with, he was guilty of nothing but doing his duty; and that all that did appear by the evidence was, that he had sung a psalm, and instructed his family, others being there, and both in his own house.* He continued in prison a whole year wanting three days, which broke his constitution (i). However, when he was at liberty, he applied himself to his ministry as earnestly as ever, which brought upon him a grievous sickness. The five miles aft taking place, he retired from Taunton to Wellington, where he continued but a small time, Mr Mallack, a merchant, inviting him to lodge at a house of his at some distance from Taunton (k). In the summer of 1665, he was advised to drink the waters near the Devizes, for his health. But before he left Mr Mallack's house, viz. on the tenth of July in that year, some friends came to take their leaves of him; they were surprized praying together, and for this were sentenced to sixty days imprisonment, which himself, seven ministers, and forty private persons, suffered in the county jayl. This hindered his going to the waters, and his disease returning, he lost another summer (l). At length, in 1667, he went, but was far from receiving that benefit he expected. After some time he went to Dorchester, where he grew better, but applying himself again, to preaching, catechizing, and other duties, his distemper returned with such violence, that he lost the use of his limbs. His death was then daily expected, but by degrees he grew somewhat better, and at length went to Bath, where the state of his health altered so much, that his friends were in hopes he would have held out several years, but growing suddenly worse again, he finished his life there, in the month of November, 1668, being then somewhat above thirty-five years old (m). He was a man of great learning, and greater charity, zealous in his own way of

(a) Life and Death of Mr Joseph Allein, p. 18. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 574. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(b) See the Life of Mr Allein, chap. i.

(c) Wood's Faffi Oxon. Vol. II. col. 101.

(d) Life of Mr Allein, p. 22.

(e) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Allein, p. 91.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Life of Mr Allein, p. 94.

(h) Ibid. p. 53.

(i) Ibid. p. 59. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 578.

(k) Mrs Allein's Narrative, ubi supra, p. 65.

(l) Ibid. 77. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(m) Ibid. p. 89. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577. Neal, ubi supra.

(6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

(7) The Book before me is thus dated. London: Printed for Jonathan Greenwood at the Crown in the Poultry, near Grocers Alley, 1681.

(n) See the second and eighth chapters of his Life, written by Ministers of the Established Church.

(o) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 420.

(p) Ibid. col. 421.

worshipping God, but not in the least bitter towards any Christians who worshipped in another manner (n). He preserved a great respect for the Church, notwithstanding all his sufferings, and was eminently loyal to his Prince, notwithstanding the severities of the times. His writings breathe a true spirit of piety, for which they have been always and deservedly esteemed [A]. Anthony Wood has treated (o) his memory very rudely [B], and betrayed that spleen he had against the Nonconformists, in speaking ill of one, who spoke ill of no man. The body of our author lies interred in the chancel of the church of Taunton St Magdalen, and on his grave-stone stand the following lines (p).

Here Mr Joseph Allein lies,
To God and you, a sacrifice.

[A] His writings are deservedly esteemed.] The most remarkable of his printed books were these which follow. 1. *A most familiar Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism*. Wherein their larger answers are broken into lesser parcels, thereby to let the light by degrees into the minds of learners, 8vo. 1656, with two appendixes. 2. *A Call to Archbishops*, being an earnest motive to the ejected ministers to continue in their ministry, 4to. 1664. This was written during his imprisonment, and the intent of it was to stir up his Nonconformist brethren, to preach and pray, notwithstanding the severities they laboured under (1). It is very probable this might give offence, though in writing it he discharged his conscience. 3. *An Alarm to the unconverted*, published in 8vo. in 1672, as also in 12mo; at which time there were twenty thousand of them sold. It was afterwards printed under the title of *A sure Guide to Heaven*, in 1675, and with this title, there have been fifty thousand fold (2). However, in 1720, there was a large impression published with the first title, *An Alarm to unconverted Sinners*. It has a long epistle before it by Richard Baxter, and a shorter by our author's friend Richard Allein. I have been very careful in examining all the editions of this book, and find most of them vary in some particulars. There was an edition in 12mo. 1689, with a preface *To the reader that would be safe and happy*, which differs from both these prefaces. Mr Wood tells us, it was printed under the title of *A true Way to Happiness*, but as he makes this a different book from the *Sure Guide to Heaven*, and yet the same with the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners* (3), he is certainly mistaken. 4. *Christian Letters full of spiritual Instruction*, 8vo. London, 1672. They are forty in number, and were afterwards added as an appendix to his life. In 1677, there was another edition with five new letters. Amongst these, several are directed to his wife, and the rest to his friends, and to his flock; most of them during his imprisonment at Ivelchester. 5. *Cases of Conscience*, &c. London, 1672, 8vo. These are added to the last edition of the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners*. 6. *Remains, being a Collection of sundry Directions, Sermons, sacramental Speeches, and Letters, not heretofore published*, 8vo. 1672. Besides these, he wrote several little practical pieces, which are inserted in the books of Mr Richard Allein. Such as the *Synopsis of the Covenant* (4). *A Form of Words, expressing a Man's Covenant with God*, &c. (5). Besides these, he left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology, under eight heads, written in a good Latin stile, wherein were laid down; first, the Christian Doctrine, and then by way of annotation was added, the testimonies of the ancient Philosophers (6). One section of this, viz. *De Providentia*, was fitted for the press, and licensed, but Anthony Wood says, that being Latin and Greek, and such books having too few buyers in England, there were none yet found, who would be at the charge of printing it (7). To this account of his writings, we may add what is very often printed with them, the life and death of that excellent minister of Christ, Mr Joseph Allein, &c. This was first printed in 8vo. 1671. It consists of several parts, 1. An introduction written by Mr Richard Baxter. 2. A brief relation of what passed at his childhood, and at the university, by an eye-witness. 3. A short character of him by Mr Richard Allein. 4. An account of his godly life and practice, by the Reverend Mr Newton, to whom he was assistant. 5. A further account of his ministry, by an intimate friend. 6. A narrative of his life by his widow, Mrs Theodosia Allein. 7. Some notes by a person, in whose house he lodged. 8. His cha-

rafter, under the title of, *A Compleat Picture of a Gospel Minister*. 9. A few additions to this character, by Mr Richard Fairclough. The second and eighth, were written by ministers of the Church of England. There is likewise annexed a funeral sermon, preached by Mr George Newton, from Luke xxiii. 28 (8).

[B] Anthony Wood has treated his memory very rudely.] Most of the facts mentioned in his article, are taken out of the life of Joseph Allein, mentioned in the foregoing note, and all the Oxford Antiquary has done, is to give them a malicious turn. He says, he desired the office of chaplain, though inferior in value to a fellowship, that he might shew his excellencies in publick twice in a day (9). A minister of the Church of England, who knew him at college, says his prayers were grave, succinct, and premeditated, and (10) therefore, the times considered in which he executed this office, one may safely say, the college was the better for it, nor do we know whether he did not take this place to prevent the ill use that some fiery enthusiast might have made of it. After mentioning his call to Taunton, Wood says (11), our author Joseph, received another call to take to wife, a fair and holy sifter, which being effected, he would as in jest complain to an intimate friend of his, of the inconveniences of marriage, viz. that whereas he used to rise at four of the clock in the morning, or before, his loving spouse would keep him in bed till about six; also, whereas he used to study fourteen hours in a day, she would bring him to eight or nine. And lastly, that whereas he used to forbear one meal a day, at least for his study, she would bring him to his meat, &c. Mr Wood cites no authority for this, and therefore one would suppose he had been told it; but the truth is, that in the second chapter of Mr Allein's life, we are told, that an intimate friend of his, having written to him to know the inconveniences of marriage, he, in a familiar answer, wrote back what Mr Wood has mentioned (12), but how this can be called his complaint, is not easy to be understood. Our Oxford writer tells us, that he had a third call for the propagation of the Gospel, and that he would by all means go into China to fulfil it, but was dissuaded from it by the brethren (13). All which is built on some expressions which fell from Mr Allein at the time he was ejected, when he said, that if he found it impracticable to discharge the work of the ministry in his own country, he would go and preach Christianity in China. This was only a declaration of the duty he thought incumbent upon him of preaching (14), but he actually formed another design, which Mr Wood does not mention; and that was, to go and preach in Wales, which nothing but his sickness hindered (15). After having taken his materials from the life of Joseph Allein, he gives this account of it. *From which acting Farce or Life, especially that ridiculous discourse of Theodosia, the reader may easily understand what a grand zealot for the cause this our author Joseph Allein was, and how his life was spent, in actions busy, forward, (if not pragmatical) and meddling without intermission. The said Theodosia, a prating gossip, and a meer Xantippe, finding Joseph Allein to be a meer scholar, and totally ignorant of women's tricks, did flatter, sooth him up, and woo, and soon after married and brought him to her lure (16), Much more to the same purpose, we meet with in this author, whose account is thus censured by Dr Calamy. 'Wood, the Oxonian, fancied himself among his boon companions passing away the tedious minutes of the lingering glass, in it's circular returns with a wanton tale, when he composed that farce to which this good man's name is prefixed (in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*) but it is no disgrace at all to any one*

(8) The copy I have hath two titles, one in 1671 which is first, the other in 1672. These books being printed by stealth, and without licence, occasioned these unusual precautions.

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(10) See the second chapter in Mr Allein's Life, p. 23.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(12) Life of Mr Allein, p. 21. See also p. 93, where Mrs Allein asserts, her husband rose all ways at, or before, four, &c.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(14) Mrs Allein's Narrative, p. 53.

(15) Ibid. p. 64.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421.

(1) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Joseph Allein, p. 60.

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 421.

(4) Heaven Opened, by R. A. 8vo, 1665, p. 262.

(5) Vindiciæ Petricæ, by the same Rich. Allein.

(6) Baxter's Introduction to Mr Allein's Life, p. 17. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421.

'one to be ridiculed in such a way as makes the actor infamous, in the estimation of all such as have any relics either of honour, or honesty (17).' There is a very honourable character given of him in Mo-

neri's Dictionary (18), though he is not mentioned in any of the works of the same kind, which have hitherto appeared in our language (19).

(18) In the edition printed for the booksellers in Amsterdam, Leyden, &c. in 1749. Vol. I. p. 314.

(19) Such as Collier's, or the General Dictionary.

A L L E S T R Y or A L L E S T R E E (RICHARD), Provost of Eton-college in the reign of King Charles II, was the son of Mr Robert Allestry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyshire [A], and was born in March 1619, at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropshire (a). He was educated first at a country free-school in the neighbourhood, and afterwards at one of greater note at Coventry (b), where Philemon Holland the translator taught (c). In 1636, being then seventeen years of age, he was carried by his father to Oxford, and entered a commoner in Christ-church, under the tuition of Mr Richard Busby (d). Six months after his settlement in the university, Dr Fell, Dean of Christ-Church, observing the parts and industry of young Mr Allestry, made him a student of that college; where he applied himself to academical learning with uncommon improvement and success. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen Moderator in Philosophy; which office he continued to discharge, till the disturbances of the kingdom interrupted the studies and repose of the university. In 1641, Mr Allestry, among other Oxford scholars, engaged in the King's service, and continued therein, till Sir John Biron (e), who was sent with a party of horse to countenance and support the scholars in arms, withdrew from Oxford; whereupon he returned, with many others, to his gown and his studies. Soon after, a party of the rebels having entered Oxford, and plundered the colleges, Mr Allestry narrowly escaped being severely handled by them [B]. In October following, he took arms again, and was present in the battle fought between King Charles and the rebels, under the command of the Earl of Essex, in Keinton-field in Warwickshire: after which, understanding that the King designed immediately to march to Oxford, and take up his residence at the deanry of Christ-church (f), he hastened thither to prepare for his Majesty's reception; but in his way was taken prisoner by a party of horse from Broughton-house, which was garrisoned by the Lord Say for the parliament. His confinement was very short, the garrison surrendering itself to the King's forces, who summoned it in their march. And now Mr Allestry settled himself again to his studies, and in the next spring (g) took his degree of Master of Arts; and the same year his life was greatly endangered by a peccant distemper, which raged in the garrison of Oxford. Soon after his recovery, he entered a third time into his Majesty's service, and carried a musket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford scholars [C]. In this service he continued till the end of the war, and then went into holy orders, at a time when he had no prospect of worldly advantage. He was tutor to several young gentlemen and students, and discharged the office of Censor of the college. He bore a part in that signal test of loyalty; which the university of Oxford gave in their decree and judgment against the *Solemn League and Covenant*; for which, in July 1648, he was proscribed and expelled the university by the parliament visitors [D]. Being thus driven from Oxford, he retired into Shropshire, and

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 676.

See also the Preface to Dr Allestry's Sermons, in fol. Oxon. 1684.

(b) Preface, ubi supra.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Afterwards the famous Dr Busby, and master of Westminster-school.

(e) Afterwards Lord Biron.

(f) The Care of which had been left to Mr Allestry in the absence of the Dean. Preface, ubi supra.

(g) June 2, 1643. Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 33.

was

[A] Mr Robert Allestry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyshire.] The estate of the family having been considerably diminished by the profusion of his ancestors, this gentleman was reduced to serve Sir Richard Newport, afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of High Arcol, in the quality of his steward; and being married, he left that service, and settled at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropshire (1).

[B] Mr Allestry narrowly escaped being severely handled by the rebels.] The occasion was this. Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treasury of Christ-Church, and after a day's labour having forced a passage into it, met with nothing but a single groat, and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron chest. Enraged at their disappointment, they went to the deanry; where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, locked it up, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and dispose of their prize. But when they came, they found themselves again disappointed, and every thing removed out of the chamber. Upon examination it was discovered that Mr Allestry had a key to the lodgings, in the absence of the Dean and his family; and that this key had been made use of upon this occasion. Whereupon he was seized; and, notwithstanding all the defence he could make, would probably have been very severely handled by the rebels, had not the Earl of Essex called away the forces on a sudden, and by that means rescued him from their fury (2).

[C] He carried a musket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford scholars.] The exigency of the King's affairs requiring the aid of all his loyal subjects, a regiment was raised out of the Oxford scholars, who served as volunteers without pay or reward, and per-

formed all duties not only in the garrison, and sallies for the defence of it in case of attacks or sieges; but were also commanded upon parties abroad, and endured the fatigue of marches, and the inconvenience of bad quarters; differing in nothing from mercenary soldiers, except in their civility and justice to the country people while they staid with them, and paying them at their departure: things so unusual, that when, upon leaving their quarters, they offered their landlords money, they believed it was done in jest and to abuse them, but were convinced of the contrary by it's being left with them. In this regiment Mr Allestry bore arms, being forward upon all occasions to put himself upon action, and thinking it no disgrace, though a Master of Arts and Fellow of a College, to perform the duties of a common soldier. Nor did he in the mean time neglect his studies, frequently (as our author expresses it) holding his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lubrications of a student (3).

[D] He was proscribed, and expelled the university, by the Parliament visitors.] Soon after the decree of the university against the *Solemn League and Covenant*, visitors were sent down by the pretended Parliament to require the submission of that body to it's authority. Those who could prostitute their allegiance to their Prince, and oaths to the university, and comply with the lust of the usurpers, were received into favour: all others, however deserving, were without farther regard proscribed; which was done by writing their names on a paper, and affixing it on the door of St Mary's Church; signifying therein, that such persons were by the authority of the visitors banished the university, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for spies of war, and proceeded against accordingly. By which practice

(3) Ibid.

(17) Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(1) Preface to Dr Allestry's Sermons, printed at Oxon. in 1684.

(2) Ibid.

(b) Afterwards Lord Viscount Newport of High Arcol.

(i) He died in France, having retired thither to avoid the influence of the conquering Rebels. Pref.

(k) Afterwards Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Oxford.

(l) The common goal for the King's friends.

(m) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 137.

(n) By the death of Dr John Creed. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 677.

(o) Vacant by the death of Dr John Meredith. Wood, *ibid.*

was entertained as Chaplain to the honourable Francis Newport, Esq; (b); and, upon the death of Richard Lord Newport (i) that gentleman's father, he was sent over into France to clear accounts, and take care of that nobleman's effects. Having dispatched this affair with good success, he came back to his employment, and continued in it till King Charles II's march into England with the Scotch army, and his miraculous escape at Worcester: at which time, the managers of the King's affairs wanting an intelligent and faithful person to send over to his Majesty, Mr Allestry was desired to undertake the journey; which accordingly he did, and having attended the King at Roan, and received his dispatches, he returned into England. Here he found his friends Mr Dolben and Mr Fell (k), who had likewise been banished the university, residing privately there, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the Loyalists: whereupon he joined them, and continued with them, 'till Sir Anthony Cope, a loyal young gentleman of considerable quality and fortune in Oxfordshire, prevailed upon him to live in his family; where he continued several years, with liberty of going or staying as occasion required: and by this means he was enabled, without being taken notice of, to convey messages to the King from his friends. After several difficult journies successfully performed, he was sent over, in the winter before his Majesty's Restoration, into Flanders; from whence returning with letters, he was seized, upon his landing at Dover, by a party of soldiers; but had the address to secure his letters, by conveying them to a faithful hand. Being guarded up to London, he was examined by a committee of the Council of Safety, and sent prisoner to Lambeth-house (l), where he contracted a dangerous sickness. After six or eight weeks confinement, he was set at liberty [E], and returned into Oxfordshire; from whence, after a short stay, he went into Shropshire to visit his relations [F]. Soon after the Restoration, Mr Allestry was made a Canon of Christchurch, and readily concurred in repairing the injuries and decays that church and college had suffered during the Usurpation. At the same time he undertook one of the lectureships of the city of Oxford, with a view to instil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens, which had been poisoned by the contrary infusions of schismatical teachers: yet he never received any part of the profits, but constantly distributed it among the poor. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, on the third of October, 1660 (m), and was appointed one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary; and soon after, upon a vacancy (n) of the Divinity-chair, he was chosen *Regius Professor*. In 1665, the King conferred upon Dr Allestry the Provostship (o) of Eton-college [G], which he held to his death. In 1679, finding his health, and particularly his sight, much impaired, he resigned the professorship of divinity, and had the satisfaction to be succeeded therein by Dr Jane, of whose abilities he had perfect knowledge. And now, the decay of his constitution terminating in a dropsy, he removed to London, to be nearer the advice of physicians: but, medicines proving ineffectual, he died [H] in January 1680-1, and

practice often repeated, the men of the greatest hopes and merit in the university were spoiled of all things, and not suffered to breathe the common air; so that, within the compass of a few weeks, Oxford was purged of it's most loyal members, in whose room succeeded an illiterate rabble, swept from the plough-tail, from shops and grammar schools, and the dregs of the neighbour university. In this diffusive ruin Mr Allestry had an early share; and though he had the care of several persons of quality his pupils, and accounts of his own and theirs to make up, he with difficulty obtained of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey, governor of the town, a short respite, for settling his affairs, and doing justice to those for whom he was concerned; the visitors utterly refusing his request, for this reason, as Dr Rogers one of their number was pleased to phrase it, *because he was an eminent man* (4).

(4) *Ibid.*

[E] *He was set at liberty.* The means of his enlargement were owing to the prospect of an approaching revolution: for some of the heads of the Republican party, seeing things tend towards his majesty's restoration, were willing by kindnesses to recommend themselves to the loyal party, in case matters should take that turn. Among these was the Earl of Shaftsbury, who used to value himself that Mr Allestry owed his preservation to him (5).

(5) *Ibid.*

[F] *He went into Shropshire to visit his relations* In his return from thence, designing to visit his worthy friend Dr Hammond at Westwood near Worcester, he had the mortification to meet, at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. This circumstance deserves the rather to be mentioned, because that eminent light of the English Church gave, at his death, this testimony of his esteem for Mr Allestry, that he left him his valuable library of books, well knowing that in his hands they would be useful weapons for the defence of that cause he had during life so vigorously asserted (6).

(6) *Ibid.*

[G] *The King conferred upon Dr Allestry the Provostship of Eton-College.* It was with some difficulty

he was prevailed upon to accept of this benefice: but the consideration that great interest was made for it by a lay-man, who might possibly succeed upon the advantage of his refusal, induced him to comply with his majesty's gracious offer. For the Provost of Eton being actually parson of the parish, and presented to the Cure, and instituted by the Bishop of Lincoln the Diocesan, nothing (he thought) could be more sacrilegious and irregular than such an usurpation of a lay-person; nor any thing a greater disservice to the Church, than by an unseasonable modesty to make way for it. Upon these motives it was, that Dr Allestry became Provost of Eton-College; and for the same reason it was, that, during his life, he continued so, never hearkning to any offer of preferment, which might occasion a vacancy. And it may be truly said, that this was the greatest secular care which attended him to his last moments, it being his dying request to his friends, to interpose with the King, that he might be succeeded by a person lawfully qualified, and who would promote the welfare of the college (7). It is remarkable, that his wishes were answered: for Dr Zachariah Cradock of Cambridge, who had been installed Canon Residentiary of Chichester, succeeded him in the Provostship, being elected thereto by the fellows; so that Mr Waller the Poet, who, according to Anthony Wood, struggled hard for it, was disappointed (8).

(7) *Ibid.*

[H] *His death.* Having taken a private lodging in London, he submitted to the methods prescribed by his physicians, more out of compliance with the request of his friends, than in expectation of a cure; in the mean time settling his temporal concerns, and employing the intervals his sickness allowed in attending to the offices of the Church constantly read to him, and his private devotions. In his last moments he received the Eucharist, having desired those friends of his who were in town to communicate with him; namely, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of St Asaph, the Reverend Dr Busby; and Mr Fell

(8) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 678.

and was buried in Eton-chapel (p), under a monument of white (q) marble, on which was put the undermentioned inscription [I]. I shall give an extract of Dr Allestry's character [K], from the *Account of his Life*, contained in the *Preface* to his *Sermons*. He was a considerable benefactor to Eton-college [L], and raised the credit and reputation

(p) On the north side of the communion table. Wood, ioid.

(q) Wood says, a black marble stone.

Mr Fell one of the Fellows of Eton, who continued with him all the time of his sickness. He took his last leave of them, and waited the hour of his release with great serenity and composure of mind (g).

(g) Preface, ubi supra.

[I] His Epitaph.] It is as follows :

H. S. I.
 RICHARDUS ALLESTREE
 Cathedræ Theologicæ in Universitate Oxoniensi
 Professor Regius,
 Ecclesiæ Christi ibidem Præbendarius,
 &
 Collegii hujus Ætonensis Præpositus ;
 Muniis istis singulis ita par, ut & omnibus major.
 In
 Disputationibus Irrefragabilis, Concionibus flexanimus,
 Negotii solers, Vitæ Integer, Pietate sanctus.
 Episcopales infulas eadem industria evitavit,
 Qua alii ambiunt ;
 Cui rectius visum,
 Ecclesiam defendere, instruere, ornare,
 Quam regere.
 Laboribus studiiisque perpetuis exhaustus,
 Morte, si quis alius, præmatura,
 Obiit Vir desideratissimus
 Januarii XXVII. An. M.DC.LXXX.
 Ætatis LX.
 Nobile sibi monumentum,
 Aream adjacentis latus occidentale,
 Quod à fundamentis propriis impensis fluxit,
 Vivus sibi statuit.
 Breve hanc Tabellam Hæredes defuncto posuere.

Which may be thus translated : *Here lies RICHARD ALLESTREE, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Canon of Christ-Church, and Provost of this College of Eton ; in the separate discharge of which offices he discovered abilities superior to the execution of them all together : in disputations invincible, an orator in the pulpit, skilful in the management of affairs, of great integrity and piety : he declined the episcopal character as industriously as others seek it ; thinking it a more worthy employ to defend, instruct, and adorn the Church, than to govern it. Exhausted at length with constant labour and study, this valuable man was taken away by too early a death, January 27, 1680, in the 60th year of his age. In his lifetime he erected to himself a noble monument, in building from the ground, at his own expence, the west side of the adjacent Quadrangle (10). His heirs erected this small monument to his memory.*

[K] *An extract of Dr Allestry's character.* ' His mind, that nobler part of him, was composed by an extraordinary indulgence of nature ; those faculties, which in others use to be single, and are thought necessarily to be so, were united in him. Memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modesty and no less assurance, a comprehension of things and fluency of words ; an aptness for the pleasant, and sufficiency for the rugged parts of knowledge ; a courage to encounter, and an industry to master all things, make up the character of his happy genius. — From his first childhood he had a strong impression of piety, and the duties owed to God and men. — In his constitution he had a great deal of warmth and vigour, which made him apt to take fire upon provocation ; but he was well aware of it, and kept a peculiar guard upon that weak part : so that his heat was reserved for the great concerns of the honour of God, and the service of his Prince and country, wherein he was altogether indefatigable, and in the most dismal appearances of affairs would never desert them, nor despair of their restoration. There was not in the world a man of clearer honesty and courage ; no temptation could bribe him to do a base thing, or

(10) The grammar school, built over a cloister or piazza, Mr Wood says, this building cost the Doctor about fifteen hundred pounds. Ubi supra.

terror affright him from the doing a good one. This made his friendships as lasting and inviolable as his life; without the dirty considerations of profit, or sly reserves of craft ; not the pageantry of ceremonious address, or cold civility ; much less the servile flatteries of obsequious flattery. — His conversation was always cheerful and entertaining, especially in the reception of his acquaintance at his table, and friendly visits. — He was exceeding tender of saying any thing that might administer offence, or reflect upon any one's reputation. — There was no person who more literally verified the saying of the Wise Man, that *much study was a weariness of the flesh*. After his day's work, he was used to be as faint and spent, as if he had been labouring all the time with the scythe or flail ; and his intention of thought made such waste upon his spirits, that he was frequently in hazard, while at study, to fall into a swoon, and forced to rise from his seat and walk about the room for some time before he could recover himself. — His contempt of the world was very extraordinary, as in his large and constant charities, both by settled pensions to indigent persons and families, and occasional alms, so also his bounteous hospitality. — But the uncontrollable proof of contempt of the world, is his dying poor ; he having never during his life purchased an inch of ground, nor any annuity, or lease, to the value of a penny ; nor did he take care to renew the patrimonial estate which he held by a lease for life (11). — His greatest treasure was his library, which was indeed a considerable one, both for the number of books and choice of them ; but these he disposed of by deed before his death to the university of Oxford for the use of his successors in the chair. — Though he hung thus loose from the world, he neither was negligent in secular affairs, nor unskilful in the management of them ; which was made manifest by his dextrous discharge of the private trusts committed to him in behalf of his dead friends, and the administration of his public employments. He was for several years treasurer of Christ-Church, in a busy time of their repairing the ruins made by the intruding usurpers ; and amidst the necessary avocations of study, found leisure for a full discharge of that troublesome employment. — In the management of the business of the chair of divinity, as he performed the scholastic part with great sufficiency in exact and dextrous untying the knots of argument, and solid determination of controverted points, so he was not oppressed by the fame of any of his most eminent predecessors : his prudence was very remarkable in the choice of subjects to be treated on ; for he waited not time and opportunity in the barren insignificant parts of school-divinity, but insisted on the fundamental grounds of controversy between the Church of England and the most formidable enemies thereof. — By his judicious care herein, though he found the university in a ferment, and a great part of it's growing hopes sufficiently seasoned with ill possessions, he so brought it to pass, that during the whole tract of seventeen years that he held the chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, nor petulant sidings on account of them ; which things disturbed the peace of the last age, and helped forward to inflame those animosities, which ended in the execrable mischiefs of the civil war (12).

(11) It is proper to remark, that Dr Allestry died a bachelor.

(12) Preface.

[L] *He was a considerable benefactor to Eton-college.* The west side of the outward court of the college was built from the ground, and finished, at Dr Allestry's single expence. And whereas, at his coming to Eton, he found the society greatly in debt, by an ill custom introduced by the pretended saints of the late times, who at the year's end divided whatever money remained after the ordinary payments were made, incidental charges and debts contracted being still thrown off to the future year ; which in time grew to such a bulk as endangered the college's becoming bankrupt : to remedy this evil, Dr Allestry, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed on the society to do the like ; inasmuch that

(*) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford, in one volume folio, 1684.

(s) Consisting of one sheet and a half, 4to, 1647.

tation of the school, which he found in a very low condition. There are extant *Forty Sermons* (r) [M] of Dr Allestry's, whereof the greatest part were preached before the King, and upon solemn occasions. It is much to be regretted, that he could not be prevailed upon to publish his *Lectures* [N], which, when first delivered, were heard with the greatest satisfaction and applause. Mr Wood mentions a small tract (s) written by Dr Allestry, intitled, *The Privileges of the University of Oxford in point of Visitation, in a Letter to an honourable Personage* (t) [O].

(r) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 677.

within a few years, the college paid off above a thousand pound debt, and expended above two thousand pounds in repairs. Another considerable service he did the college and school, as also King's-college in Cambridge, whose seminary it is, was this; that whereas formerly the fellowships of Eton were generally disposed of to persons of foreign education, the King was pleased, at the instance of Dr Allestry, joined with the petition of the Provost and Fellows of King's-college, to pass a grant under the broad seal, that for the future five of the seven fellows should be such as had been educated at Eton-school, and were fellows of King's-college; which has ever since took place (13).

(13) Ibid.

[M] *His sermons.*] The first eighteen sermons in this collection were originally published on a charitable account. For his ingenious kinsman Mr James Allestry the bookseller (*), from a plentiful fortune being by the fire of London reduced to great poverty, Dr Allestry, besides other assistances, bestowed upon him the copies of these eighteen sermons, to make some reparation of his losses. Afterwards twenty-two more were added to them, being as many as were thought necessary to make up a volume. 'The variety of auditors (says my author) for whom they were first designed, makes them not to be all of the same fineness of spinning and closeness of texture: but in them all there will appear the same spirit of persuasive rhetoric and ardent piety, whereby though

(*) See the next article.

(14) Ibid.

dead he yet speaketh (14).'
[N] *He could not be prevailed upon to publish his lectures.*] Having, a little before his death, communicated to the Bishop of Oxford several particulars concerning his intentions for the disposal of his goods and papers; the Bishop observed, that there was no mention made of his lectures, and knowing how his modesty, during his life, had resisted all importunities

for the publishing of them, suspected that the same motive might be more prevalent at his death: therefore he wrote to Dr Allestry, requesting that his lectures might be preserved, which had cost him so much study and labour, and would be proportionably useful to others. The Doctor's answer by letter bearing date January 19, 1680, was; *That having not had opportunity to revise what he had written, which was not every where consistent with his present imaginations, though in nothing material, yet in some particulars which he should have better examined, especially divers of the Act-Lectures, which being upon the same head, the thread of them was not right nor didactical, and Nectarius's Penitentiary, not expounded the same way in one place as in another, and the first blundering and not true: therefore he adds, that if the Bishop had not writ, and for that he himself would not go out of the world without satisfying him in every thing, he had resolved to have sent for his papers and burnt them; but now he gave them up all to the Bishop upon this inviolable trust, that nothing of them should be published as a scheme of his, but to be made use of to serve any other design the Bishop should think fit.* Dr Allestry's words are here transcribed, because the plainest account of things is always the most satisfactory (15).

(15) Ibid.

[O] *A small tract* — intitled, *The Privileges of the University of Oxford, &c.*] Upon the publication of this piece, William Prynne came out with his *University of Oxford's Plea refuted*, &c. and in answer to that R. Waryng wrote *An Account of Mr Prynne's Refutation*, &c. and Mr Bagshaw senior published his *Short Censure*, &c. Mr John Fell, one of the fellows of Eton-college, was by some taken to be the author of this pamphlet concerning the University's Privileges (16).

(16) Wood, ubi supra, col. 677.

A L L E S T R Y (JACOB), a Poet [A] of the last century, was the son of James Allestry, a bookseller of London, who lost most of his substance in the dreadful fire, which happened there in the beginning of September 1666. He was educated at Westminster-school, entered at Christ-church in Oxford in the Act-Term 1671, being then eighteen years of age, and the next year was elected student of that college. Afterwards he took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, was Music-reader in 1679, and *Terra Filius* in 1682; both which offices he executed with very great applause, being then

[A] *A Poet.*] He wrote several pieces of poetry; one of which intitled, *What art thou, Love!* was printed in a book intitled *Examen Poeticum* (1). We shall transcribe it, as a specimen of his talent.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 800.

I.

What art thou, Love! whence are those charms!
That thus thou bear'st an universal rule!
For thee the soldier quits his arms,
The King turns slave, the wife man fool.

II.

In vain we chafe thee from the field,
And with cool thoughts resist thy yoke:
Next tide of blood, alas! we yield,
And all those high resolves are broke.

III.

Can we e're hope thou shou'd'st be true,
Whom we have found so often base?
Cozen'd, and cheated, still we view,
And fawn upon the treacherous face,

IV.

In vain our nature we accuse,
And doat, because she says we must:
This for a brute were an excuse,
Whose very soul and life is lust.

V.

To get our likeness! what is that?
Our likeness is but misery:
Why shou'd I toil to propagate
Another thing as vile as I?

VI.

From hands divine our spirits came,
And Gods, that made us, did inspire
Something more noble in our frame,
Above the dregs of earthly fire (2).

He had also the chief hand (as Mr Wood had been informed) in the *Verfes* and *Pastorals*, which were spoken in the Theatre at Oxford, May 21, 1681, by

(2) See Second Part of Miscellany Poems, &c. Lond. 1727, 12mo, p. 77.

then esteemed a good Philologist and Poet. He died [B], the fifteenth of October 1686, and was buried in the church of St Thomas at Oxford, near the east end of the chancel (a).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799, 800.

Mr William Savile, second son of the Marquis of Halifax, and George Cholmondley, second son of Robert Viscount Kellis (both of Christ-Church) before James Duke of York, his Duchesse, and the Lady Anne. Which Verses and Pastorals were afterwards printed in the above-mentioned *Examen Poeticum*.

[B] He died.] This person, James Allestry (to use Mr Wood's own words) being exceedingly given to

the vices of Poets, his body was so emaciated and worn away by his juvenile extravagances, that he retired to an obscure house in Fifth-Row, in St Thomas's Parish, in the suburbs of Oxford; where he continued *incognita*, under the care of a nurse, about seven weeks, and then died in a poor condition, and of a loathsome distemper. His body was carried to it's burial by four poor men (3).

T (3) Id. ibid.

ALLEY (WILLIAM), Bishop of Exeter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (a), was born at Great Wycomb in Buckinghamshire, and educated at Eton-school. He was removed from thence to King's-college in Cambridge, in the year 1528, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that university. Soon after, he went to Oxford, where he spent some time in academical studies. Afterwards he married, was presented to a benefice, and became a zealous Reformer. Upon Queen Mary's accession to the crown, he quitted his cure, and travelled from place to place in the north parts of England, where he was not known; gaining a comfortable subsistence for himself and his wife, by practising physic, and undertaking the instruction of youth. When Queen Elizabeth mounted the throne he came to London, where he acquired such reputation by reading the Divinity-Lecture at St Paul's, that he obtained the bishoprick of Exeter, and was consecrated to that see, July 14, 1560. In November 1561, he was created Doctor of Divinity in the university of Oxford. He wrote: 1. *The Poor Man's Library*, being a Rhapsody or Miscellany in two volumes; the first containing seven lectures upon the first epistle of St Peter, read publicly in St Paul's cathedral in London, anno 1560; the second consisting of five lectures upon the same epistle, read in the same place. Lond. 1571, fol. 2. An *Hebrew Grammar*: but whether it was ever printed is uncertain. When the version of the Bible was undertaken by the command of Queen Elizabeth, this Bishop translated the Pentateuch. He died the fifteenth of April 1570, and was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir [A]. He left behind him one son, who was Archdeacon of Cornwall.

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 162.

[A] He was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir.] On his tomb-stone is an inscription, which tells us, he was, 'Acerrimus evangelicæ veritatis propugnator, morum probitate percelebris, bonarum

'disciplinarum mirabili scientia clarus, &c. i. e. A zealous advocate for the truths of the gospel, eminent for his virtues, and remarkably skilled in all the useful parts of learning (1).'

T (1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 163.

ALLEYN (EDWARD) a celebrated Comedian in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, and a laudable benefactor, by his charitable foundation of a college in the county of Surrey; which flourishes with great improvements to this day. He was born of reputable parents, who lived in good fashion and credit. There is a picture in the said college, which has long passed for that of his father, with the age of fifty-nine inscribed upon it: 'tis attired in the genteel garb of his time, but was indeed painted for his father-in-law; as a curious and ingenious member of the said college has very lately informed me (a). His father has been also reported to have had some estate in Yorkshire: it is certain that his son died possessed of lands in that county, of his own purchasing; as may be seen under his own hand (b). But he was born in the city of London; in the parish of St Botolph, without Bishopsgate; on the first day of September, anno 1566, as we collect from a memorandum of his own writing [A]; and more particularly according to Dr Fuller, near Devonshire-house, where now, says he, is the sign of the Pye (c). The same author adds, that he was bred a Stage-player; which is not improbable, though in his younger days, his father might be in good circumstances, if his son proved intractable to a more severe education, or serious course of life. For it does not appear, by what he has left of his writing, that he had ever engaged himself very deeply in scholastic studies; though he was, as may be gathered from the several testimonies which have been given of him, a man of excellent natural parts; flexanimous genius, corporal agility, lively temper, faithful memory, fluent elocution; and in person, as appears by the picture preserved of him (d), of a stately port and aspect; all which might well induce a young man, to initiate and exert himself in that gay and popular profession. And indeed there are not wanting other authorities, whereby it seems to be confirmed, that he was engaged betimes in that vocation. For if before Christopher Marloe, the poet, died, Alleyn did not only act in several of his tragedies, but was arrived to that superlative degree, of being inimitable, or *peerless* therein; as it has been asserted in some verses we shall presently recite (e), it may be concluded, that Alleyn was upon the stage, some time before the year 1592, in which year the said poet Marloe died; as it may be found among the manuscript

(a) The Revd. Mr Thomas Waterhouse's Letter from Dulwich-college, to the author of this Life; April 17, 1745.

(b) In his Last Will and Testament, more particularly hereafter extracted.

(c) Dr Tho. Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1661, London.

(d) In Dulwich-college.

(e) From Thomas Heywood's Prologue, in the note [B].

[A] As we collect from a memorandum of his own writing.] This date is calculated from a note written with the said founder's own hand, where he says, that, 'On the first of September, 1622, being the feast of his birth-day, he was full fifty-six years of

'age (1).' From whence might, and should be rectified, the erroneous date of his age upon his tomb-stone; and also that, which seems to have been thence copied, upon his picture.

(1) Among the MS. papers of Mr Edward Alleyn in Dulwich-college.

(f) In Biblioth. Harleiana.

manuscript papers of the Lord Keeper Puckering, still in being (f). For he had then so captivated the town, and so monopolized the favour of his audience, by those agreeable varieties he could so readily command, in his voice, countenance, and gesture; and so judiciously adapt to the characters he played, as even to animate the most lifeless compositions, and so highly improve them, that he wholly engaged those who heard and saw him, from considering the propriety of the sentiments he pronounced, or of the parts he personated; and all the defects of the poet, were either beautified, palliated, or atoned for, by the perfections of the player. And thus much is intimated in a little curious tract, written by a noted satirist of those times [B], and printed but the year following that beforementioned; as well as by the attestations of several succeeding authors. And not only in prose but in poetry, we find some exalted commendations of him as an actor, by those who also knew, and could best judge of him [C]. Thus have many writers for, and concerning the stage, bestowed some fine general characters upon him, for his singular and surpassing qualifications in that sphere, of assimilate life; but for any historical particulars of his own real and proper life, (which surely must have produced, in a man of his figure, fortune, publick character, prudent œconomy, and long conversation with persons of distinction, some, worthy of preservation) except what his foundations and endowments have, of themselves, forced into publick view and record; or may be gleaned from some detached notes and minutes he left of his own private affairs, it is much that none among those, who were nearly concerned, and lived near enough in time, to have compassed sufficient materials, ever compiled some such monument to his memory, as might have done justice to gratitude, service to virtue, honour to their founder, credit to his profession, and every other way have answered the expectations of the world. Some corporations indeed, have secreted the generous and exemplary acts of their founders from publication; and we hear too often, that the superintendants of other charitable institutions, have prescribed themselves also a rule of reservation as to those particulars; and chose rather to bury in oblivion all honours which might be paid to their donors, than hazard the censure, or suspicion,

[B] *By a noted satirist of those times, &c.* This was Thomas Nashe; one of the most comical, bantering authors of his age; who having had several publick controversies with Dr Gabriel Harvey, and his two brothers, of Saffron-Walden, the said Doctor published a pamphlet (2), in which he exposes that Thomas Nashe, and his acquaintance Robert Greene, very plentifully. Nashe smartly replied upon him, in a tract, now grown very scarce; which contains many curious particulars, touching several learned and ingenious men in those days, and it was published the next year after Dr Harvey's; who having had some epistolary correspondence with Edmund Spenser; this famous Poet used modestly to subscribe himself at the end of his letters, *Inmerito*; intimating, as if he thereby acknowledged himself unworthy of the esteem, or compliments, his said correspondent paid him. Nashe turns this word upon the Doctor thus: 'Signior *Inmerito*; so called, because he was, and is, his friend undeservedly, was counterfeitedly brought in, to play a part in that his enterlude of epistles, that was hit at; thinking his very name, as the name of Ned Allen, on the common stage, was able to make an ill matter good (3).' Thus we see how early this our player was famous upon the Theatre. But he usually played in the most excellent dramatic pieces; and even the capital parts in them. He certainly was one of the original actors in the renowned Shakespear's plays; and of this Poet's writing, there were no less than twelve publickly known, and probably acted so early, as 1598, as from certain contemporary writings it may be certified. In some of Ben. Jonson's plays he was also a principal performer; but what characters he personated in the plays of either of those Poets, is difficult now distinctly to nominate, through the inaccuracy of their editors; who printed not the names of the players opposite to the characters they performed, as the modern custom is; but either gave us one general list of actors to the whole set of plays, as in the old folio edition of Shakespear; or divided one from the other; setting the *Dramatis Personæ* before the plays, and the catalogue of performers after them; as in Jonson's (4). As to the distinction therefore of master Alleyn's talents; all we can add, is from Dr Fuller, and others, in a general manner. We are informed by him, that Alleyn 'made any part, especially a Majestic one, become him (5);' for which indeed, the portly and graceful figure of his person seemed well adapted. Another author says, 'He was an ornament both to Black-Friars, and to his profession (6).' And 'he was as well famous for his honesty, as for his acting,' according to Sir Richard

Baker (7). This last author, who had doubtless been a spectator and auditor of him on the stage, also calls Alleyn and Burbage, 'The best actors of our time;' and adds, 'What plays were ever so pleasing, as where their parts had the greatest part (8)!' And in another more noted work of his, joining our Edward Alleyn with Richard Burbage again, he says, 'They were two such actors as no age must ever look to see the like (9).'

[C] *In poetry we find some exalted commendations of him as an actor, by those who also knew and could best judge of him.* Namely, by Ben. Jonson (*); who, though generally avaritious of praise himself, and therefore often parsimonious of it to others, thus, generously addresses master Alleyn.

If Rome, so great, and in her wisest age,
Fear'd not to boast the glories of her stage;
As, skillful Roscius, and great Æsop; men,
Yet, crown'd with honours, as with riches, then;
Who had no less a trumpet to their name
Than Cicero; whose ev'ry breath was fame:
How can so great example die in me,
That Alleyn, I shou'd pause to publish thee?
Who, both their graces, in thyself, hast more
Outstrip'd, than they did all who went before.
And, present worth, in all, dost so contract,
As others spake, but only thou dost act.
Wear this renown: 'tis just, that who did give
So many Poets life, by one shou'd live (10).

Also Thomas Heywood beforementioned, who both wrote for, and acted on the stage; setting forth in print, an old play of Marloe's, has, in his prologue thereto, spoken of that poet, and this player, as follows,

We know not how our play may pass this stage;
But by the best of Poets in that age,
The Malta Jew had being, and was made;
And he, then, by the best of actors play'd.
In Hero and Leander (11), one did gain
A lasting memory: in Tamerlane,
This Jew, with others many, t'other wan
The attribute of Peerless; be'ng a man,
Whom we may rank with, doing no man wrong,
Proteus for shapés, and Roscius for a tongue (12).

[D] *Master*

(2) Intituled, Four Letters, and certain Sonnets, &c. imprinted by J. Wolfe, 4^{to}, 1592.

(3) Strange newes of the intercepting certain letters, and a convoy of verses, as they were going privily to victuall the Low Countries, By Tho. Nashe, Gent. Printed by J. Danter, 8^{vo}, 1729, p. 18, 19.

(4) An Answer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakespear, in a Letter to a Friend, &c. By a Strouling Player, 8^{vo}, 1729, p. 18, 19.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra.

(6) An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, &c. by Gerard Langbaine, 8^{vo}, Oxon. 1691, p. 343.

(7) *Theatrum Re-divinum: or, The Theatre Vindicated*, by Sir Richard Baker, in answer to Mr Prynne's *Hibionastix*, 8^{vo}, 1662, p. 48.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(9) Sir R. Baker's Chronicle.

(*) So he spelt his name himself, in a presentation he wrote before a copy of his own plays, to his friend Mr Tho. Middleton; which copy was in the Harleian Library.

(10) Ben. Jonson's Epigrams, No. 89.

(11) A celebrated Poem of Marloe's, finished by G. Chapman.

(12) T. Heywood's Prologue to C. Marloe's Jew of Malta, a Tragedy, &c. 4^{to}, 1633.

ſuſpicion, of being unproportionable partakers of the donation: and therefore may have ſhown themſelves averſe to the encouragement of any ſuch memorialiſts, as were ambitious of transmitting the merits of their benefactors, in the moſt efficacious manner to poſterity; as if they looked upon the pens of Biographers, but as the probes and lancets of Surgeons, uſually addicted to the fearful friendlineſs of ſearching to the bottom, and letting out corruptions. In ſome of thoſe communities, the miſapplication of ſuch publick charities, has been ingeniouſly reflected on by Mr Selden (g); as the ſhynefs of ſuch communication has been cenſured, the ill conſequences diſplayed, and the cauſes detected by others (b). And thus much upon that topick is the rather obſerved in this place, becauſe as we are made moſt ſenſible of the virtue or value of ſome things, by a knowledge of their oppoſites, ſo the dark conduct or comportment in thoſe ſocieties, may ſerve here as a foil, to heighten the luſtre of that at Dulwich College, founded by this our famous Player, Edward Alleyn, as we are about to relate. For by the uſeful anecdotes and other material pieces of intelligence, which have been moſt candidly and obligingly imparted to us, out of the founder's own papers, and other antiquities in his college, by the preſent worthy maſter thereof, we have been much aſſiſted, to clear the ſaid founder from that obſcurity in which he has been ſo long clouded, diſcharge him of ſome miſrepreſentations wherewith he has been unjuſtly diſguiſed, and produce him in a fairer and ſtronger light, at leaſt than he has yet appeared in, to the publick. To this end, we have been principally deſirous of learning, by what means the ſaid founder was enabled, or was ſufficiently enriched, to undergo the expence of erecting ſuch a commodious edifice, and ſo liberally to endow it, for the handſome and decent maintenance of ſo many perſons. And thus much we may gather in anſwer to that queſtion; that beſides ſome paternal inheritance, whatever it was, which might deſcend to him, and lay ſome foundation to his future aſſluence; it is preſumed, that the benefits he made even by acting of plays, muſt, to a man of his provident and managing genius, and one who drew ſuch numerous audiences to the plays he acted in, being accounted the Protodramatiſt of his time, have alſo conſiderably improved his fortune. But he was not only an actor of plays; he was likewiſe maſter of a playhouſe of his own building, and over a company of players of his own conſtituting [D], by which he is ſaid to have amaſſed no ſmall treaſure. He was alſo keeper of the King's wild beaſts, or maſter of the royal bear-garden (i); either one or both of thoſe ſituated on the bank-ſide in Southwark; for there were two, which ſeem to have been reſorted to by great numbers of beholders (k): and the profits which accrued from theſe rough games, are reported to have amounted ſometimes, to no leſs than five hundred pounds *per annum*. But a little before his death, he ſold his ſhare and patent, as we are informed, to his laſt wife's father, for five hundred and fourſcore pounds (l). But matrimony itſelf has often empowered men, ſo diſpoſed, to perform as expenſive acts of liberality; and he was twice or three times married [E], to women,

(g) In The A-
pphthegmes of
the Engliſh
nation, MS. 470, in
poſſeſſion of the
writer of this
article.

(b) In J. Aubrey's
Nat. Hiſt. and
Antiq. of Surrey,
Vol. V, 1772,
p. 302, 303, &c.

(i) The Latin in-
ſcription over the
door of Dulwich-
college.

(k) John Stowe's
Survey of Lon-
don, fol. edit.
1633, p. 448.

(l) The Rev.
Mr Water-
houſe's Letter to
the author, &c.
from Dulwich-
college, as above.

whoſe

[D] *Maſter of a play-houſe of his own building; and a company of players, &c.* This was the Fortune Play-houſe near Whitecroſs-Street, by More-Fields, which Mr Alleyn built, or perhaps rebuilt; for there is mention made by Mr Prynne, of the fearful burning to the ground of the Fortune Play-houſe (13), by ſome unknown accident; and alſo of it's being lately re-edified and enlarged (14). There is a tradition in the neighbourhood where this theatre ſtood (on the ground whereof, the founder's ſucceſſors have built many tenements) that in demolishing the old houſe, or digging to lay the foundation of the new one, which was rebuilt in it's place, there was found a conſiderable treaſure of money. If this happened while Mr Alleyn was proprietor there, it might fall, or the greateſt part of it, to him. There is an author who ſpeaks of him and this houſe in theſe words. 'He was maſter of a company of his own, for whom he built the Fortune Play-houſe from the ground; a large round brick building (15);' and a little further, that herein, as in others of their play-houſes, 'They alſo ways acted by day light (16).' And at this time, as well as long after, they had neither women actors, nor ſcenes. For, upon Sir William Davenant's firſt opening, by virtue of his patent, the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in the ſpring of the year 1662, with one of his own plays, the Siege of Rhodes, then ſcenes made their firſt appearance upon the Engliſh ſtage (17); and about the ſame time, ſeemingly alſo by him, were actreſſes firſt introduced; and they grew ſo expert, not only in their own parts, but thoſe of the actors, that before the end of King Charles the Second's reign, ſome plays (and particularly the Parſon's Wedding) were repreſented all by women; as in his father's reign, and before, they were all by men (18). When the Fortune Play-houſe was in vogue, there were four more companies, which all got money and lived in reputation. And one of my authors laſt quoted, to the queſtion, How five companies could

then be maintained by the town, when in his time, two could hardly ſuſſiſt? Anſwers, 'That though the town was then, perhaps, not much more than half ſo populous as now; yet then the prices were ſmall, there being no ſcenes, and better order kept among the company that came; which made very good people think a play an innocent diversion for an idle hour or two; the plays themſelves being then more inſtructive and moral. Whereas of late, the play-houſes are ſo extremely peſtered with viſard-maſks, and their trade, occaſioning continual quarrels and abuſes, that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and ſhun the Theatre, as they would a houſe of ſcandal. It is an argument of the worth of the plays, and actors of the laſt age; and eaſily inferred, that they were much beyond ours in this; to conſider, that they could ſupport themſelves merely from their own merit, the weight of the matter, and goodneſs of the action; without ſcenes and machines: Whereas the preſent plays, with all their ſhew, can hardly draw an audience; unleſs there be the additional invitation of a Signior Fideli, a Monsieur L'Abbé, or ſome ſuch foreign regale expreſſed in the bottom of the bills (19).'

[E] *He was twice or three times married.* They have had a conſtant tradition at Dulwich-college, that the founder had three wives; but among their records, they can find only the names of the two laſt. The former of theſe was named Joan Woodward, and ſhe was the daughter of that gentleman whoſe portrait beforementioned, has been miſtaken for the founder's father's. There is a ſeal-ring upon one of his fingers, which, on a curious inſpection, made by the gentlemen in that college who has obliged us with this information, diſcovered to him the ſaid miſtake; for he found it to contain the ſame coat of arms with that of the founder's ſaid wife, which is impaled with his own, upon his tomb, viz. In the firſt coat, he bears ar-

(19) Hiſt. Hiſtri-
onica, p. 5, 6.

(13) *Hiſtrionoma-
ſtica: The Play-
ers Scourge, or
Actors Tragedy,
&c.* by W.
Prynne, 4to,
1633, p. 556.

(14) *Idem*, in
Epiſt. Dedic.

(15) *Hiſtoria Hi-
ſtrionica: An
Hiſtorical Ac-
count of the Stage,
&c.* 8vo, 1699,
p. 6.

(16) *Idem*, p. 7.

(17) *Roſcius An-
glicanus: or, An
Hiſtorical Review
of the Stage, &c.*
by John Daines,
8vo, 1703, p. 20.

(18) *Idem*, &
*Hiſtor. Hiſtrioni-
ca*, p. 11, and
Ger. Langbaine,
p. 313.

whose dowries, they leaving no issue to inherit, might probably contribute to the charge of this benefaction. Thus the means whereby he was furnished to establish it, may various ways be derived; seeing there are so many channels, through which the streams of fortune might at length concur, and centre in this fountain. But for the motives to this eminent act of beneficence, we have good reason to believe, they have been much misgrounded, or derived from a very false and foolish pretence, greatly detracting from their true deserts. For to whom should this humane, charitable, and pious foundation be ascribed, as it has with most injurious absurdity been related, but, in effect, to the Devil [F]! As if he were such a novice in spiritual warfare, as to drive an engineer out of one of his own batteries, over to the enemy, to raise a fortification against himself! But we hope this idle tradition, without any authority applied to this founder, has been sufficiently refuted, in the animadversions it has hereunder occasioned. And we are persuaded, if the author who fathered it upon him, had been in any degree conversant

gent; a Chevron, between three Cinquefoils, Gules: In the second coat; the bears Gules; a Lion Passant, Or; on a chief Azure; Fleurs-de-Lys of the second. It also appears among some of the founder's memorandums, that he was married to this wife on the 22d day of October 1592: They lived above thirty years in harmony together; and when she died, on the 28th of June 1623, aged fifty-one years, he directed, in the memorials of her, which he caused to be inscribed upon her tomb, &c. that she should be called, his religious and loving wife (20). His last wife, who survived him, was Constance, the daughter of that Mr Hinchtow, to whom the founder sold, a little before his death, his share and patent of the bear-garden, as is above observed in the text. There appears also upon one of the organ pipes in the college chapel, the founder's arms, impaled with another coat, viz. Azure; a Wolf Rampant, Ermin; which is very probably supposed to belong to the family of Hinchtow (21).

[F] To whom should this pious foundation be ascribed, &c. but, in effect to the devil.] My author, Mr Aubrey; or his editor; but it may be rather thought the former, who has so much laid open his own credulity himself (22), that there needs no more be said of it; speaking of Dulwich-college, founded by Mr Alleyn, says, 'The tradition was, that playing a dæmon, with six others, in one of Shakespear's plays; he was, in the midst of the play, surprised by an apparition of the devil; which worked on his fancy, that he made a vow, which he performed at this place (23).' Enquiring once of the oldest actor of our time, the late Mr John Bowman, what he had heard, or thought of this story, he pleasantly answered to this effect: That we had been pretty even with the father of lies, in having so often belied him with frequenting of plays; for he thought it very inconsistent with any probability, that the devil should make his personal appearance at the play-house, and never go into the boxes, but always expose himself on the stage; and then, only to disconcert his humble imitators in a dance; thump the musick out of tune with his cow-heels; make the peoples hair stand an end, and drive them away in confusion; before they had made any assignation for their less innocent entertainments: and so make his friends curse him for his unseasonable disturbance, worse than ever his enemies did. Then, as for this foolish tradition in particular, it had made the devil such an egregious fool, as to frighten a man out of a vain course of life, into a religious one! where he draws a train after him, from generation to generation, out of a destitute, or perhaps disorderly course, and teaches them to attach themselves to the love of God, and renounce the Devil himself and all his works! Sure he never was such a wretched politician, as to conspire so against his own interest, the diminution of his own votaries; as many might otherwise have been; and thereby, if he should make a practice of such plots, the destruction of his own kingdom of darkness! If the Devil has, by this tradition, suffered in his character, the inconstitute of it, may, upon these considerations, clear him from being master Alleyn's prompter to good works; and suggest to us, some more sublime motive to his making this oblation of his fortune to the service of God, than being terrified to it, by any apparition of the Devil. — But, let us look into matter of fact, and we shall find master Alleyn no ways concerned in, or affected with this tradition. The story was stale, long before he left the stage. It seems to have some little relation to a play

that was acted in Queen Elizabeth's time; but no play of Shakespear's; therefore the account in Mr Aubrey is faulty. The first hint we have met with of it, is, in an old pamphlet printed in the beginning of her successor's reign; wherein Lucifer, prowling about the town in disguise, meets with a Debauchee in a house of ill repute; of whom giving some description, he says, 'He had a head of hair, like one of my devils in Doctor Faustus; when the old theatre cracked, and frightened the audience (24).' Here the audience appear to have been more alarmed by the cracking of the old house, while some harmless devils were performing their parts in that play, than by any supernumerary devil appearing in it; but if there was one, we may account naturally enough for that. Mr Prynne makes a great enlargement upon this narrow ground; but as he quotes no authority, and disagrees in the play-house where it happened, he is exceptionable too; where he mentions, 'The visible apparition of the Devil upon the stage at the Bell-Savage play-house, in Queen Elizabeth's days, to the great amazement both of the actors and spectators, whilst they were there, profanely playing the history of Faustus; the truth of which, I have heard from many now alive, who well remember it; there being some distracted with that fearful sight (25).' So that the Devil appeared in one of Shakespear's plays, as we find in Aubrey; and in a play that was not one of his, according to the Black Book; and in a play-house that was not the Old House, according to Prynne: But still in Queen Elizabeth's days; and no mention made of Mr Alleyn by either of these two last authors, who both mention the event, and lived in his own time. Nor is it to be believed that ever any such tradition was subsisting of Mr Alleyn, when Mr Prynne was accumulating his said unweildy bundle of invectives against stage-players: For as he was many years scraping up materials, and muddling in them, he could not have been ignorant of such an extraordinary incident; nor would he have been silent, in what might have so directly served his purpose; but would, to be sure, have made a triumphant example of such a notable convert. In the reign of King Charles II, the town was alarmed again with such another visitation, as the aforesaid Mr Bowman has also informed me: and, I think it was at the house in Dorset-Gardens; where in a dance of devils again, there appeared one too many; some comical fellow among the comedians, having got into such a horrid dress, as made him a much more infernal figure than the rest, and so unexpectedly started up among them, that they took him for the Devil indeed, were struck with a kind of pannick, which soon infected the audience, and dispersed it in consternation. And after the like manner, may all the other apparitions of the Devil on the stage be probably accounted for. But lastly, to put it beyond all doubt, that the Devil never appeared in any play, or any play-house, that deterred Mr Alleyn from repairing to them; or that he was, by any other cause or means, induced to withdraw or abstain from them, even to the latter part of his life; we find he resorted to, and carried on the business of his own play-house in London, even after he had built, and was settled in his college at Dulwich; and this is to be proved by no less authority than a memorandum he left written in his own hand; wherein it appears, that having one day received the profits of a play acted in that house, at which there was a very slender audience, he entered it down, that his whole receipt amounted to no more than three pounds and some odd shillings (26).

(20) The inscriptions in Christ's chapel, at Dulwich-college.

(21) The Rev. Mr Waterhouse's Letter, ubi supra.

(22) See Aubrey's Miscellanies, 8vo, 1696, &c. from one end to the other.

(23) Aubrey's Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 190. From whence this story has lately been adopted, with other errors concerning this founder, in the Complete System of Geography, &c. (now publishing) fol. 1744. p. 72.

(24) The Black Book (written by T. M.) Printed by T. C. for Jeffrey Chortlon, 4to, 1604, p. 3.

(25) Prynne's Histriomastix, fol. 556.

(26) Extract of Mr Edward Alleyn's Diary, MS. in his college at Dulwich.

converfant with his private papers, he would have found reason to attribute this dedication of his substance to the poor, not to any sudden turn of mind, but to a constituent principle, maturely settled and grounded upon the strongest basis of piety and benevolence. For therein he appears, by many expressions, a man who had been habituated to devotion; infomuch, that when he came to town about his secular affairs, he would, as if it were the chief part of his business, make it in his way to call at some church or other, and partake of the divine service (*m*). So that the stage was so far from having presented any cause of remorse, that it seems to have rather proved a school of religion to him; where he had imitated imaginary characters of virtue, till he determined, now providence had enabled him, to become himself imitable in real ones. And we may conclude, by those ejaculations he makes, acknowledging so devoutly, cordially, and constantly, as at the ends of his quarterly accounts, &c. all he was possessed of to be the Gift of God (*n*), that he had deliberately resolved upon the most grateful and acceptable ways of restoring it, through the hands of innocent and indigent Men. Then having resolved also, as we see by the event, to make himself an uncommon example, in preferring time present, and not postponing it; which adds a great lustre to the act; in not trusting the execution of it to the hearts, hands, and eyes of others; not to any posthumous direction, but to his own; while he was living in health and strength, and before he was forty-eight years of age; well knowing that the life of a gift, is then most perfectly itself, when made in the life of the giver. In this consideration it will follow, that necessity, in order to his putting those resolutions in practice, obliged him to withdraw from the lesser stage, that he might perform the part he had cast off for himself, upon the great and real theatre of the open world. If any secondary motives were to be admitted, they might arise from the thoughts of being a leading pattern, the first of his profession, who had adorned his country with such a monument of munificence; or from the hopes of inspiring an emulation in some theatrical descendants or other, who might be as fortunate as himself, in like manner to advance their character and calling into higher repute; or from several other inducements, more probable than that senseless one, before exploded and rejected. But from his motives, to proceed to his execution of this work. He began the building of his college at Dulwich in Surrey, on the borders of Kent, about five miles southward of London-bridge, after the design and direction of Mr Inigo Jones, who was a witness to his deed of settlement, so early, that it appears to have been in some forwardness in 1614, the year in which he is commonly thought to have first set about it; as we learn with other particulars of this college at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the first printed account of it [G]. It has been presumed, that eight or ten thousand

(m) Extract of the Founder's Diary in his college at Dulwich.

(n) The Rev. Mr Waterhouse's Letter, ubi supra.

[G] Particulars of this College at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the first printed account of it.] This is Mr Edward Howes, who, in his edition and augmentation of Stowe's Chronicle, having given some account of Mr Sutton's hospital, which may be perceived to be written in the middle of the year 1614, by his mentioning the death of Henry (Howard) Earl of Northampton, proceeds in these words: 'Edward Allen, alias Allein, of Dulwich, Esq; at this time builded a very fair hospital at Dulwich in Surrey, for six poor men, and six poor women, and for twelve poor children, from the age of four to six, to be there kept and maintained, and taught, till they come to the age of fourteen, or sixteen years; their schoolmaster to have his diet, lodging, and a competent stipend. He intends also to have a master to reside in the same hospital, whose name shall be Allen, or Alleyne; and by that name, to be chosen to that government of his hospital for ever; as the place shall grow vacant. This said founder told me, that he intends, and also forthwith, to build thrice twelve poor folks lodgings (*) in London, viz. Twelve lodgings, or rooms, in three several parishes; and give unto every of them some maintenance. Within two years, this house will be finished, and the poor in possession; and then, there is more to be said of it: in the mean time, thus much deserves thanks and memory (27).' For it is, as this author above describes, a very fair hospital; containing the chapel, master's apartments, &c. in the front, and the lodgings of the other inhabitants, &c. in the two wings; whereof that on the east side was handsomely new built, in 1739, at the expence of the college. Among the observables therein, they have a little library of books; and had a good collection of plays given by old Mr William Cartwright, an excellent comedian, and acquaintance of the founder's; he was also a bookseller, and lived at the end of Turnstile-alley by Lincolns-inn-fields (28). He published the learned *Vindication of Actors*, hereafter quoted, written by Thomas Heywood, Fellow of Peter-house Cambridge; who was also a noted actor, and had an entire hand, or main finger, in writing

two hundred and twenty plays, as we have it under his own pen (29). He had long before published that vindication himself, under a title somewhat different (30), for which he was called the Atlas of the stage; and having improved and enlarged it, it was soon after his death published, by the said Mr Cartwright, without date, but in Oliver's time, as we take it; by the discouragements mentioned of his profession, in his dedication, under the two first letters of his name, to Henry Marquis of Dorchester. But to return; not far from the library, there is in the west wing, a long gallery full of pictures; whereof, the best were those left by the founder himself; to which were added also Mr Cartwright's collections, and among them a curious picture of London, from a view said to be taken by Mr John Norden, the Topographer, in 1603, with the representation of the City-procession on the Lord-Mayor's day (31). The founder's picture is at full length, in a robe or gown; but the resemblance of his face is said to have been drawn when he lay dead in his coffin. And there is a portrait also of his former wife; besides, Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Gresham (32), and both the Cartwrights, elder and younger, with many other persons of note; as appears by an old catalogue preserved of them: but the little pictures of the Kings of England, are, I think, discreetly enough hung in no very good light. The present master's picture is also painted at full length, by Mr Charles Stoppelaar, lately a player; but it is not exposed in that gallery. There was a list of the members of this college printed, as they stood near thirty years since; in which the said master appears then to have been warden (33): So that he has been, about the last half of his life, in promoting the advantage of his college, no less famous, for the vigorous activity of his mind, than in the former part of it, he was, for that of his body. By the list of the present members it appears, their names and offices are—James Allen, Esq; Master; Joseph Allen, Warden; John Hilary, Preacher; Thomas Gregory, School-master; Thomas Waterhouse, Usher; Samuel Tankfield Hawkes, Organist. It has been formerly published (34), what their salaries

(29) T. Heywood's English Traveller, a Trag. Com. 4to, 1633, in Pref.

(30) The Apology for Actors, &c. 4to, 1612.

(31) In Aubrey, ubi supra.

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 195.

(33) Ibid. p. 194.

(34) Id. ibid. were,

(*) They were alms-houses, for twenty poor people, as he appointed in his Will. See note [L]. And they were afterwards increased to thirty.

(27) Edw. Howes's edit. and continuation of J. Stowe's Annals of England, fol. 1615, p. 940.

(28) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 356.

(o) The Rev. Mr Waterhouse's Letter, ubi supra.

pounds were expended by him upon this college, chapel, &c. before the buildings and gardens were finished, which was about the year 1617; for then he began (o), on the twenty-ninth of September, to keep a Diary of all such collegiate accounts, proceedings, and occurrences, or other personal and domestick affairs, as might assist his memory, by recurring to any past particulars he had registered, or administer hints in his mind, of making future regulations in his plan or model of that fellowship or society, he was now incorporating to participate of his Christian hospitality. And in leaving that Diary behind him, he gave his successors opportunity of seeing, not only how the settlement began, but, by the daily occasion he so enjoyed himself, of noting down so many little events, transactions, and observations, also of better seeing how he was pleased with the progress that was made, and what his inclinations were in carrying the government on, than if he had left them, without such experience, an whole volume of meditations on the subject. And indeed, his inclinations have been so well regarded, and his foundation so greatly improved, beyond whatever he could have expected; even, as it is credibly reported, almost to the doubling of the revenue he settled upon it, especially within about these thirty years last past, by the prudent and faithful management, of the present most valuable master this college ever had since the founder; that if other trustees, managers, directors, and heads of houses, had done the like, we should have met with sublime encomiums, as frequently, as we do with severe censures of such publick donations. But after the founder had built this college, he met with some difficulties in obtaining a charter for settling his lands in mortmain; that he might more absolutely endow it, as he proposed, with eight hundred pounds *per annum*; for the support and maintenance of one master, one warden, and four fellows; three whereof to be ecclesiasticks, and the other a skilful organist; also six poor men, as many women, besides twelve poor boys; to be educated in good literature, till the age of fourteen or sixteen years, and then put forth to honest trades and callings. That obstruction arose from the Lord Chancellor Bacon; who, though otherwise of a generous spirit, would have had King James settle part of those lands for the support of two academical lectures, which were then proposed to be founded by two of his friends; and he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from York-house in the Strand, August 18, 1618, intreating him to persuade his Majesty to that purpose [H]. But at length Mr Alleyn's benefaction was allowed to be made entirely in his own way; and it appeared so above competition and objection, that it obtained the royal licence, and he had full power and liberty given him to establish his foundation, by his Majesty's letters patent, under the great seal, bearing date at Westminster, the twenty-first of June, 1619 (p); by virtue whereof, Master Alleyn did, in the chapel of the said new hospital at Dulwich, called *The College of God's Gift*, on the thirteenth of September following, publicly and audibly read, and publish one writing quadrupartite in parchment; dated the said day and year; whereby he created, established, and confirmed the said college, according to the power and authority above (q). When he had read and published the said writing, he subscribed it with his name, and fixed his seal to every part of the quadrupartite writing, in the presence of many honourable persons; then ordered those writings to four several parishes [I]. How far from lofty

(p) Stow's Survey of London, edit. fol. 163, p. 759.

(q) Id. ibid.

were, and what the allowance of the poor men and women; which we do not repeat, because as the revenue is considerably increased, the salaries and allowances are likewise.

[H] *Intreating him to persuade his majesty to that purpose.*] This letter written by the said Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the Marquis of Buckingham, is as follows.

I Now write to give the King an account of a patent I have stayed at the seal. It is of licence to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, though it be of tenure in chief, to Allen that was the player, for an hospital. I like well, that Allen playeth the last act of his life so well; but if his majesty give way thus to amortize his tenures, his courts of wards will decay; which I had well hoped should improve. But that which moved me chiefly, is, that his majesty, now lately, did absolutely deny Sir Henry Savile (35), for 200 l. and Sir Edward Sandy's (*), for 100 l. to the perpetuating of two lectures; the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge; foundations of singular honour to his majesty, and of which there is great want; whereas hospitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit the less. If his majesty do like to pass the book at all; yet, if he would be pleased to abridge the 300 l. to 500 l. and then give way to the other two books for the university, it were a princely work: and I would make an humble suit to the King, and desire your Lordship to joyn in it, that it might be so (36).³

There was a remark made on this letter, by the first editor of it, with some others of the said Lord

Bacon's, which is here transplanted in this edition, to the bottom of the page; part whereof, which concerns the said letter, is as follows. 'It were to be wished this observation did not hold true to this day: for though the foundations of hospitals are to be commended, which Sir Francis Bacon hath done, both in this letter (37), and other his writings (38), yet it shews that some more adequate remedy for supporting the poor, than what arises from these charities, or even from the laws enacted for their relief, was then, and yet is to be desired. And as the defect thereof, is no small reproach to the government of a country, happy in it's natural product, and enriched by commerce; so it would be an act of the greatest humanity, to provide for the poor; and that idleness and beggary, the successive nursery of rogues, might as far as possible be extirpated (39).'

[I] *Fixed his seal, in presence of many honourable persons; then ordered those writings to four several parishes.*] Those honourable persons were, Francis, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England; Sir Edward Cecil, second son to the Earl of Exeter; Sir John Howland, High-Sheriff of Suffex and Surrey; Sir Edward Boyer of Camberwell, Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, Sir John Bodly of Strettham, Sir John Tonstall of Cashalton, and divers other persons of great worth and respect. The parishes in which the said writings were deposited, were, St Botolph's without Bishopgate, St Giles's without Cripplegate, St Saviour's in Southwark, and the parish of Camberwell in Surrey. And the contents, or heads of the said statutes, or quadrupartite writings, containing the laws and rules of this foundation, are as follow,

(37) But it does not appear in this Letter, being all of it above quoted.

(38) See Lord Bacon's advice to the King, touching Mr Sutton's estate, in the fourth Volume aforesaid, of his Lordship's Works, fol. 449.

(39) Mr Stephens's note on the Lord Bacon's Letter, as before, p. 636.

(35) Vide Ant. Wood, in Hist. & Antiquitates Oxon.

(*) 14. ibid. & in Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II, col. 542.

(36) The Works of Francis, Lord Bacon, the last edit. Vol. IV, fol. 1740, p. 685, 686.

lofty state, or superior distance, he lived in this community, and how affably he condescended rather to a kind of equality in it, may be gathered from the words of one of his contemporaries and acquaintance; who, speaking of some eminent players deceased, goes on thus: 'Among so many dead, let me not forget the most worthy, famous Mr Edward Alleyn, who in his life-time erected a college at Dulwich, for poor people, and for education of youth. When this college was finished, this famous man was so equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own Pensioner; humbly submitting himself to that proportion of diet and cloaths, which he had bestowed on others (r).' And how perfectly satisfied he was with this distribution and settlement of his substance, may plainly appear, by this memorial of his own writing, which is preserved among his papers, ——— 'May 26, 1620, my wife and I acknowledged the fine at the common-pleas bar, of all our lands to the college: *Blessed be God, that hath given us life to do it (s)*.' Many other like circumstances might be picked out of his papers and his Diary aforesaid, which might further confirm, if it were further needful, his hearty benevolence to this work; which Diary ending on the twenty-ninth of September, 1622, comprehended just five years (t). We are informed also, there remains no book of his account after that time. His wife, with whom he had so long affectionately lived, died about six months after, in the year 1623, as is before observed; and he might find it inconvenient, as the college had been used to the inspection and government in some part or degree also of a mistress, to live the remainder of his life a widower; for we find that within about a year or two afterwards, he married his last wife Constance, also beforementioned (*). Some improbable stories have been raised upon this occasion, but the lightest handling will prevent their growth [K]. She seems to have been well pleased with the course of life he had preferred, and to have lived with him, for the short time they lived together, also in conjugal harmony, by the sums of money he left her in his will, besides jewels, &c. as may be seen in the extract thereof, here subjoined [L]. He died on the (u) twenty-fifth, not the twenty-first of November, 1626; and

(r) The Actors Vindication, &c. by Thomas Heywood, published by W. C. i. e. Cartwright) 4to, fine anno, p. 28, 29. See note [G].

(s) Mr Waterhouse's Letter, ubi supra.

(t) Id. ibid.

(*) See note [E].

(u) The Latin inscription over the college door; also Mr Waterhouse's Letter, ubi supra.

1. A recital of King James's letters patent.
2. Recital of the founder's deed quadrupartite.
3. Ordination of the Master, Wardens, &c.
4. Ordination of the assistant members, &c.
5. The Master and Warden to be unmarried, and always to be of the name of Alleyn, or Allen.
6. The Master and Warden to be twenty-one years of age at least.
7. Of what degree the Fellows to be.
8. Of what degree the poor Brothers and Sisters to be.
9. Of what condition the poor Scholars are to be.
10. Of what parishes the assistants are to be.
11. From what parishes the poor are to be chosen, and the members of this college.
12. The form of their election.
13. The Warden to supply when the Master's place is void.
14. The election of the Warden.
15. The Warden to be bound by recognizance.
16. The Warden to provide a dinner for the college, upon his election.
17. The form of admitting the Fellows.
18. The manner of electing the scholars.
19. Election of the poor of Camberwell.
20. The Master and Warden's oath.
21. The Fellows oath.
22. The poor Brothers and Sisters oath.
23. The Assistants oath.
24. The pronouncement of admission.
25. The Master's office.
26. The Warden's office.
27. The Fellows office.
28. The poor Brothers and Sisters office.
29. That of the Matron of the poor scholars.
30. The Porter's office.
31. The office of the thirty members.
32. Of residency.
33. Orders for the poor, and their goods.
34. Of obedience.
35. Orders for the chapel, and burial.
36. Orders for the School and Scholars, and putting them forth apprentice.
37. Order of diet.
38. The Scholars surplices and coats.
39. Time for viewing expences.
40. Publick audit and private sitting days.
41. Audit and Treasurie Chamber.
42. Of lodgings.
43. Orders for the Lands and Woods.
44. Allowance to the Master and Warden of diet, for one man a piece; with the number, and wages, of the college servants.
45. Disposition, and division of the revenues.
46. Disposition of the rent of the Blue-house.
47. The poor to be admitted out of other places in case of deficiency in the parishes prescribed.
48. The disposition of forfeitures.
49. The statutes to be read over four several times in the year.
50. The disposition of certain tenements in St Saviour's parish, in Southwark (40).

[K] *The lightest handling will prevent their growth.* 'Tis said in a work (before quoted) whether by the author, or his editor, is not distinguished, that, 'Notwithstanding all the solemnity of this deed, the founder lived to change his mind, upon a second marriage; when he was very desirous of revoking his charity, but was not suffered. In his original endowment he has excluded all other augmentation, from future benefactions; and has constituted the

church-wardens of St Giles's without Cripplegate, St Mary-Overy's, and St Botolph's Bishopsgate, visitors; who, upon any disagreement, which they cannot compromise, are referred to their *dernier resort*, the Archbishop of Canterbury (41). As to that assertion of his revoking; it appears nothing more than an envious or malicious suggestion, for which there is no authority produced, or to be found. And there appears enough by what has been already said, and what hereafter follows by the founder himself, in his own Will, which was made some time after his marriage, and not a fortnight before his death; that he was so far from ever having had any thoughts of repenting or revoking his charity, that he appears there, augmenting it to his last gasp. And as for his excluding all other augmentation; 'There is no such thing to be found or intimated in his statutes; indeed he had thereby excluded himself from all power of making any additional members, or augmenting them, their number being fixed and limited, both by the letters patent, and the deed of incorporation; as the late Lord Chancellor King expounded and decreed, in a trial concerning the members of the said college (*). But as to what the late Sir John Lade has been heard to report; it is much more incredible, and impossible, than any other tale, which has been ever spread of the Founder. As if, after he had appointed himself to be the first master of his own college, and restrained all the masters by statute to be unmarried, he should alter his own resolution of celibacy, and therefore was, upon his marriage, deprived of his office by Archbishop Abbot; to whom, when Archbishop Laud succeeded, being better skilled in civil and canon-law, he declaring that no founder could commit any offence against statutes of his own devising, did, as soon as possible, restore him (42). But, the founder could make no resolution of celibacy, being married when he made the statutes; nay the first Master and Warden he chose himself, and were his successors, were married men: so that the misapplication of that story to the founder, might arise from the objection therefore made to them by the society; but it was overruled by the Visitor, and the Archbishop himself. But chronology will quite clear the founder of such expulsion and restoration; for Laud was not Archbishop of Canterbury till September, in the year 1633, which is almost seven years after the death of master Alleyn.

[L] *The extract thereof here subjoined (43).* His Will is dated the 13th of November, 1626, wherein he appoints his burial to be performed without any vain funeral pomp or shew in Christ's chapel, in God's Gift college, by him founded. And after his just debts paid,

(41) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*) This from the present Master of Dulwich-college.

(42) This from John Locker, Esq; who heard it from Sir John Lade, Baronet.

(43) From a copy of his said Will taken out of the Registry of the Prerogative court of Canterbury, in twenty-one sheets of stamped paper.

(40) See Stowe's Survey of London, p. 759, 760. And Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 191, 192, 193. Also a copy of the institutions, statutes, and endowment of Dulwich-college in Surrey, &c. Fol. Inter Librorum Manuscriptorum Viri Sapientissimi Samuelis Pepysii Curiae Admiralitiae nuper à Secretis: In Catal. Libror. Manusc. Angliae & Hiberniae, &c. Fol. Oxon. 1697, Tom. II. Part i. p. 209.

in the sixty-first year of his age, not the sixty-third, as at the beginning we observed it has also been mistaken. He was buried in the chapel of his own college, and has a tombstone over his grave on which there is an inscription, which with the other monumental inscriptions in memory of him, his wife, &c. having already, in what was material been made use of, we refer those who are further inquisitive after them, to the author by whom they are printed (*w*). As for the inscription over the door, which we have before also cited, it was written by Mr James Hume, late schoolmaster of the college, is also printed in the author last referred to, and concludes with these words; *Beatus ille qui misertus est Pauperum: Abi tu, & fac similiter.*

(20) In Aubrey's *Antiq. of Surrey*, ubi supra, p. 195 to 198.

paid, so speedily as may be, after his decease, he, the said Edward Alleyn and Matthias Alleyn, a person by him put in trust, for and in assurance of one thousand five hundred pounds, to and for his dear and loving wife, Constance Alleyn, after his death, have by two several deeds dated the 20th of June last, set over unto Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas (44) Crymes of Peckham in Surrey, Knights, &c. One capital messuage, or inn, called the unicorn, in St Saviour's parish in Southwark, in the county of Surrey, and all other messuages and tenements there: and also certain tenements called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, on the bank-side, in St Saviour's parish aforesaid. And for further assurance of the said 1500 *l.* to his said wife, has acknowledged a statute of 2000 *l.* bearing the same date to Sir Nicholas and Sir Thomas aforesaid; who also covenanted, in a pair of indentures of defeizance, that if the said sum were paid her by his executors, within three months after his decease, the said statute should be void, with the two deeds of assignment, or to reassign them to such persons as the testator should appoint: so desires his executors would first of all satisfy her, and then that the two Knights would reassign the two leases to his executors. And in testimony of his further love to his wife, leaves her for her present use, one hundred pounds more, which he had already, on the 26th of September last, delivered for her to Sir T. Crymes; and gives her moreover, all her jewels and other ornaments, whereof she is possessed. *Item*, He gives to the corporation of God's Gift-college, his seal-ring with his arms, to be worn by the master and his successors; and appoints a common seal to be made for the college; both to be repaired by the college as oft as they need; also all his books and instruments, with the pictures, hangings, and other furniture therein. And all the furniture in the twelve poor scholars chambers, together with several parcels and sets of his own household linnen, and other utensils; all the implements of husbandry, and two teams of horses and oxen. *Item*. He wills that his executors within two years after his decease, shall build ten almshouses, in the parish of St Botolph without Bishopsgate, London, for ten poor people of that parish, to be members of the aforesaid college; and likewise, ten other houses in St Saviour's parish in Southwark afore-

(44) So in the copy above, but he is written Grymes in all the printed authorities we have met with.

said, for other ten poor people of that parish, to be likewise members of the said college; which said twenty poor people being placed in their several houses, shall have such maintenance, as in the statutes of the foresaid college is appointed. *Item*. He gives to Thomas Alleyn, the son of John Alleyn, late of Willen, in the county of Bucks, being his cousin, and next heir at common law, 50 *l.* *Item*. To Edward Alleyn, jun. of Newport, 20 *l.* and to his two sisters, Elizabeth Newman, and Anne Ashpoole, 20 *l.* a-piece. To his aunt, Jane Waldock, of Water-Eaton, 10 *l.* To Anne Alleyn, wife of John Harrison, Clerk, 20 *l.* *Item*. He wills his copy-hold Lands in Lambeth-Marsh, to Edward Alleyn, his god-son, and his heirs male; and for want of such issue, to John Alleyn, the son of Matthias Alleyn, and his heirs for ever. *Item*. To Sir Francis Calton, Knt. 100 *l.* and forgives 20 *l.* he owes him. *Item*. To Elizabeth Cutler, his late wife's god-daughter, 10 *l.* *Item*. To Hannah Pickerly, 10 *l.* *Item*. To Elizabeth Ruffell, a young girl in his house, 10 *l.* *Item*. To all the rest of his household servants, in his service at his death, so many pounds a piece, as they have been years in his family, besides their wages. *Item*. To the church-wardens of St Botolph's aforesaid, and their successors, a tenement in Dulwich, with the appurtenances, called the Blue-house, for the use of the poor of the said parish, to be by them disposed of; as in the statutes of the said college is set down. And after these legacies, &c. are paid; the two leases assigned to those Knights, shall remain as an augmentation to the college, over and above what is assured thereto in the statutes. *Item*. He gives (after his legacies paid) to his two executors, their heirs and assigns for ever, all his lands in Yorkshire, which he lately purchased of George Cole, Esq. And also, after his funeral expences, debts, &c. are discharged, all the residue of his goods, chattles, cattles, and ready moneys whatever, to Thomas Alleyn, and Matthias Alleyn, his kinsman; whom, by this his last will, he constitutes his sole executors; charging them, as they shall answer it before the face of the Almighty, that they punctually, as far as they possibly may, perform and execute the same, &c. Signed, sealed, &c. the day and year above-written; and the Probate is dated on the 13th of December following. G

A L L I X (PETER) a very learned and eminent Divine of the Church of England, though a native of the kingdom of France, and well known in the republick of letters by his numerous, and his excellent writings. He was born some time in the year 1641, at Alençon (*a*), and having received a liberal education, which highly improved his great natural parts; he became minister of the Reformed Church at Rouen, where, before he was thirty-five, he distinguished himself by publishing some very learned and curious pieces [*A*], by which he acquired a great reputation (*b*). It was owing to this that he

(a) *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Tom. V. p. 286.

(b) *Ouvres de Bayle*, Vol. I. p. 273.

[*A*] Some very learned and curious pieces.] At the time our author came abroad into the world, the controversy about the Eucharist was very warm; and the ablest Protestant Divines were employed in writing on that subject. His earliest performance was intitled, *I. Réponse à la Dissertation sur Bertram & Jean Scot, ou Erigene qui est à la fin du premier Tome de la Perpetuité de M. Arnaud. i. e. An answer to a dissertation on Bertram and John Scot, which is at the end of the perpetuity of the faith by Mr Arnaud.* This short treatise of our author, is at the close of John Claude's answer to M. Arnaud's book (1). As for the dissertation, in answer to which it was written, the author of it was, Father Anselm Paris, Canon Regular of St Genevieve (2), who replied to him in another book, intitled, *Créance de l'Eglise Grecque sur la Transubstantiation (3), i. e. The faith of the Greek Church as to Transubstantiation.* To clear up this matter our author published,

(1) Printed at Quevilly, 1670, 8vo.

(2) P. Niceron, *Hom. illustr.* Tom. XXXIV. p. 24.

(3) Printed at Paris, 1672, and again in 1675, 12mo.

II. *Ratramne, ou Bertrand, Prêtre, du Corps, & du Sang du Seigneur.* En Latin, & en François. Rouen.

1672, 12mo. i. e. *Ratramn, or Bertrand, the priest, on the body and blood of our Lord, in Latin and French.* The design of our author in publishing this version, was to shew that Bertrand differed in his sentiments on this subject, from the Church of Rome, as appears by an advertisement prefixed to the book. James Boileau published another translation of this antient author (4), with a long preface, in order to prove his opinions did not deviate at all from those of the Romish Church.

(4) Printed at Paris, 1686, 12mo.

III. *Dissertatio de Trifagii origine Autore P. A. V. D. M. (Petro Allix Verbi Dei Ministro) Rothomagi 1674, 8vo. i. e. A dissertation on the first rise of the trifagium or doxology; by Peter Allix, &c.* The learned Bayle, in an epistle of his, to Dr Theodore Janson, takes notice of this work, ascribes it to our author, and mentions a mistake committed by Maimbourg, in ascribing it to another person (5).

IV. *Dissertatio de Sanguine D. N. I. C. ad Epistolam S. Augustini quâ num adhuc exiit inquiritur, 8vo. i. e. A Dissertation on the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,*

(5) *Ouvres de Bayle*, Vol. IV. p. 166.

was called from Rouen to Charenton, which was the principal church the Reformed had in France, the village in which it stood lying little more than a league from Paris, at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Marne, and whither the most considerable persons in France, of the Protestant religion, constantly resorted (c). We are therefore to consider this removal of our author, as the highest testimony of respect that could be paid him by those of his communion, in the circumstances in which they then were. As he was now in the zenith of preferment, and saw himself in a condition of doing great service to the Church, he applied himself to the task with all imaginable zeal, and preached several most excellent sermons in defence of the faith, against the artful attempts of the Bishop of Meaux, who was then labouring to overturn the reformed religion, by seeming concessions to its professors (d). Some of these sermons were afterwards printed in Holland, and met with deserved commendations from the famous Bayle, who testified a very high esteem for the learning and abilities of their author (e) [B]. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr Allix found himself obliged to quit France, as well as the work of the ministry in that kingdom, and had prepared a most moving and pathetic discourse, which he intended to have delivered as his farewell to his congregation, which however he was obliged to omit, though the sermon was afterwards printed, and deservedly admired (f) [C]. This edict was revoked, and the reformed religion banished France in 1685, on which our author resolved to follow the advice of his friends, and retire into England, which accordingly he did, either in that or the following year. He met here with a most favourable reception; on account of his extensive learning, and more especially his singular knowledge in ecclesiastical history, for which he was particularly esteemed (g). On his first coming, he applied very closely to learning our language, which he attained to a surprizing degree of perfection, as appeared by a book he published in defence of the Christian religion, and which he dedicated to King James

(c) See the article of CHARENTON in Moreri's Dictionary.

(d) See an Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, by Dr Wake. London, 1686, 4to, in the preface.

(e) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. III. p. 431.

(f) Nouvelles Litteraires, Tom. V. p. 287.

(g) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. IV. p. 628.

James

Christ, &c. The precise date of this small treatise does not appear, but that it was much esteemed, reprinted by the learned Crenius; and that he was in some measure mistaken as to its author, we learn from an epistle of Mr Bayle, to that industrious editor on this subject (6).

V. *Dissertatio de Tertulliani vita & scriptis*, 8vo. i. e. *A Dissertation on the life and writings of Tertullian*. There is an abridged translation of this very learned and accurate performance, at the close of the French version of Tertullian's Apologetic, by M. de Giry (7). It was also printed together, with the following dissertation, on the authority of certain councils, by Crenius; as appears from the epistle beforecited.

VI. *Dissertatio de Conciliorum quorumvis definitionibus ad examen revocandis*, 8vo. According to all circumstances, these curious and elegant performances, were all of them sent abroad in 1680, or thereabouts, and must have contributed to raise the author's character exceedingly, by shewing his solid and extensive learning, especially in points of ecclesiastical history, and criticism (8). It may not be amiss to mention another larger work of his in this note, because we cannot otherwise introduce it in proper order of time, though it was not published till after his being called to Charenton.

VII. *Anastasi Sinaitæ anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexahemeron, liber xii. hactenus desideratus, Græcè & Latine ex versione & cum notis Andrea Dacerii. Præmissâ Expositulatiô de S. Joannis Chrysostomi Epistola ad Cesarium à Parisiensibus Theologis nuper suppressa*. Londini 1682, 4to. i. e. *Anastasius his twelfth book of contemplations, on the six days work of the creation; which has been hitherto so much desired, in Greek and Latin, from the version, and with the notes of Andrew Dacer. To which is prefixed, an expositulatory preface, in relation to an epistle of St John Chrysostom to Cesarium, lately suppressed by some Parisian Divines*. This Anastasius was Archbishop of Antioch, about the year 561. The first eleven books of these Contemplations had been long before published

(9), and these were earnestly desired, to render his work complete. The Papists were at that time very assiduous in publishing the Christian Fathers, and the most learned Protestants took care to examine their editions; and to give the world early notice of any attempt to conceal, or to obtrude, under colour of publishing these valuable monuments of antiquity.

[B.] *Learning and ability of their author*. I have not been able to discover when these Sermons of our author were first published, but the second edition of them bore this title.

VIII. *Douze Sermons de P. A. Ministre du S. Evangile sur divers textes*: A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1685, 12mo. i. e. *Twelve Sermons by Peter*

Allix, Minister of the Holy Gospel, upon several Texts. Of these sermons Mr Bayle gives the following account (10). 'I shall only say, in reference to these discourses, that they turn all of them on matters of great importance; and that in the first four, the author labours to establish the true principles on which an answer can be grounded, to the *Pastoral Advertisment*, addressed to those of the Religion by the Clergy of France, in 1682. It is with this view, that it is shewn with great force of argument, that every man is obliged to examine attentively, the doctrine taught him by his Pastors, and to reject whatever appears to him false. In them, the words, *Thou art Peter; and upon this Rock*, &c. are explained with wonderful perspicuity, and are set in very new and singular lights. In them also we find explained, the promise made by JESUS CHRIST to his disciples, that he would send them a spirit, *that should conduct them in all truth*, and it is shewn that this does not prove the Church should be infallible. The nature of the Church is treated in the eleventh sermon, and one may venture to say, that it is one of the most important places in the book. One may also without hazard assert, that the sermons on the Descent of Christ into Hell, on the Sin against the Holy Ghost, on the Miseries of final Impenitence, on the taking away the Cup, on the Incarnation of the Word, &c. contain a thousand beautiful passages, equally strong in sentiment, and delicate in their turn and expression.' Such an eulogium from such a writer, is sufficient to establish the character of any author, above the reach of minor critics.

[C.] *Afterwards printed, and deservedly admired*.] Before the publication of this sermon, appeared another small work of his, viz.

IX. *Les Maximes du vrai Chrétien*, i. e. *The maxims of a good Christian*. This was joined to another treatise, intitled, *Bonnes & saintes pensees pour tous les jours du mois*. Amsterdam 1687, i. e. *Good and holy thoughts, for all the days in the month*. He was before this time, withdrawn from France, and therefore at liberty to send into the world in print, what, without danger to himself, and to his congregation, he could not have delivered at Charenton. This work was intitled,

X. *L'Adieu de Saint Paul aux Ephesiens, Sermon sur les Versets 26, 27, 28, du xx Chapitre des Actes* (11). Amsterdam 1688, 12mo. i. e. *St Paul's farewell to the Ephesians, a sermon upon Acts xx. 26, 27, 28*. In this, he represents the necessity of supporting temporal and spiritual afflictions with patience and resignation, and the duty of professing the Faith, and adhering to it with constancy, in perillous as well as peaceable times.

(10) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. III. p. 431, 432.

(11) P. Nicéron, Mémoires des Hommes illustres Tom. XXXIV, p. 27.

(6) Ibid. p. 774.

(7) Published at Amsterdam, 1701, 12mo.

(8) At least the learned Du Pin places them under 1680.

(9) Biblioth. Patr. Tom. IX. p. 857.

(b) The title of this book was, *Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures*. &c. London, 1686.

(f) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 186.

(k) *Nouvelles Littéraires*, ubi. sup.

(l) See an account of these Works in note [E].

James II in very respectful terms, acknowledging at the same time, not only his personal obligations to that Prince (b), but also his kindness and charity to the distressed refugees in general, which is a very singular and remarkable piece of history [D]. He was very soon complemented here with the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in 1690, he had the treasurer-ship of the church of Salisbury (i) given him, but I do not find that he was ever Canon of Windsor, as is asserted in some foreign memoirs. It was proposed that he should have published here an authentick History of the Councils, for which laborious and important work, unquestionably there never was any man better qualified, but by some accidents intervening, and for want of encouragement, this great and useful undertaking miscarried (k). He wrote and published however several treatises relating to ecclesiastical history, equally learned and entertaining, which were wonderfully well timed, and very useful to the Protestant cause, which was then attacked by the arts of Romish Priests, as well as by the arms of Popish Princes. These pieces were remarkably well received, and Dr Allix became in as great credit here, as ever he had been in France (l), for his ingenious and solid defences of the reformed religion, from reason and authority, from the practice of early ages [E], as well the precepts of the Gospel. In the year 1699, he wrote

[D] *A very singular, and remarkable piece of history.* The title of this book, in the second edition, ran thus.

XI. *Reflections upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion.* In Two Volumes, London 1688. This treatise we find licensed for the press by Dr H. Maurice, Chaplain to Dr William Sancroft, then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, January 12, 1687-8. There is a large extract from the first edition of the first volume of this work, and a good character given of it in a Litterary Journal published jointly by Messieurs Le Clerc and La Croze (12). But the whole was completely published in English, on account of the countenance the author met with from King James, to whom he wrote the following dedication, which however is missing in some copies.

(12) *Bibliothèque Universelle & Historique*, Tom. V. p. 305.

To the KING.

Great Sir,

THE gracious acceptance which your Majesty was pleased to allow the first volume of my reflections upon the Holy Scriptures, to establish the truth of the Christian religion, encouraged, and almost necessitated me to the further presumption of laying these two volumes at this time at your Majesty's feet. Your Majesty did me the honour to say, *That you were pleased to see Divines apply themselves to the clearing of subjects so important.* And after this judgment given by so great a Prince, which is so evident a demonstration of your zeal, for the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, it had been unpardonable in me, not to have gone on with the work; and I had reason then to consecrate it wholly to your Majesty, who, I was assured, would approve of my intentions, and for that reason would pardon the imperfections of the performance. As your Majesty continues still to give such illustrious instances of your clemency, and royal protection, to those of our nation, so I confess, Sir, I thought myself under an obligation to lay hold upon this opportunity of publishing what all those, who find so sure a protection in your Majesty's dominions, feel and think as much as myself upon these new testimonies of your royal bounty. When your Majesty had taken us into your particular care, and had granted us several privileges, and so made us sharers in all the advantages, which those who live under your government enjoy; your Majesty did yet something more, and inspired all your subjects with the same compassion toward us, with which your royal breast was already touched. You saw our miseries, and resolved to give us ease; and this generous design was executed, and your royal clemency diffused in the hearts of all your subjects. The whole world, Sir, which has received upon all it's coasts, some remainders of our shipwreck, is filled with admiration of the unexampled effects of your Majesty's clemency. There is no place so barbarous, where the renown of that mercy, which has been so gloriously extended towards us, has not been carried; and the remembrance will be ever dear to the remotest ages of posterity. We must, Sir, be wholly insensible, if we had not all of us the highest sense of so great a bounty; and we should justly appear to

the whole world, to be unworthy of this your Majesty's paternal care; if notwithstanding that low condition, to which we are now reduced, we should not prostrate ourselves before your august throne, with the humblest demonstrations of thankfulness. When God showers down the greatest blessings upon mankind, he requires this just tribute, which is also their greatest honour, by opening to them an access unto the throne of glory. And this sacred pattern we crave leave to follow, when we solemnly pay the like tribute to your Majesty, who can receive nothing from us again, that can answer the greatness, or the number of those favours, which have so very much exceeded all our desires. I could wish, Sir, that this work which I now present to your Majesty, might be so happy as to pass to posterity with this character of our acknowledgment; and that it might stand as a faithful record for ever, to perpetuate the memory of that lively sense of your bounty, which is imprinted on all our hearts. If this could be hoped for, it must be wholly owing to your Majesty's glorious name, which latest ages will receive with reverence. But, Sir, though I dare not hope that these reflections can obtain that honour, yet our age at least may see, that they bear these publick marks of gratitude for all your Majesty's royal favours. This, Sir, is my whole aim, in the dedication of this work to your Majesty; and may your sacred Majesty be pleased to approve of these poor testimonies of our thankfulness in general, and to look upon them as instances of mine in particular; and of that profound respect, with which I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

London, May
7, 1688.

and obedient subject and servant,

P. A L L I X.

[E] *From the practice of early ages.* It appears plainly, that soon after Dr Allix's coming over to England, he was acknowledged both here and abroad, for the most learned and accurate writer in defence of the Protestant religion, that his country had produced; of which abundant proofs might be given, if the testimony of Bayle, and the authorities cited in the last note (where we report the elogia bestowed on him) were not more than sufficient. But the particular manner in which he galled the Roman Church, was by attacking her with her own weapons, and proving that, while she treated others so freely with the opprobrious name of Hereticks; she had herself invented new articles of faith (13). In support of this charge, he published the following treatise that had been sent him from Paris.

XII. *Determinatio F. Joannis Parisiensis de modo, existendi Corpus Christi in Sacramento Altaris, alio quam fit ille quem tenet Ecclesia.* Nunc primum edita ex M. S. Cod. S. Victoris Parisiensis; cui prefixa est Præfatio Historica de Dogmate Transubstantiationis. Londini 1686, 8vo. i. e. *The determination of brother John Paris, Jacobin, as to the mode of our Lord's Body, existing in the sacrament of the altar; different from that, held by the Church. Now first printed from a MS. at St Victor's in Paris; to*

(13) *Nouvelles de Republique des Lettrés*, Vol. VI. p. 1226.

wrote a very learned book in defence of the Trinity, which had very considerable effects, and has been always looked upon as a piece of great value in respect to Hebrew literature [F]. He wrote besides the works already mentioned, several other learned and

which is prefixed, an historical preface, as to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. This historical preface, is entirely the work of our author, in which he incontestably proves, that this point of Christ's presence in the sacrament, was quite unsettled in the earliest ages of the Christian Church, and never considered as an article of faith, even in the Church of Rome, till declared so, for particular reasons, by the council of Trent (14).

XIII. *Some remarks upon the ecclesiastical History of the Antient Churches of Piedmont*, by P. Allix, D. D. London 1690. 4to. This treatise was licensed for the press, September 23, 1689. by Dr Z. Ilham, Chaplain to Dr Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London. Our author dedicates this work to King William, and pays him very high compliments on his zeal for the Protestant Religion; to support and defend which, he tells him, God had raised his majesty up in that critical conjuncture. The design of this very learned and accurate performance, was to refute what the Bishop of Meaux had advanced on this subject, in his famous book, intitled, *The History of the Variations of the Protestants in Matters of Faith* (15). A book that did then, and has since, done more hurt to the Protestants, than any thing else that has been published on that side. The aim of our author in this admirable performance (which contains twenty eight chapters) was to shew the true state of the case, with respect to the succession of doctrines, in several parts of Italy, but more especially in the vallies of Piedmont from the second century; which with great labour and industry he collected, and with laudable candour and ingenuity, has published to the world, by which it plainly appears, that he did not intend to amuse them with an affected display of learning, but to vindicate the truth, by setting the History of these Churches in it's proper light. It was by doing this, that he has fully proved the Romish Prelate's book can affect none, but such as do not inquire into the truth of the facts he reports; and proves farther, that all inquiries of this nature, are injurious to the Popish cause, in as much as they tend to render it evident, that the errors and power of the Romish Church, had in all ages, contrary to what they would persuade the world, been detected and opposed. It was in prosecution of the same view, and to continue what he had so happily begun, that he sent abroad,

XIV. *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Antient Churches of the Albigenes*. By Peter Allix, D. D. *Treasurer of the Church of Sarum*, London 1692. 4to. This treatise the Author dedicated to the Queen, i. e. to Queen Mary, daughter to his first patron King James; and in that dedication, he lays open the design of this treatise, and the reasons of his submitting it to her majesty's view, very fairly and freely. In the book itself, there is all the good sense and sound learning, that the severest critick could expect upon the subject. In it he very strenuously and judiciously defends the Albigenes from the charges of heresy and schism, which the bishop of Meaux had brought against them, and with great force retorts upon him his own arguments; by shewing, that a constant and vigorous opposition of the power of the Church of Rome, founded not only on a disavowal of her authority, but on a difference from her also in opinion, is far from proving either heresy or schism in the opponents, but rather shews persecution on one side, and a great zeal for truth on the other. He examines likewise, in the course of his remarks, abundance of curious and important questions, with much freedom, learning, and impartiality, traces the progress of the sentiments maintained by the Albigenes into Spain, and discovers how far, and in what degree, the same notions were diffused here in England, by the famous Wickliff and his disciples. By way of appendix, there are added to this work, an extract of several trials of pretended hereticks, taken from the Register of Sarum; which serve to confirm the facts laid down in the discourse itself, as to the conformity of the religious sentiments of the Albigenes, with those of the Lollards; a kind of reproachful term bestowed on the Wickliffites here, as Hugonot was on the professors of the Protestant Religion in France.

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[F] *A piece of great value in respect to Hebrew literature.* Our learned author having already distinguished himself by his excellent treatises, in support of the Christian Religion in general, and of the Protestant Religion in particular; now thought it highly requisite to draw his pen in vindication of the Holy Trinity, against the Unitarians, which he did in that very learned work, of which we propose to give an account in this note.

XV. *The Judgment of the Antient Jewish Church, against the Unitarians in the Controversy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour: With a Table of Matters and a Table of Texts of Scripture occasionally explained.* By a Divine of the Church of England, London 1689. 8vo. In order to understand clearly, the nature and design of this work, it is requisite to observe, that the Unitarians, in answer to Bishop Bull's excellent vindication, had published several treatises, in which they asserted that Justin Martyr, who lived 140 years after Christ, was the original author of the notion of our Saviour's divinity, and consequence of the Trinity. To establish this paradox, they maintained, I. That since the Jews had asserted the Messiah to be no more than man, as appears from the dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew, it must necessarily follow, that all the Jewish authors, cited by Dr Bull, against the opinion of the Socinians, must have lived after the publication of the gospel. II. That the books of the Jews, which he cites against the Socinians, are the pious frauds of some Christians, who have lived since Justin Martyr; and this is believed to be particularly true of the books of Philo the Jew, and of that of Wisdom. III. That the Jews could not speak of the Trinity, or of the Divinity of the Messiah, because they knew nothing of either; and therefore we must necessarily suppose, that whatever is found in their works, and which seems to favour these doctrines, must have been inserted by Christians, who lived after the time of Justin Martyr. IV. In fine, that if after all there be any thing, either in the Scripture, or in the writings of the antient Jews, conformable to these doctrines, it very probably proceeded from the Platonicks, from whose writings the Jews and Christians borrowed many notions, which they mingled with the doctrines of the gospel, in order to render them more acceptable to the Pagans. The great design therefore of our author's book is, to refute these assertions; and not only so, but to examine the matter to the bottom, and to prove that the antient Jewish Church had, with respect to the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Messiah, the very same ideas at the bottom, that the Christian Church hath at this day, only less clear and less exact. This was a great undertaking, and required a most extensive knowledge in Greek and Hebrew literature, which every body must allow our author has shewn, and managed this whole controversy with equal perspicuity and erudition (16). It seems he had before written in support of Bishop Bull, but without putting his name to the treatise, and therefore I have not been able to discover it's title.

These treatises created the doctor a great many enemies, and amongst the most furious, Mr Stephen Nye, rector of Hormhead, who wrote an answer, in which, amongst other things, he says what follows (17). 'If I have not here answered with all the respect and tenderness that I would, the doctor is to thank himself for it, as having given a provocation that could not be dissembled. He has now written two books, one after another, professedly against Mr N. imputing to him several books, that were written not by Mr N. but by Mr S. and some others I could name, as has been all along known to several gentlemen, and to some bookfellers; and at the time that Dr A. published the *Judgment*, it was so commonly known, that his forwardness and rashness in libelling and delating Mr N. to the whole nation, and to his superiors, as the undoubted author of them, admits no excuse. Of so many, eminent for learning and dignity, as have written against those books; though without doubt they had heard the cackle of report, concerning Mr N. and other reputed authors of Mr *Firmin's* prints, as well as Dr A. yet in their answers, none of them charged those books on

I i

(14) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Vol. VI. p. 1417.

(15) This Treatise was penned to facilitate the Design of Lewis XIV, to oblige all his subjects to be, or seem to be, of one faith.

(16) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* par Bernard, Vol. II. p. 518.

(17) *Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, &c. p. 164.

and ingenious treatises on curious and important subjects, so that he was for upwards of thirty years, an active as well as illustrious member of the Republick of Letters, and a very able, as well as affectionate defender of the established Church. Some of these pieces exposed him to very severe censures, and amongst the rest from Mr Bayle (*m*), who had formerly complimented him so highly, but considering the subject, and the impossibility of writing about it with certainty, our author's mistakes ought not to have drawn upon him any severe usage, or contemptuous language [G]. One would have

(*m*) See article of BRAUNBOM (FREDERICK) in his Critical Dictionary. Note [C].

* Mr N. or the other supposed writers, *save only this stranger*; who of a *Refugee* for religion, was not ashamed to turn *Informers*. He that will take on him the infamous character of an *Informers*, is ready without doubt to go much farther, if circumstances and opportunity invite him. Every body knows what *Name* is intended by Mr N. Should not an advised and an honest man have first enquired, whether there be not more persons of that name; that if perhaps there be, he might avoid doing wrong to innocent persons, by an indefinite, uncertain signification, what particular person he meant? When those books to which Dr A. points were written, there were no fewer than three Mr N's clergymen, all of them beneficed within forty miles of London, and two of them acquaintances of Mr *Firmin*. The Informant therefore should have some way notified, which of the Mr N's he intended to accuse, and wished to see a publick sacrifice. I can tell him, there are divers witnesses among the Socinians themselves, that will at any time assure Dr A. or any other, that neither of the Mr N's, friends of Mr *Firmin*, were ever in the sentiments of *Socinus*. Though it be true also, that they disapproved, and opposed the Tritheism of some modern writers, that contended for a Trinity of distinct (infinite) *Beings, Minds, and Spirits*, which might bring on them the imputation of Socinianism, with a great number of other foolish calumnies, from their adversaries, or from the Tritheistic party.

But when such an imputation or report was up: I pray how, would it recommend the books of Dr A. to tell every body (or the whole nation) that they are written against Mr N. more than if he had said, they are written against some anonymous pamphlets, that are gotten into too much credit and reputation?

I have heard it confidently reported, that Dr A. himself, is author of one of Mr *Firmin's* principal books: *The Defence of the brief History of the Unitarians*: and some gentlemen of his nation (Refugees also for religion) say, Dr A. was always reputed a *Sabellian*. I believed both these reports, and so did many others: he has convinced me by the *Judgment*, it was a slander, or at best a mistake; for he is a Tritheist. It will be a new warning to me, and ought to be to him, not to publish flying reports, for certain News; especially to a whole nation, and to the possible prejudice of persons who never wronged me.

[G] *Any severe, or contemptuous language.*] In this note, we propose to give a succinct account of the remaining pieces published by our author, in their natural order, which will afford us ample opportunity of explaining, proving, and justifying, what has been already delivered in the text, and particularly, allow us occasion to shew how he came to lose in some measure, the good graces of Mr Bayle, though there never happened any open breach between them.

XVI. De Messia duplici adventu Dissertationes duæ adversus Judæos. Londini 1701, 12mo. *i. e.* Of the two Advents of the MESSIAH, in as many Dissertations against the Jews. It was this treatise, that hurt the author with many people, on account of some extraordinary things that are advanced in it. He had, for example, mentioned some computations, according to which, the second coming of Christ was fixed to the year 1720, or to 1736, at the latest: in this, no doubt, he was mistaken, and deceived, but what then? Can it be truly asserted, that other learned men never err in their speculations; or, if they do, is he bound to be more perfect, or exact? If mens failings in computations draw any imputation on the principles of science, it may be doubtful, whether there be any certainty in the world? But in regard to our author, the apology for him, is soon made. He did not pretend to prophecy, or revelation, he did not set up for new

lights, or supernatural gifts, but proceeding on such grounds, as had been thought sure by some as great men as ever this church, or nation bred; he was so unlucky, to apply their principles wrong, or mistook for principles, what in reality were no more than conjectures, by which he came to advance, as things probable, what, in effect, experience has proved false. But does this small fault affect his other learning? Must we ruin the fair structure of his reputation, after all the pains he took to raise it, because one stone is misplaced? Shall we suppose he knew nothing, because he did not know when the day of judgment was to come? No surely, this would be too hard measure. Let us admit he had weaknesses, but let us still be just to his known merits, and grateful for the service he has done us in his other learned works.

The true cause why Bayle expressed some contempt on the subject of this treatise, was, his being engaged in a dispute with M. Jurieu, who doubtless had used him very ill, and deserved all the severity he met with from him. This M. Jurieu, had set up for an expounder of prophecy, and even for a kind of Prophet, in which he notoriously failed. It was impossible for such an adversary as Bayle, to overlook an opportunity like this of triumph, and it was as impossible for him to use it, without involving more or less, all, who by giving that turn to their studies, seemed in any degree to countenance Jurieu. It was this that engaged him to write the article of Frederick Braunbom, a German Enthusiast, in order to have an opportunity of falling on Jurieu, and to avoid the glare of personal reflection, on almost all such as had written on like subjects. Upon this occasion he brings in our author, notwithstanding Jurieu's want of success, says he, *Dr Allix has taken the field, to assure us, that Antichrist will be extinct in 1716, in 1720, or, at the latest, in 1736 (18)*. But to proceed with the catalogue of our author's writings.

(18) Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. II. p. 125.

XVII. Preface and Arguments on the Psalms. This was written in English, and the author of a critical Journal (19), tells us, our authors found them to abound with prophecies, and disapproved extremely such as admitted two senses, or what is called a double completion.

(19) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. VI, p. 668.

XVIII. Nestarii Patriarchæ Hierosolymitani Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Ecclesiam. Londini. 1702, 8vo. *i. e.* Nestarius Patriarch of Jerusalem, his Confutation of the Pope's Authority in the Church. This was a translation made by our author into Latin, from the Greek original printed in 1672, in Moldavia, it was a pretty large octavo, and contained abundance of curious facts, more especially as to the claim made by both Churches, to the proof of their Orthodoxy by miracles, which it is on both sides supposed, God will never work in favour of any but the true Church (20).

(20) Ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 113.

XIX. Augusti Hermanni Francke Manuductio ad Lectiorem Scripturæ Sacræ edita studio P. Allix. Londini 1706, 8vo. *i. e.* Augustus Herman Francke's Introduction to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, published by Dr Allix. Our author only wrote a short preparatory recommendation to this book, in order to make it known here in England, and to certify it's usefulness and worth.

XX. Dissertatio de Jesu Christi Domini nostri anno & Mense Natali. Londini 1707 & 1710, 8vo. *i. e.* A Dissertation on the Year and Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

XXI. The Prophecies which Mr Whiston applies to the Times immediately following the Appearance of the Messiah, considered and examined. London, 1707, 8vo.

XXII. Preparations a la Cene, 8vo. *i. e.* Preparations for the Lord's Supper. This practical piece was often printed at Geneva, and is very justly commended as a very excellent performance in it's kind.

[H] Many

have imagined that these curious and laborious works, would at least have done honour to the orthodoxy of their author, and have secured him from the opprobrious imputation of Herefy, but the fact is quite otherwise, for a vehement English writer charges him with Tritheism (n), and a collection of lives lately published abroad, leaves his memory under the reproach of Socinianism, than which, without question, there never was a charge more groundless or incredible (o). Our learned author however, continued steady and fixed to his principles, and was so well known to be a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Church of England on that subject, that the famous Mr Whiston thought proper to consult him, when he first proposed writing in support of his own opinions, as appears by what himself delivers on this subject, in one of his most remarkable pieces (p). But our author conceiving this account of that conversation somewhat disingenuous, thought it requisite to give himself a short relation of that affair, to which he adds many things equally curious and important (q) [H]. He enjoyed a very uncommon share of health and spirits, as appears by his latest writings, in which there is not only all the erudition, but all the quickness and vivacity that appeared in his earliest pieces. Those who knew him found the same pleasure in his conversation, that the learned will always find in his productions, for with a prodigious share of learning, he had a wonderful liveliness of temper, and expressed himself on the dryest subjects with so much sprightliness, and in a manner so out of the common road, that it was impossible to flag or lose one's attention, to what was the subject of his discourse. He was consulted by the greatest men of his age, on the deepest and most intricate parts of learning, and was acknowledged for a genius of the first order, by those whom the world have esteemed, not only the most capable but the most unbiassed critics (s) [I]. It was not any single

(n) The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity, &c. by Stephen Nye, Rector of Horstead, 8vo, 1701. p. 166.

(o) See his article in Moreri's Dictionary, edit. 1740. Vol. 1. p. 316.

(p) Historical Preface, p. 8.

(q) Remarks upon some places of Mr Whiston's Books, by P. Allix, D. D. 8vo, 1711, p. 5.

(s) See the Testimonies cited from Bayle, Le Clerc, &c. in the notes.

[H] Many things equally curious and important.] This little treatise of our author, which is now become extremely scarce, bears the following title: XXIII. *Remarks upon some places of Mr Whiston's books, either printed or in manuscript.* By P. Allix, D. D. Lond. 1711, 8vo. The account he gives us of his conversation with Mr Whiston is very particular, and very worthy of the reader's notice; and therefore, as well as in regard to the scarceness of this tract, which is but a pamphlet, I will give the whole passage in the author's own words, esteeming it a very entertaining part of his personal history. (*) The late Dr Payne, as Mr Whiston faith, (for I think they both joined in the question) having asked me, Whether the Holy Spirit was addressed to in the publick prayers of the primitive Church? I answered, that if they had ever read the works of St Basil the Great, they would have found a satisfactory answer to their question; for that he had writ a large discourse on that very subject, in which, he not only supposes, that all their publick prayers were directed to the Father by the intercession of the Son in the holy Spirit; but proves likewise, that the Deity of the Spirit, was generally supposed by the Church, in that form, though it was not formally directed to him alone. I advised him to read that piece of St Basil, who had a natural occasion of examining this matter, by the complaint which was made against him; that in the Doxology he used indifferently, these words: *Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and in, or with, the Holy Ghost.* And indeed, St Basil writing near fifty years after the rise of Arianism (which gave the hint to Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and to do all he could to support his herefy) had solidly defended the sense of the primitive Church, in all times, and places, concerning the Deity of the holy Spirit; and confuted all the arguments of the Macedonians. This is the substance of that conversation; and, I am sure, the Divines, and Ministers, who were there, and then present, little thought, I had therein given any occasion for such a charge as Mr Whiston has now, at the distance of twelve or thirteen years, publicly brought against me. He has given me indeed, the title of *The very learned Doctor*, &c. But, as he doubtless has his reasons for what he does, I suppose, he might design at the same time, that it should serve for the justification of himself. *Timeo Danaos & Danae ferentes.* Some months ago, one of Mr Whiston's friends told me, he had heard from Mr Whiston, such an account of that conversation, as he has since printed. I then told the gentleman the whole truth of the matter, and what then passed between us: but I thought it of so little importance, that tho' Mr Whiston came afterwards to visit me, in company with some friends of his, I did not think it necessary to take any notice of it, after the ex-

planation I had given his friends, and which in all probability came to his ears; especially, since I could not have done it, without blaming him for his incivility, in making his own use of what I had said, by changing the state of the question, and supposing a part of my answer: an incivility so much the greater, because I had referred them to St Basil's book, de *spiritu Sancto*, for an account of my sentiments about the question they proposed. I have had several opportunities of conversing with Mr Whiston, and I am satisfied he never looked upon me, as one who inclined in the least to his opinions. I thought him a studious man, and had a respect for him as such; and he will do me the justice to acknowledge, that I always spoke my mind to him very freely and sincerely; but that I never approved of the liberties he took, which indeed were more than could be well born with.

[I] Not only the most capable, but the most unbiassed critics.] One need scarce either consult or quote on this occasion any other than M. Bayle, who in all his pieces publick and private, does him the utmost justice, and applauds his learning, candour, and abilities, with a zeal, that evidently proves his commendations were sincere, and proceeded entirely from the warmth of his heart. I may I think take the liberty of observing, that Bayle and he were in opposite sentiments in regard to very many, or perhaps to most things, so that his applauding him was purely out of love to truth, and from that strict regard to justice, which is incident to men of true science. An accident happened in the beginning of our author's reputation, which afforded sufficient testimonies of the esteem and regard shewn towards him by other learned men. In the year 1683; came out at Amsterdam, a book with the following title, *L'Ouverture de l'Épître de St Paul au Romains par l'explication du vers et 27 du chap. iii. & un Lettre en forme de Traité touchant la justification & la lecture des Peres, 12mo.* i. e. *An Opening of the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans, by the Explanation of chap. iii. 27, of that Epistle, together with a Letter in form of a Tract, on Justification and the reading of the Fathers.* Mr Bayle, it seems, had been informed that Mr Allix handed it to the press, on which he inadvertently mentioned him as it's author. But the book giving great offence, Mr le Clerc wrote to Mr Bayle on the subject, who in his answer gives the highest character of our author, confesses his mistake, and owns the work to have fallen from the pen of M. le Cene (21). In another letter to the celebrated Mr Lefant he says the same thing (22); which shews how uneasy those learned men were, for fear any imputation should light on a character hitherto unspotted. Mr Bernard in his Litterary Journal, speaks very respectfully of Dr Allix; so does M. le Clerc in some pieces of the like kind, and so also does the learned Abbé Houtteville, in his copious discourse on such as have defended the Christian

(*) See the Pamphlet beforementioned, p. 4, 5, 6.

(21) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. III. p. 617.

(22) Ibid. p. 621.

branch of literature, or a few related to each other, that could occupy his thoughts, but the whole circle of sciences which fall under the cognizance of a general scholar, and found divine. All these he had not only tasted but digested, as appears by his excellence in different, and almost opposite studies. His sermons shew him to have been an admirable orator, and at the same time a profound scholar. The several antient authors he published testify his skill in criticism, and his perfect acquaintance with antiquity. His treatises on ecclesiastical history, discover a prodigious fund of reading, an exact comprehension of his subject, and his sincere zeal for the Protestant religion. He laboured also to serve it by the tracts he rescued from dust and oblivion, to shew (as they effectually did) that the charge of novelty on which the Papists insisted so loudly, was not barely unreasonable, but at the same time groundless. His thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, with whatever depends thereupon in Greek and other languages, was displayed in his laborious performance in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which his sincerity is as conspicuous as his learning. If in the prosecution of these deep and recondite studies, he somewhat mistook his way, and erred a little in his computations, it was no more than had befallen the greatest men who have travelled this road before him, particularly Joseph Mede, and Bishop Lloyd, neither have these examples convinced other ornaments of the commonwealth of letters that the roads are impassable, since the very learned Dean Prideaux, and the indefatigable Sir Isaac Newton, have devoted many of their hours to like inquiries. Our author continued his application to the last, and having spun out the thread to an extraordinary extent, died at London, February 21, 1717, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of a man, equally assiduous in the right discharge of all the offices of publick and private life, and every way as amiable for his virtues and social qualities, as venerable from his uprightnes and integrity, and famous for his various and profound learning.

(23) Discours Historique & Critique sur la Methode des principaux Auteurs qui ont

Christian Religion (23). It would be no difficult thing to add to these many more instances of the same

nature, but that it seems to so little purpose, since the world will always see enough in his writings, to justify his learning, prudence, and application. E

A L M A R U S, E L M A R U S, E L M E R U S, Æ L M E R U S, was Abbot of the monastery of St Austin at Canterbury, at the time when Ælfegus, or as he is commonly called Alphage, the Archbishop was barbarously murdered by the Danes, in the year 1011 (a). At this time, our historians report the city to have been betrayed, by one Elmerus an Archdeacon (b). As for our Almerus, the Danes suffered him to go at liberty, and in the year 1022, being according to the Saxon Chronicle, the sixth of King Canutus's reign, Almerus became Bishop of Sherburn (c) [A] in Dorsetshire, which bishoprick was afterwards transferred to Salisbury. Godwin hath his name in his account of the Bishops of that see, but he tells us, that besides his name he knew nothing concerning him (d), which is highly probable, for he makes him to have sat there, in 1009, and cites no authority in support of that date. Elmerus it seems did not incline either to leave his abbey, or to become a Bishop; however, he prevailed upon at last to take upon him that dignity, and when he had so done, he discharged it with great constancy and vigour, till such time as it pleased God to render him quite blind. Upon this he resigned his bishoprick, much more readily than he had accepted it, and returning back again to his abbey, lived there in a cell in the infirmary, in great innocency and devotion to his last hour (e). There is one thing very remarkable related of him, and it is this, One day as the boy who attended him was bringing him his dinner, a kite came suddenly down, and carried away the victuals in it's talons. The boy amazed at so odd and so unexpected an accident, first told Almerus, and then went back to the kitchen for more meat. Almerus resolved within himself not to eat flesh, unless the kite brought back the flesh it had taken, supposing that this was a sign of it's being unlawful. The boy who knew nothing of this, was surprized a second time; for, before before he got to the kitchen door, the kite stooping again, dropped the victuals into his platter; he returning, reported the thing to Almerus, who giving thanks to God, sat down to his dinner without scruple. When he came to die, he directed that he should be buried, not as a Bishop, but as a Monk, which was accordingly done (f). He was interred in the church of the monastery, before the altar of St John, and his memory held in great veneration, though our author tells us, that without the authority of the Holy See, they could not pay their devoirs to him as a saint (g).

[A] *Almarus became Bishop of Sherburn.*] The great Patron of this Bishop was King Canutus, who though in his father's life-time, and even some years afterwards, he was fierce and cruel towards the English; yet when he was seated on the throne, and established by force of arms, he endeavoured to gain the people's affections by a milder and more moderate behaviour. Inasmuch, as the cruel slaughter made at Canterbury, and especially the martyrdom of Archbishop Alphage, had rendered the Danes odious; Canutus thought proper not only to translate the body of the martyr, with all imaginable respect and magnificence, which he performed eleven years after his death (1), but also took the Monks at Canterbury under his special protection, which accounts for his extraordinary kindness to our Bishop

Almar. This parade of piety, however it might deceive the people of that age, is, not without cause, treated as downright hypocrisy by later historians; who by comparing the actions of this Prince, have discovered most of his politick contrivances were glossed with such sanctified pretences; in spite of which, he remained ambitious and rapacious to the last (2). It should seem that our Bishop had not very different thoughts, since he so unwillingly accepted so great a dignity, and so readily resigned it, when his infirmity gave him an opportunity of so doing (3). His humility and greatness of soul, ought to commend his name to posterity, as a pious and worthy man, which is full as much to his honour, as if he had been a Romish Saint. E

(2) See Milton, &c.

(3) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(a) Chron. Sax. p. 147. Sim. Dunelm. Hist. apud X. Scriptor. p. 168.

(b) Chron. Sax. ubi supra. Act. Pontif. Cant. autor. Gervais, ap. X. Script. p. 1649.

(c) Chron. W. Thorn. ap. X. Script. p. 1782.

(d) De Præful. edit. 1626, 4to, p. 386.

(e) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(f) Ibid. & Chronol. Augustin. Cant. ad A. D. 1022.

(g) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(1) Oßern. Hist. de Translat. Corp. S. Elphegi ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacra. Vol. II. p. 143.

ALPHERY (ΜΙΚΕΡΗΡ) born in Russia, and of the imperial line (a). When that country was torn to pieces by intestine quarrels, in the latter end of the XVIth century, and the royal house particularly was so severely persecuted by impostors (b), this gentleman and his two brothers were sent over to England, and recommended to the care of Mr Joseph Bidell, a Russia merchant. This gentleman, when they were of age fit for the university, sent them all three to Oxford, where the small-pox unhappily prevailing, two of them died thereof. We know not whether this surviving brother took any degrees or not, but it is very probable he did, since he entered into holy orders, and, in the year 1618 (c), had the rectory of Wooley in Huntingdonshire, a living of no very considerable value, being rated at under ten pounds in the King's books (d). Here he did his duty with great cheerfulness and alacrity, and notwithstanding he was twice invited back to his native country, by some who would have ventured their utmost to have set him on the throne of his ancestors; yet he chose rather to remain with his flock, and to serve God in the humble station of a parish Priest. Yet in 1643, he underwent the severest trials from the rage of the Phanaticks, who not satisfied with depriving him of his living, insulted him in the most barbarous manner. For having procured a file of musqueteers to pull him out of his pulpit, as he was preaching on a Sunday, they turned his wife and small children out into the street, into which also they threw his goods. The poor man in this distress, raised him a tent under some trees in the church-yard, over-against his house, where he and his family lived for a week. One day having got a few eggs, he picked up some rotten wood and dry sticks, and with these made a fire in the church porch in order to boil them, but some of his adversaries, to show how far they could carry their rage against the Church, for this poor man was so harmless they could have none against him, came and kicked about his fire, threw down his skillet, and broke his eggs (e). After this having still a little money, he made a small purchase in that neighbourhood, built him a house, and lived there some years. He was encouraged to this by a Presbyterian Minister who came in his room, who honestly paid him the fifth part of the annual income of the living, which was the allowance made by parliament to ejected ministers, treated him with great humanity, and did him all the services in his power. It is a great misfortune, that this gentleman's name is not preserved, his conduct in this respect being the more laudable, because it was not a little singular. Afterwards, probably on the death or removal of this gentleman, Mr Alphony left Huntingdonshire, and came and resided at Hammersmith, till the Restoration put him in possession of his living again. He returned on this occasion to Huntingdonshire, where he did not stay long, for being upwards of eighty, and withal very infirm, he could not perform the duties of his function. Having therefore settled a curate, he retired to his eldest son's house at Hammersmith, where shortly after he died, full of years and of honour (f). It must be owned that this article is very imperfect, but the singularity of a Russian Emperor's being a country minister in England, will, we hope, atone for those deficiencies, which it was not in our power to prevent. E

(a) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. P. 133.

(b) Introduction à l'Histoire D'Europe par Puffendorf, Vol. IV. p. 411. edit. 1732, 12mo.

(c) Walker's Sufferings, ubi supra.

(d) Liber Valor: & Decim. edit. 1728. p. 179.

(e) From a Lettre written by the Rev. Mr Peter Phelps Minister of Wooley to Mr Clavel.

(f) From Mr Phelps's farther account of Mr Alphony, delivered at a Visitation.

ALREDUS, ALFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, of Beverley, an antient English historian; he is said to have had his education in the university of Cambridge, where he acquired not only great skill in divinity, but became also an able philosopher, and a good historian (a). He returned afterwards into his own country of Yorkshire, where he became a secular Priest, one of the Canons, and Treasurer of the church dedicated to St John of Beverley (b). Bale, and after him, Pits, positively affirm, that he flourished under King Stephen, and that he continued his Annals to the year 1136 (c). Vossius, though a foreigner, comes nearer the truth, he tells us that he flourished in the reign of Henry I, and that he died in the year 1126, in which year also according to him, he ended his Annals (d). The history he wrote however agrees with none of these, it ends in the twenty-ninth of Henry I, and consequently he died in all probability, in the year 1128, or 1129 (e). He was, as we may gather from the preface to his work, a man devoted to his studies, and rather in narrow circumstances than rich. He intended at first no more than an abridgment of the British history, that is, the history of the antient Britons, which was at that time much talked of, and some time afterwards published more at large by Jeffrey of Monmouth. But when our author had gone through this, a desire of pursuing the thread of his story led him to add the Saxon, and then the Norman history, so that at length he brought it down to his own times (f). This for any thing that appears, was the only piece he wrote, notwithstanding a crowd of great authorities, which assert him to have been the author of four other books, a gross mistake, as we hope to prove to the satisfaction of every reader in the notes [A]. This abridgment

(a) Pits de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. p. 204.

(b) Baleus de Script. cent. ii. No. LXXIV.

(c) Bale, ubi supra. Pits, ubi supra.

(d) De Hist. Lat. edit. 1674, p. 393.

(e) Alured Beverl. p. 152.

(f) Ibid. p. 3.

[A] To the satisfaction of every reader in the notes.] As we are greatly obliged to Bishop Bale for his collections concerning British writers, notwithstanding they are very full of errors, so we ought certainly to be very careful how we charge him with greater defects than really are in his writings: As to our author, we shall state the case fairly, and with many circumstances, omitted even by the industrious Mr Hearne, who was not aware that Bale had given more than one account of Alfred of Beverley. The first edition of this writ-

ter's history of British authors, was printed in 4to. in 1548, and therein his account of Alfred of Beverley is very short; all he says of his works, being comprised in the following lines which I cite, because the book is extremely scarce, in his own words. 'De variis e-
'ventibus, continuaque successione ab origine Britan-
'norum ad suam Ætatem usque contextuit, Historiam
'perpulchram, Lib. i. de Naturis Rerum, Lib. i.
'De cæteris nihil ex aliorum Scriptis competiri potui,
'quamvis id sedulo tentarim. i. e. He wrote an elegant
K k history

ment of our history from Brutus to Henry I, is one of the most valuable pieces that has escaped the rage of time, and the indiscretion of the first reformers. It is written in a concise, elegant, Latin style, with great perspicuity, and a more than ordinary attention to dates and authorities. One may without straining the compliment, call Alured of Beverley our English Florus, his plan being nearly the same, neither is he less happy in it's execution. One may justly wonder that so judicious a person as Leland, did not give him a place amongst the British writers, especially since it appears from another work of his, that he had seen our author's history (g). The true reason seems to have been, that Leland considered him only as the author of an abridgment of Jeffrey of Monmouth's British history, which mistake (for the greatest men may sometimes mistake) was owing to the hurry with which he read this book. Otherwise he could not but have seen, that our author is not a bare transcriber of the British history, and secondly, that he went much farther than the author he is said to have copied; after all it is very doubtful, notwithstanding the positive assertions of so many great men, whether Alured ever saw that version of the British history, which we now have of Jeffrey of Monmouth, many circumstances making it probable, that it was not published before our author wrote his Compendium, as will be shewn in another place (h). If he had, it is not easy to assign a reason, why he should not mention his author, since in this respect he is very exact in other places, and even here, he calls it the British history, and says very candidly at the conclusion, that he only transcribed what he met with therein, and that he could not pretend to account for the silence of the Latin writers, and even of the English ones concerning the acts of King Arthur, who fought not only against the Pagans in Britain, but also against the Romans themselves in Gaul (i). If this had really been Jeffrey of Monmouth's translation, why should he have concealed it, rather than Henry of Huntington who abridges the same history, and adding it by way of appendix to his own, doth not dissemble whence he took it. The manuscripts of this work were always scarce, and very few who mention it had seen it. Mr Joscelin, in his catalogue of the writers of English history whose works he had met with, gives us some account of him, but then it appears plainly that he trusted to Bale, and did not consult the MS. itself (k), which he assures us was in the hands of Mr Netleton. I do not find that the industrious Stowe had ever met with this history, otherwise I think he would certainly have quoted it, as would later compilers of our general history, if at any time it had come to their hands. The MS. from which Mr Hearne published it at Oxford in 1716, belonged to the famous Thomas Rawlinson, Esq; (l) and Mr Hearne himself acknowledges, that it was the only one he ever saw. The title he gave it was, *The Annals of Alured of Beverley*, to which I conceive he was inclined, on account of his books being quoted by this title, by some antient writers, and indeed the title is proper enough, though the book is not divided after the manner of the Abbey Chronicles, but inasmuch as dates are constantly preserved, and as the latter part is particularly exact, as to the years of the Kings reigns in which the facts therein recited fell out, it may well enough be stiled Annals. John Withamsted, a very antient writer, speaking of our author, says, that he wrote a Chronicle of what happened from the settlement of Brutus, to the time of the Normans, in which also he treated of the cities antiently founded in this kingdom, and set down the names by which London, Canterbury, and York, were called in old times, when the Britons inhabited them (m). This authority is much to the honour of our historian, for Withamsted flourished in the XVth century, and was a man of a critical turn, as appears by his attacking the history of Jeffrey of Monmouth. This testimony agrees exactly with the

(g) Collectan. T. II. p. 223.

(h) See note [C].

(i) Alured. Beverl. p. 76.

(k) In Append. Rob. de Aves. p. 276.

(l) Prefat. ad Alured. Beverl.

(m) Ap. Vossium, ubi supra.

‘ history of the various events, and of the several successions from the origin of the Britons to his own times, in one book. Of the nature of things, one book; as to the rest of his writings I have been able to learn nothing, though I have made a strict enquiry (1).’ He farther tells us, that he supposed him to have flourished in the reign of William the Conqueror, about the year 1086. But afterwards, as if from better informations, he gives us the following catalogue of his works: ‘De floratione Galfredi, Lib. v. Brytannia major, quae nunc Anglia. De Gestis Regum Angliae, Lib. 1. Finito Regno Brytonum, Brytanniae. De gestis Regum Brytanniae, Lib. 1. Aggressus sum Laborem, itaque mihi. Historiam ampliozem, Lib. 1. in Diebus silentii nostri occur. Vitam D. Joannis Archiepiscopi, Lib. 1. & alia quaedam. i. e. Extracts from Geoffrey, five books, beginning: Brytannia major, &c. Of the Acts of the Kings of England, one book. Of the Acts of the Kings of Britain, one book. A larger history in one book. The Life of Archbishop John, in one book, and some others (2).’ Pits transcribes this account verbatim (3), and therefore, if we can account for Bale's mistake, we account for his at the same time, as also for Mr Joscelin's, mentioned in the text, who likewise transcribes Bale exactly (4). In the first place it must be observed, that so much of Alfred's work as relates to the Britons, is comprised in five books, but that these were called by

the author himself, extracts from Jeffrey is impossible, because though he mentions Caesar, Trogius Pompeius, Eutropius, Lucan, Beda, and many others, yet he never mentions Jeffrey, but calls the book from whence he took the facts he sets down, the British History, which without doubt, is the same that Jeffrey translated, though our author adds many things from other writers; but the first words of this treatise properly speaking are, *Primus in Britannia regnavit Brutus* (5). The sixth book in Mr Hearne's edition begins with the words, Bale assigns for the beginning of the history of the English Kings, viz. *Finito Regno Britonum, Britanniae Regnum ad Anglos est translatum* (6), which plainly shows that it is in fact the same treatise. As to the third book mentioned by Bale, it is certainly the ninth of the annals, of which our author speaking in his preface, makes use of these words, *Aggressus sum itaque laborem mihi quidem difficilem, &c.* (7), which therefore Bale makes the beginning of it. The larger history is nothing more than a short preface, which Alfred set before his work, in order to show the occasion of his writing it, which begins with, *In Diebus Silentii nostri, &c.* (8), so that here, all these four different works are fairly thrown to be no more than several parts of Alfred's Annals, as we have it now in print, and as for the remaining book mentioned by Bale, it will be accounted for in the next Note.

(1) Ba'ede Script. fo. 73.

(2) Cent. ii. No. LXXIV, in the other editions.

(3) De Illust. Script. p. 204.

(4) Append. ad Rob. de Aves. p. 276.

(5) Alured. Beverl. p. 10.

(6) Ibid. p. 77.

(7) Ibid. p. 3.

(8) Ibid. p. 1.

the book as we now have it, and therefore I make no question, but that this piece, with the history of St John of Beverley, are all that fell from the pen of our author. As to this history of St John of Beverley, it is also in being, and it is a loss to the learned world that we have it not printed [B]. To this edition Mr Hearne has added some notes, and a very compleat index, he has also prefixed a preface, wherein he vindicates his author from the charge of plagiarism, under which he has so long laboured (n). To this there are some objections made by Mr Aaron Thompson, in his preface to the English translation of Jeffrey of Monmouth's British history (o), to which, as also to some remarks of Bishop Nicholson (p), we have given answers in their proper place [C]. On the whole, if ever any epitome of British history, deserved particularly well of the publick in general, and of readers of a nice taste in particular, we may safely say this history of Alfred's is it. For though Huntingdon, Hoveden, Malmibury, and other writers, have prefixed summaries of antient history to the accounts they have left us of their own times, yet are none of them either in point of accuracy or elegancy, to be compared with this history, which well deserves to be translated, and if it might be hoped for, continued with the same spirit down to later times.

(n) Prefat. p. 22.

(o) Preface, p. 23.

(p) English Hist. Library, p. 57.

[B] *It is a loss to the learned world it is not printed.* We have no account at all of this piece of our author's, farther than the short title abovementioned, either in Bale, Pits, or Mr Hearne's preface to our author's history, yet the book itself is in the Cotton Library, though not set down in the catalogues as being contained in a volume of tracts. I shall set down the title at large, in which the reader will perceive that this is quite a different thing from what he might expect, which will serve to support what has been advanced in the former note, concerning the carelessness of Bale and his transcribers. ' *Libertates Ecclesiæ S. Johannis de Beverlik, cum Privilegiis Apostolicis, & Episcopalis, quas Magister Aluerodus Sacrista ejusdem Ecclesiæ, de Anglico in Latinum transtulit. In hoc tractatulo dantur Cartæ Saxonice R. R. Adalanti, Eadwardi Confessoris, & Willelmi, quas fecerunt eidem Ecclesiæ, sed ab imperito Exscriptore mendose scriptæ. i. e. The Liberties of the Church of St John of Beverley, with the Privileges granted by the Apostolick See, or by Bishops, translated out of Saxon into Latin, by Master Alured, Sacrist of the said Church. In this Treatise are contained the Saxon Charters of the Kings Adelftan, Edward the Confessor, and William (the Conqueror) granted by them to this Church, but through want of Skill in the Transcriber, are full of Mistakes (9).*' Thus it appears, that this is not a life of St John of Beverley, but a collection of records.

[C] *We have given answers in their proper place.* Mr Thompson, out of zeal for the credit of Jeffrey of Monmouth, maintains that our Alfred, according to the common opinion, really transcribed his book, or abridged it. But foreseeing the dates were against him, all antient authors placing Jeffrey later in point of time than our author, he ventures to assert, that Jeffrey's history was published some time between the years 1123 and 1128, because, says he, Alfred copied it in this last year (10). By this method a man may prove any thing, for in short he does nothing more than suppose what he should prove to be true, and then offers his supposition as a proof to his readers. I will in few words, show first, that his supposition is groundless, and secondly, that there is good authority to prove (11), our author was not thought a transcriber, by writers, who flourished in the reign of Edward III. Henry of Huntingdon published his history late in the reign of Henry I, yet it is confessed

he did not meet with Jeffrey's book till after that publication (12). William of Malmesbury, who also wrote before Jeffrey, as Jeffrey himself confesses, is not said to have published his history so early, as Mr Thompson places the publication of Jeffrey's. We know that Malmesbury wrote a sequel to his history, which begins in the twenty-sixth year of Henry I, that is, in 1125, and before this time it is certain, that Jeffrey's book had not seen the light (13). Besides, Jeffrey was made Bishop of St Asaph, in 1551 (14); is it reasonable to suppose that his friends were so long before they thought of him, when his book had been in vogue 20 or 30 years? Add to this, that Jeffrey himself plainly overturns this supposition, by the compliment he pays to Robert Earl of Gloucester, in his dedication, which I shall transcribe from Mr Thompson's own translation (15): ' *To you therefore, Robert Earl of Gloucester, this work humbly sues for the favour of being so corrected by your advice, that it may not be thought the poor offspring of Jeffrey of Monmouth, but when polished by your refined wit and judgment, the production of him who had Henry the glorious King of England for his father, and whom we see an accomplished scholar, and philosopher, as well as a brave soldier, and expert commander; so that Britain with joy acknowledges, that in you, she enjoys another Henry.*' Does not this passage clearly intimate that King Henry was then dead? Now that Prince deceased in 1135 (16), and our author finished his history in 1128. So much for Mr Thompson's supposition. Ralph Higden in his Polychronicon, cites Jeffrey sometimes, Alfred sometimes, and sometimes he quotes them both together (17), would he have done this, if he had thought Alfred a mere transcriber, and if he was not thought so almost 400 years ago, why should we think him so now. Bishop Nicholson says, that probably all the four treatises ascribed to our Alfred might well be filed, *Defflorationes Galfredi, i. e. Extracts from Jeffrey* (18), but this was only that Prelate's guess, who had a mighty knack at characterizing authors he never saw, and we have fully proved that he guessed wrong; and to do him justice, what he afterwards says, fully proves that he much doubted whether Alfred ever saw Jeffrey's book at all, and for this good reason, because he was as early a writer as himself (19). This the Bishop suspected, and we apprehend is now put out of question by Mr Hearne's publication of his work. E

(12) See the Preface to his works.

(13) See Camden's Collection.

(14) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 29.

(15) Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History, p. 2, 3.

(16) Stowe, Holinghead, &c.

(17) XX Script. à Thoma Gale edit. p. 179.

(18) English Historical Library, p. 57.

(19) Ibid.

A L S O P (VINCENT) a Northamptonshire man, educated in St John's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts (a). He received Deacons orders from a Bishop, after which he went down into Rutlandshire, and settled at Oakham, where he was an assistant to the master of the free-school. As he was a man of sprightly pleasant wit, he fell there into indifferent company, but was reclaimed by the frequent admonitions of the reverend Mr Benjamin King (b). He afterwards married that gentleman's daughter, and becoming a convert to his principles received ordination in the Presbyterian way, not being satisfied with that which he had from the Bishop [A].

(a) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. 11. p. 487. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 743.

(b) Calamy, ibid.

[A] *With that which he had from the Bishop.* As this is a very remarkable passage, it may not be amiss to cite Dr Calamy's account, in his own words. ' *I have been informed, says he, by a very worthy person, that he had it from Mr Benjamin King of Okeham in Rutland, (who was Mr Alford's father-in-*

law) that the said Mr Alford was ordained by a Bishop; and not being satisfied with that ordination, was afterwards ordained by Presbyters. I cannot question the truth of this passage, when I consider the way of it's conveyance, and therefore, I suppose the reason of it must be this, That the Bishop only admitted

(9) Biblioth. Cotton OTHO c. xvi. cod. Charactericus, 4to.

(10) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 30.

(11) Ran. Higden in Polychron.

He was settled at Wilbee in the county of Northampton, whence he was ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity (c). After this he ventured to preach sometimes at Oakham, and at Wellingborough where he lived, and was once six months in prison for praying by a sick person (d). A book he writ against Dr Sherlock in a humorous style, made him well known to the world, and induced Mr Cawton, an eminent Nonconformist in Westminster, to recommend him to his congregation for his successor. On receiving this call, he quitted Northamptonshire and came to London, where he preached constantly, and wrote several pieces which were extremely well received by the publick (e). His living in the neighbourhood of the court, exposed him to many inconveniences; however he had the good fortune to escape imprisonment and fines, by an odd accident, which was, the informers not knowing his Christian name, which for this reason he studiously concealed (f). Wood, who mentions him more than once, took his name to be Benjamin, probably from the sameness of *Ben* and *Vin*, in their sound. His sufferings however ended with the reign of Charles II, or at least in the beginning of the next reign, when Mr Alfop's son engaging in treasonable practices, was freely pardoned by King James (g). After this our divine went frequently to Court, and is generally supposed to have been the person who drew the address to that Prince, for his general indulgence [B]. After the Revolution, Mr Alfop gave very publick testimonies of his affection for the government, yet upon all occasions he spoke very respectfully of King James, and retained a very high sense of his clemency, in sparing his only son (h). The remainder of his life he spent in the exercise of his ministry, preaching once every Lord's Day, had a Thursday lecture, and was besides one of the lecturers at Pinner's-hall (i). He lived to be a very old man, and preserved his spirits to the last [C]. On grave subjects he wrote with a becoming seriousness; but where wit might properly be shewn, he displayed his to great advantage (k). Anthony Wood indeed represents him as a man of mean parts, and meer pretender to genteel raillery (l). But Dr South, who was full as good a judge of men as Wood, understood wit and language much better, and was by no means partial to the Nonconformists, allows our author his due praise (m). Mr Alfop died full of days, on the eighth of May, 1703 (n). His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Slater, and his memory will be always preserved by his own learned and elegant writings. Of these the most remarkable are, 1. *Antifozzo*: in vindication of some great truths opposed by Dr William Sherlock, 8vo, 1675. 2. *Melius Inquirendum*: in answer to Dr Goodman's *Compassionate Enquiry*, 8vo, 1679. 3. *The Mischief of Impositions*: in answer to Dr Stillingfleet's *Mischief of Separation*, 1680. 4. *Duty and Interest united in Praise and Prayer for Kings*, September 8, 1695. 5. *Practical Godliness, the Ornament of Religion*, 8vo, 1696. 6. *God*

(c) Id. *ibid.*(d) *ibid.*(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 397.

(g) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

(h) Id. *ibid.*

(i) Neal, ubi supra.

(k) See his Antifozzo, in answer to Dr Sherlock.

(l) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(m) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 634.

(n) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 489.

admitted him into Deacons Orders, and upon this supposition, he might think that ordination defective, so as to need something farther, in order to his being capacitated for some ministerial acts, which Deacons are not called to. And yet, at the same time I am very sensible, that some of the ejected ministers had no other ordination than that, and thought it to be sufficient. Allowance may be very well made for different sentiments in such things as these, among persons of worth and eminence (1).

[B] Drew the address to that Prince for his indulgence.] This address is now become so scarce, as to be a kind of curiosity, and therefore, I think it cannot be amiss to reprint it here from an authentick copy. It was presented by the following ministers, Mr Hurst, Mr Chester, Mr Slater, Mr Cox, Mr Roswell, Mr Turner, Mr Franklin, Mr Deal, and Mr Reynolds. The title was; *The Humble Address of the Presbyterians*; and thus it ran.

May it please your Most Sacred Majesty

TO believe the thankfulness of our hearts, beyond any expressions of our lips or pens, for your most gracious declaration of liberty for us, in the worship of God, which we trust we shall ever value above our property, as that, without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own, without the greatest uneasiness imaginable: But your majesty having in the same declaration also secured that unto us both by your royal word and act: What could your majesty have done more for us? Or what is left for us further to ask of the King? And so far as it hath pleased your most excellent majesty, to give this safe port to your poor subjects, so long tossed with tempests, and justly to believe that loyalty is not entailed to a party, as we hope we shall ever justify the credit which your majesty's charity in that point hath given us; so we shall not cease to bow our knees to the God whom we serve, and by whom Kings reign, beseeching him to recompense this royal favour to your majesty, with length of days, uninterrupted health, felicity

in your royal relations, success in your great councils and affairs, and finally, with the most glorious liberty of the sons of God, heartily crying, as with one voice, Let the King live for ever. Subscribed on the behalf of ourselves and the rest of our persuasion.

The King's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Have already found two good effects of my declaration; the easing and pleasing my subjects you spoke of, and my restoring to God, the empire over conscience: it has been my judgment a long time, that none has, or ought to have, any power over the conscience but God. I understand, there are some jealousies among my subjects, that I have done this in a design: But you look like gentlemen of too great ingenuity to entertain any such suspicion. Gentlemen, I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all manner of people of all persuasions, as you have opportunity to converse with them, that I have no other design than that I have spoke of. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day, when you shall as well have Magna Charta for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties. And now, gentlemen, do you so preach to your hearers as they may be good Christians, and then, I do not question but they will be good subjects (2).

[C] Preserved his spirits to the last.] We owe also this particular to Dr Calamy, who delivers himself in these words. 'I was very strictly examined by him before my ordination; at which time it falling to my lot to make and defend a Latin Thesis, upon this question, (which he himself gave me) *An Christus Officio Sacerdotali fungatur in Cælis tantum?* He (for argument's sake, as is the way of the schools) opposed me with all the vigour, smartness, and fluency of a young man, though he was then considerably advanced in years. This was in the year 1694, when Mr Joseph Bennet, Mr Tho: Reynolds, Mr Joseph

(2) See Bishop Kennet's Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 510. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

6. *God in the Mount*: A Sermon on the wonderful Deliverance of his Majesty from Affliction, and the Nation from Invasion. 7. *A Sermon preached at Westminster on the Publick Fast*, December 19, 1701. 8. *A Sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners*. 9. *A Faithful Reproof to a False Report, with reference to the Differences among the United Ministers in London*, 8vo. With several Sermons in the *Morning Exercise*.

‘ Mr Joseph Hill, Mr Ebenezer Bradshaw, Mr Joshua Bayes, Mr King of Rumbold, and I, were publicly ordained, in the dissenting place of worship by Little St Helens: The persons who assisted in, and carried on the solemnity, being Dr Samuel Annelley, Mr Richard Stretton, Mr Vincent Allop,

‘ Mr (afterwards Dr) Daniel Williams, Mr Matthew Silvester, and Mr Thomas Kentish, and this was the first publick ordination among the Dissenters in the city, from the time of the taking place of the act of Uniformity (3).’

E (3) Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

AMBROSE (ISAAC), a noted Presbyterian Teacher in the times of the Usurpation, and author of several pieces [A], was a clergyman's son, and descended from the *Ambroses* of *Ambrose-hall*, in Lancashire. In the beginning of the year 1621, he was admitted a Batteler of Brazen-nose-college in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards he took holy orders, and officiated in some little cure in his own country. Being in very low circumstances, he was often obliged to the bounty of William, Earl of Bedford, for the relief of himself and his family; and, Mr Wood thinks, that Lord procured him to be inserted in the list of his Majesty's preachers appointed for the county of Lancaster. Afterwards, upon the change of the times in 1641, he left the Church of England, and went over to the Presbyterian party, took the *Covenant*, and became a preacher of the Gospel at Garstang, and afterwards at Preston in his own country. He was very zealous and very active against the clergy of the established Church; especially when he was appointed assistant to the commissioners for ejecting such whom they then called *scandalous and ignorant ministers and school-masters*. It is said, he died suddenly of an apoplexy (a).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 334, 335.

[A] *He wrote several pieces.* 1. *Prima, Media, and Ultima, or, The First, Middle, and last Things; wherein are set forth; I. The Doctrine of Regeneration, or the New Birth. II. The Practice of Sanctification, in the Means, Duties, Ordinances, both private and public, for Continuance and Increase of a godly Life. III. Certain Meditations of Man's Misery, in his Life, Death, Judgment, and Execution; as also of God's Mercy in our Redemption and Salvation.* The *Prima* and *Ultima*, were printed at London, in 1640, in quarto. The *Media*, taken chiefly out of the writings of the most eminent practical Divines, was first printed at London (with the *Prima* and *Ultima*) in 1650, in quarto; and afterwards in 1659, in quarto. To which is added, a Sermon on *Redeeming the Time*, preached at Preston, January 4, 1657, at the funeral of Lady Margaret Houghton. The authors, whom he abridges in the *Media*, were mostly Separatists. The book was licensed by Mr Charles Herle, and re-

commended to the world by John Angier, Thomas Johnson, and John Waite, B. D. in their respective epistles prefixed to it. At length all three were printed together at London, in 1674, in a large folio, with a print of the author, aged fifty-nine. The book was reprinted in 1682, and again in 1689, both editions in folio. 2. *Looking upon Jesus. A View of the everlasting Gospel, or the Soul's eyeing of Jesus as carrying on the great Work of Man's Salvation.* London, 1658, 4to. In the penning of which piece, Mr Wood tells us, he took great delight, it being a subject, as the author himself complains, almost wholly neglected by others. 3. *War with Devils, Ministration of, and Communication with, Angels;* printed with the former. At the end of this treatise are subjoined two letters, the first written by Richard Baxter, dated London, November 29, 1661; and the other by William Cole, dated Preston, October 8, 1661 (1).

(1) Wood, ubi supra.

T

AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS (a), or **AURELIUS AMBROSIUS (b)**, a famous General of the antient Britons, and afterwards King, was of Roman extraction [A], and commonly supposed to be son of one of the Kings, elected by the Britons after the Romans had left the island (c). He was educated at the court of Aldroen King of Armorica; who, at the request of the Britons, sent him over (d), at the head of ten thousand men, to assist them against the Saxons, whom Vortigern their King had invited into Britain (e). Ambrosius's success against the Saxons was so considerable, that the Britons chose him for their King (f), obliging Vortigern to yield to him all the western part of the kingdom, divided by the Roman high-way called *Watling-street*. Some time after, the Britons being discontented with Vortigern, and having withdrawn their allegiance from him, that unhappy Prince retired to a castle in Wales; where being besieged by Ambrosius, and the castle taking fire, he perished in the flames (g), and left his rival sole monarch of Britain (h), who now took upon him the imperial purple after the manner of the Roman Emperors. Geoffrey of Monmouth

(3) See the article VORTIGERN.

(f) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi supra, c. 2.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) An. 476.

[A] *He was of Roman extraction.* ‘ Common opinion (says Mr Milton) but grounded chiefly on the British fables, makes this Ambrosius to be the younger son of that Constantine, whose eldest was Constance the Monk: who both lost their lives abroad usurping the empire. But the express words both of Gildas and Bede assure us, that the parents of this Ambrosius, having here borne regal dignity, were slain in the Pictish wars and commotions in the island (1).’ Gildas's words here referred to are these: ‘ Duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto (qui solus fortè Romanæ gentis tantæ tempestatis colli-

‘ sionis, occisis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum indutis, superfuera —) vires capeflunt (2). i. e. They recover strength under the command of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of great virtues, who perhaps was the only surviving Prince of Roman extraction; his parents, who bore the sovereign character, having been slain during the commotions of those times.’ Bede has borrowed these words with a slight variation. *Utebantur eo tempore Duce Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanæ gentis prefate tempestati superfuera, occisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen & insigne ferentibus (3).*

(2) Gildæ Epist. de excidio &c. Britannia, sect. 25.

(3) Bede, Hist. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 16.

L 1

[B] It

(a) Gildæ Epist. de excidio & conquestu Britannia, sect. 25, 26. & Bede, Hist. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 16.

(b) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 1.

(c) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Lond. 1685, p. 319.

(d) About the year 457.

(1) Milton's History of England, B. ii. an. 446.

(i) Ubi supra, c. 12.

(k) See the article HENGIST.

mouth pretends (i), that Ambrosius built *Stone-henge* near Salisbury in Wiltshire [B], in memory of three hundred British Lords, who were massacred by the Saxon General Hengist (k). He distinguished himself highly by his valour and conduct against the enemies of his country [C]; and took occasion to regulate the affairs of the Church [D], which

[B] *It is said, Ambrosius built Stone-henge near Salisbury in Wiltshire.* Geoffrey of Monmouth fables, that Ambrosius, coming to a monastery near Caer-caradoc, now Salisbury, where the three hundred British Lords massacred by Hengist lay buried, and resolving to perpetuate the memory of this action by some remarkable building, ordered his workmen to prepare a large quantity of stones and other materials. But having, at the instigation of Tremounus Archbishop of Caer-leon, consulted the famous Merlin, that magician advised him to send over to Ireland for certain great stones, which were called Chorea Gigantum. i. e. *The Giant's Dance*, and which were to be found placed in a circle on a hill called *Killair*; having been brought thither by certain giants from the farthest borders of Africa, at the time when that country was inhabited by giants. Whereupon Uther Pendragon, Ambrosius's brother, and a body of forces, were sent into Ireland to fetch these stones; but were opposed in their attempt by Gillomanus King of the country, who at first derided the folly of the Britons in undertaking so ridiculous an expedition, but afterwards resolved to frustrate their design. Nevertheless the Britons, having vanquished that Prince in battle, found means to bring away the stones, though not without great difficulty, and through the direction and assistance of Merlin, who had accompanied them. These wonderful-stones, by order of Ambrosius, were placed over the graves of the British Lords, and are what is now called *Stone-henge* (4). Alexander Necham celebrates this fable in the following verses (5):

(4) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.

(5) In Poemate De divinæ Sapientiae laudibus.

Nobilis est lapidum structura, chorea gigantum:

Ars experta suum posse peregit opus.

Quod ne prodiret in lucem segnius, artem

Se, viresque suas consuluisse reor.

Hoc opus adscribit Merlino garrula fama;

Filla figmenti fabula vana refert.

Illa congerie fertur decorata fuisse

Tellus, quæ mittit tunc Palamedis aves.

Hinc tantum munus suscepit Hibernia gaudens:

Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla fatis.

Nam resperfus aquis magnam transfudit in illas

Vim, quæ curari sæpius æger eget.

Uther Pendragon molem transevit ad Ambri

Fines, de victo victor ab hoste means.

O quot nobilium, quot corpora sacra virorum

Illic Hengisti prodicione jacent!

Intercepta fuit gens inclyta, gens generosa;

Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta nimis.

(6) Girald. Cambrensis. Topograph. distinct. 2. c. 13.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions this British fable. 'Juxta Britannicam historiam (*says he*) lapides istos Rex Britonum Aurelius Ambrosius, divina Merlini diligentia, de Hibernia in Britanniam advehi procuravit; & ut tanti facinoris egregium aliquod memoriale relinqueret, eodem ordine & arte quæ prius, in loco constituit, ubi occultis Saxonum cultris Britannicæ flos cecidit, & sub pacis obtentu, nequitiæ telis, male tua regni juvenus occubuit (6). — According to the British history, Ambrosius King of the Britons, by the advice and assistance of the enchanter Merlin, procured these stones to be brought from Ireland into Britain; and that he might leave some remarkable monument of so base an action, he ranged them in the same order, in which they had been disposed before, on the very spot, where the flower of the British youth, not suspecting any treachery, fell by the concealed daggers of the Saxons, under the pretence of peace and friendship.' Polydore Vergil assigns another origin of Stone-henge. He tells us, it was erected by the Britons as a monument to their General Ambrosius, on the place where he fell in battle, to perpetuate the memory of his glorious actions, and services done to his country. *Britannus duci suo Ambrosio de republica bene merito magnificum posuit sepulchrum, factum ad formam coronæ, ex magnis quadratis lapidibus, eo loco ubi pugnando ceciderat; ut tanti ducis*

virtus ne oblivione eorum, qui tunc erant, aut reticentia posterorum insensata esset (7). And in John of Tinmouth (8), the place, which is now called Stone-henge, is styled 'Mons Ambrosii, Ambrosius's Hill.' I shall only observe, that both these stories are rejected by our best antiquarians, though they are by no means agreed as to the true origin of that famous piece of antiquity.

[C] *He distinguished himself by his valour and conduct against the enemies of his country.* Some time after the ravage and burning of the island, the Saxons gave over pursuing the Britons, and marched back to their head-quarters. But, the enemy being out of fight, the Britons began to recover their spirits, to peep out of their hiding-places, and draw into a body. And having resolved upon an attempt to recover their country, they unanimously, in the first place, implored the protection of heaven: then, under the conduct of Ambrosius, they marched up into the country, gave the enemy battle, and providentially defeated them. After this victory, the fortunes of the Britons and Saxons were various, and seemed to hang in suspense, until the battle of Banneston near Bath, in which the Saxons were entirely routed, about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain. *At ubi hostili exercitus, exterminatis dispersisque insula indigenis, domum reversus est, caperunt illi paulatim vires animosque resumere, emergentes de latibus quibus absiti fuerant, & unanimò consensu auxilium cælestis precantes, ne usque ad interuentionem usquequaque deleverunt. — Hac ergo duce (sc. Ambrosio Aureliano) viris capessunt Britones, & victores provocantes ad prælium, victoriam ipsi, Deo favente, suscipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc civis, nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessoris Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, quadragesimo circiter & quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam (9).*

(7) Polyd. Vergil. Anglic. Hist. l. 3. p. 78. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(8) Joan. Tinmouthen. in vit. Dubricii.

[D] *He regulated the affairs of the Church.* After the Britons had defeated the Saxons, and obliged them to retire a good way Northward, Ambrosius is said to have convened the Princes and great men at York; where he gave orders for repairing the churches destroyed by the Saxons, and restoring the exercise of religion to its former lustre (10). This, though reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of no great credit, yet, in the opinion of the learned Dr Stillingfleet (11); is agreeable enough to probability. Besides, it is confirmed by Matthew of Westminster (12), who highly applauds the great zeal of Ambrosius in repairing the churches, encouraging the clergy, and restoring the honour of religion. The Monmouth historian adds (13), that, in a council of the Britons, Ambrosius gave directions for two metropolitans to supply the vacancies of York and Caer-leon, Sampson being promoted to the former, and Dubricius to the latter. Hector Boethius likewise tells us (14), that Ambrosius restored the churches, re-called the clergy, and established the exercise of true religion; that he broke in pieces the images of the Heathen gods, and severely punished their Priests. And he adds, that some of the Saxons, whom this Prince had permitted to remain in Britain, though they outwardly professed themselves Christians, yet continued privately to offer sacrifice to their idols; which thing being discovered, their Priests were seized, and scourged, and all of them without pity burnt at the stake. *Christi Tempia Ambrosii præ operâ restituta; Pontifices Sacerdotesque suas sunt vocati in sedes; vera religio undique culta; idolorum gentilium statuae effractæ; qui gentilium successores inventi in Britannia, divis supplicii affecti — Verum Saxonum nonnulli in Britannia Ambrosio permittebant remanentes, Christianam ementes religionem, clam idolis litabant: quæ re comperta, capti sacrificuli, cæsi loris, ullâ sine commiseratione ad unum sunt cremati.* Here may be inserted the following unpublished verses of Gotfrid of Viterbo (15), in which, at the same time that he celebrates Ambrosius for restoring peace to his country, and regulating affairs both in Church and State, he accuses him of a persecuting spirit, and of favouring Jews and Heretics, particularly the Manicheans.

(9) Bede, ubi supra.

(10) Galfr. Monumeth. ubi supra, c. 9.

(11) Antiquities of the British Churches. c. 5.

(12) Flores Histor. An. 453.

(13) Ibid. c. 12.

(14) Hist. Scot. l. viii.

(15) Chron. part. xviii. apud Usseri Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Lond. 1687, p. 243.

which were in extreme disorder occasioned by those wars (l). The Monmouth historian, who gives this Prince a very advantageous character [E], tells us, he was poisoned at Winchester by one Eopa a Saxon, disguised as a physician, and hired for that purpose by Pascentius one of the sons of Vortigern (m): but the generally received opinion is, that he was killed in a battle, which he lost, in the year 508, against Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals [F].

(l) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi supra, c. 9.

(m) Ibid. c. 14.

Aurelius primogenitus, regnique monarchus;
 Sic Pacis fancita facit, sic prospicit actus;
 Ut reparat patriæ gaudia lata quies.
 Confovet optima, dissipat horrida, regia norma;
 Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat:
 Rex erat, imò pater, gesta paterna patent,
 Attamen admittit patris feritate patrizat:
 Nam prius infixæ renovat tormenta remissa,
 Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
 Æmulus ipse Dei, populi fit tutor Hebræi,
 Catholicique rei prorsus habentur ei.
 Post annos paucos, post multa pericula rerum,
 Suscipit Aurelius fatum finemque dierum;
 Justus apud proceres, fed reus ante Deum.

(*) Al. Atria.

[E] Geoffrey of Monmouth gives Ambrosius a very advantageous character. Let us cite that historian's words. 'Tanta virtus & audacia viro inerat; quod cum Galliarum partes frequentaret, non erat alter qui cum illo congredi auderet. Nam si congressum fecisset, vel hostem ex equo prosternebat, vel hastam in frustra confringebat. Præterea largus erat in dandis, sedulus in divinis obsequiis, modestus in cunctis, & super omnia mendacium vitans. Fortis pedes, fortior eques, & ad regandum exercitum doctus (16).
 ——— He was a man of such bravery and courage, that, when he was in Gaul, no one durst enter the

lifts with him: for he was sure to unhorse his antagonist, or to break his spear into shivers. He was moreover generous in bestowing, careful in the performance of religious duties, moderate in all things, and more especially abhorred a lie. He was strong on foot, stronger on horseback, and perfectly qualified to command an army.

[F] He was killed in a battle, which he lost — against Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals.] This battle was fought near a place, thence called by the Saxons Cerdick's-ford, afterwards Cerdesford, and now by contraction Chardford. Here the Britons and Saxons engaged; and the former giving ground, Ambrosius, now grown old and infirm, endeavoured in vain to rally them; and in the fury of his despair threw himself into the midst of the enemy, where his glorious life was crowned with an honourable death (17). Upon this occasion the historians give Ambrosius the name of Nazaleod or Natanleod. It is true, this appellation has induced many to believe, that Ambrosius is not here meant, but some other British King. But the opinion of Camden (18), and other good authors, who make Ambrosius and Nazaleod to be the same, is to be preferred. For it is agreed by the best historians, that this Prince was slain in fight. But, from the beginning of his reign, we find no battle, in which a British Monarch was killed, but that of the year 508, in which Ambrosius fell. And this Prince was too remarkable for historians to neglect mentioning his death, if it happened on any other occasion.

(17) H. Hunt. Hist. i. ii. apud Scriptores post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 312, 313.

(18) Britannia, last edit. Vol. I. col. 133.

(16) Galfr. Monumeth. ubi supra, c. 3.

T

A M E S (WILLIAM) a Divine in the reigns of King James and King Charles I, famous for his casuistical and controversial writings; but much more so abroad, than in his native country; for he lived many years in foreign parts, and there ended his days: yet as foreigners, who therefore have endeavoured to give account of him and his works, have done it so imperfectly, and Bayle among the rest; we shall attempt to say something of him more complete. He was descended from the antient family of that name, which remains in Norfolk and Somersetshire, and was born in the year 1576. He was educated at Christ-Church-college in Cambridge, under the famous Mr William Perkins, who died in 1602; from whom, probably, imbibing some Calvinistical tenets, he became afterwards very distinguishable for maintaining the same; insomuch, that he gave some disgust to certain persons in that university, while he was therein fellow of the college aforesaid. One instance whereof is given us by Dr Fuller (a), who informs us, 'That about the year 1610-11, this Mr Ames, preaching at St Mary's, or, to use his own expression, having the place of a Watchman for an hour in the tower of the university (b), took occasion to inveigh against the liberty taken at that time; especially in those colleges which had Lords of Misrule, a Pagan relique; which, he said, as Polydore Vergil has observed (c), remains only in England. Hence he proceeded to condemn all playing at cards and dice; affirming, that the latter in all ages was accounted the device of the Devil; and that as God invented the one and twenty letters, whereof he made the Bible, the Devil, faith an author (d), found out the one and twenty spots on the die; that canon law forbade the use thereof, seeing, *Inventio Diaboli, nullâ consuetudine potest validari* (e). His sermon, continues our author, gave much offence to many of his auditors; the rather because in him there was a concurrence of much Nonconformity; insomuch, that to prevent an expulsion from Dr Val. Cary, the Master, he fairly forsook the college, which proved unto him neither loss nor disgrace; being, not long after, by the States of Friesland, chosen Professor of their university.' It may not be improbable, that upon the rigour wherewith Archbishop Bancroft pressed Conformity on the Puritans, for their separation from the Church, many learned men of them retired into the Low Countries; where English churches were erected, after the Presbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. But that 'the reverend and learned Dr William Ames, one of the most acute controversial writers of his age,' as a late author styles him (f), settled with the English church at the Hague, before that Archbishop's death; or, as he writes more expressly in another place, that he fled from the persecution of that Archbishop, and became minister of the English church there (g), does not strictly fort with chronology; because the Archbishop appears by his monumental inscription (h), to have died some months before that sermon above was preached by Mr Ames, at St Mary's. And Bayle says, he published his book in favour of Puritanism the same year in

(a) Hist. of the University of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 159.

(b) Letter from W. Ames to a friend, MS.

(c) Lib. v. c. 2.

(d) Antonius.

(e) Langercruchius in Speculo.

(f) Dan. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, &c. Vol. II, 1733, p. 47.

(g) Ibid. p. 265.

(h) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 790.

in England. It might not however, be long after, that he went to the Hague; for in 1613, his dispute with Grevinchovius, Minister at Rotterdam, appeared in print. From thence we are told, he was invited by the States of Friesland, to the divinity chair in the university of Franeker; which he filled with universal reputation for many years. He was at the synod of Dort in 1618, and informed King James's Ambassador, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly (i). After he had been at least twelve years in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, he resigned his professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too sharp for him, who was troubled with such a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every winter would be his last. Besides, he was desirous of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had refused for many years. He held many publick disputes, published many learned books, and was a very popular man in all this time; but as his writings were published abroad, and it is difficult to come at the first editions, so as to mention them distinctly, according to the course of publication, we shall cast them in a note together at the latter end. Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*, but lived not to publish it himself; for his constitution was so shattered, that the air of Holland did him no service, upon which he determined to remove to New England; but his asthma returning, at the beginning of the winter, put an end to his life at Rotterdam; where he was buried on the fourteenth of November, N. S. 1633 (*). Next spring his wife and children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable library of Books, which was a rich treasure to the said country at that time. He was a very learned Divine, concludes my last cited author; a strict Calvinist in doctrine, and of the persuasion of the Independents, with regard to the subordination and power of Classes and Synods (k). The same year he died, the last book he wrote aforesaid was published, we suppose at Rotterdam, for no place is mentioned. The editor informs us, that 'with the coming forth of this book into the light, the learned and famous author, Dr Ames, left the light, or darkness rather, of this world. And though his name, in this controversy, was hitherto concealed, yet that which was generally but imagined before, (that the *Reply*, and this *Fresh Suit*, to Dr Burgefs's *Rejoinder*, were his work) is now certainly known to be his. It pleads truth succinctly and perspicuously, as indeed his vein in all his writings and discourses did most admirably lead him to do. Concluding, that he shewed himself a pattern of holiness, a burning and shining light, a lamp of learning and arts, a champion for truth, especially while he was, for the space of twelve years at least, in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, &c. (l)'. After this advertisement follows a copper print of him, in a little black silk cap, thin piqued beard, ruff about his neck, and a cloak over his shoulder. The inscription round it mentions him to be fifty-seven years of age, in the year aforesaid of his death. On the back of this picture is a testimony by S. O. asserting, 'That the Doctor's books are famous in all Europe; upon which many have come to him out of Hungary, Poland, Prussia, and Flanders, to be educated; as sundry students in our land, can testify: and I myself, and divers others have heard them affirm, they would not have stayed there, but for the liking they had of him.' Of these works, there is also in this book a catalogue; which, because short and imperfect, we shall, in a note below, enlarge [A]; and conclude with mentioning

(i) Neal, ubi supra.

(*) Henning Witte, in his *Diarium Biographicum*, places his death erroneously six years later.

(k) D. Neal, ubi supra.

(l) Dr Ames's *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*, &c. 4to, 1633, in Advertisement to the Reader.

[A] In a note below enlarge.] 1. *Sermons* preached at St Mary's in Cambridge, &c. when, or whether printed, we know not. 2. *Puritanismus Anglicanus*, 8vo. 1610. and in English, at London, 4to. 1641, containing the chief doctrines of the Puritans. 3. *Disceptatio Scholastica inter Nic. Grevinchovium & Gul. Amesium*, &c. 8vo. Amst. 1613, concerning Arminius's opinions of election, &c. 4. *Disput. inter Amesium & N. Grevinchovium*, &c. Roterd. 8vo. 1615, Lugd. Bat. 1617, 1633, &c. about reconciliation by the death of Christ, &c. 5. *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem*, 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1618, 1628, 1630. confuting the answers given by the Arminians to the Dutch pastors. 6. *Medulla Theologica*, 12mo. Franek. 1623. Amst. 1627, 1628, 1634, 1641; also in English, Lond. 12mo. 7. *Explicatio Utriusque Epistolæ S. Petri*. 12mo. Amst. 1625, 1635; the same in English, Lond. 4to. 8. *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 8vo. Franek. 1626; against the Socinians. 9. *Bellarminus enervatus*, &c. 8vo. Amst. 1627, 1628. Oxon. 1629. Lond. 1633, &c. 10. *De Conscientia*, &c. 12mo. Amst. 1630, 1631, 1643; and in English with this title: A Treatise on Conscience, with the Power and Cases thereof, Lond. 4to. 1643. 11. *Antisynodalia*, &c. 12mo. Franek. 1629. Amst. 1633; against the Remonstrants. 12. *Demonstratio Logica veræ*, 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1632. 13. *Disputatio Theologica*, ibid. against Metaphysicks. 14. *Tech-nometria*, &c. Amst. 8vo. 1632, or the purpose and bounds of arts. 15. *A Reply to Bishop Morton* (*). 16. *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship; or, a Treplication upon Dr Burgefs's Rejoinder for Dr Morton*, 4to. 1633. 17. *A first and second Manu-*

duction. 18. *Rescriptio ad Responsum Grevinchovii de Redemptione Generali*, 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1634. 19. *Christianæ Catechesæ Sciographia*, 8vo. Franek: 1635. 20. *Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis*, &c. 8vo, Amst. 1635, & Lond. 1647. Besides some Prefaces, &c. to the writings of others; as before a book compiled by Dr W. Twisse (1); and a few other scattered pieces, not mentioned in any catalogue of his books. His Latin works were reprinted in an uniform edition, with a preface by Matthias Nethenus (2). A year after his death, John Canne, the leader of the English Brownists at Amsterdam, published a treatise, in answer to Dr Ames, Mr Daryl, and Mr Bradshaw (3). But several other books there are in print, which maintain the Doctor's tenets, and build themselves much on his authority; as that, published the same year by Caspar Streso, intitled, *Respons. pro Amesio, ad Disputationem J. Bodsacci* (4); and more particularly another, written not long after his death, by an English preacher at Amsterdam, in reply to some approver of promiscuous baptism; where much distinction seems paid to Dr Ames, for his not allowing thereof; also shewing his fitness for the pastoral office; his judgment of the power by which the Church ought to be governed, and his opinion of synods and classes; wherewith the said author confirms his own arguments. Herein is also some justification of Dr Ames, for his removal from Franeker to the English assembly at Rotterdam; and an account of what works he was author of: which, had it been now at hand, might have perhaps some how improved the catalogue above.

(1) *Vindiciæ Gratia, Potestatis, ac Providentiæ Dei*. h. e. *Responso ad Examen*, lib. Perkiniani de Predestinatione, à Jac. Arminio institutum. lib. iii. Amst. fol. 1632.

(2) Amst. 5 Tom. 8vo, 1658.

(3) The Necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the principles of the Non-conformists, &c. 4to, 1634.

(4) Octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1634.

(*) To his *Defense of three Ceremonies*, &c. the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, 4to, 1610. The *Reply* was printed 4to, 1622, which seems to have produced Duplication Adversus Repliam Ab Morton, 8vo, Col. 1633, and this to have been followed by the *Fresh Suit*, or *Treplication*, next mentioned.

[E] To

mentioning two or three authors more of the name, to prevent their being confounded with him [B].

[B] *To prevent their being confounded with him.* One of them, named also William Ames, was a Divine, and publisher of some tracts; but, indeed, later in time; he was a Master of Arts, and in 1651, preached a sermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, John Kendrick, which was soon after printed (5). Whether this was son of the former, we are not positive; nor whether he was the same with that William Ames, who was a Quaker, at Amsterdam, and publisher of many books; from 1657, to 1677, and after; fourteen whereof, written in Dutch, may be more parti-

cularly seen in the author who has taken the pains to preserve their titles (6). Another of this surname, was Edward Ames, styled Bishop of Cork and Ross, and author of two sermons, called *The Protestant Peace-maker*; with a Postscript or Notes on Mr Baxter's, and some other late writings for peace, 4to. Lond. 1682 (7). But that he was Bishop of the said See at this date of that work, does not clearly appear in the succession of Irish Bishops: for Dr Edward Wetenhall is said to have held the same, from 1678, to the year 1699, and then was succeeded by Dr Dive Downes (8). G

(6) John Whiting's Catalogue of the *Friends* books, 8vo, Lond. 1708. p. 217, &c.
(7) Catal. Impress. Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ. fol. Oxon. 1738, Tom I. p. 41.
(8) Sir James Ware's *Antiq. & of Cassel*, p. 37.

Hist. of Ireland. edit. fol. 1714, under the Archbishops

A N D E R S O N Sir (EDMUND) is said by the Oxford antiquary, to have been a younger brother of a genteel family, in the parish of Broughton in Lincolnshire (a). Another writer says, it was at Flixborough in Lincolnshire (b). However the family which was originally from Scotland, had first retired into Northumberland, and from thence passed into Lincolnshire (*), where Thomas Anderson, Esq; father to our Edmund, must have been possessed of a very considerable estate, since he left this younger son of his a thousand pounds to begin the world with, which in those days was a very considerable sum (c). After perfecting his grammatical studies in the country, he spent some time at Oxford, in Lincoln-college, from whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he read law with great assiduity, and in due time became a Barrister. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, he was both Lent and Summer reader; and in the sixteenth of the Queen, Double reader (d). Notes of which readings, are yet extant in MS (e). In the nineteenth of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed the Queen's Serjeant at Law. Some time after, but the date I no where find, he became Judge, or, as I take it, one of the Justices of Assize. For in 1581, he went the Norfolk circuit, and at Bury exerted himself against the famous Browne, who was the author of those opinions, which were afterwards maintained by a sect, called from him Brownists. For this conduct of Judge Anderson, Dr Edmund Freke, then Bishop of Norwich, wrote a letter to the Treasurer Burleigh, desiring that the said Judge might receive the Queen's thanks, which it is very probable he had, because our Judge ever afterwards distinguished himself, as we shall see, in the support of the Established Church (f). In the spring of the year 1582, he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and took his place there, on the fourth day of May, in a manner so particular, that one cannot doubt the reader's being pleased with the account thereof inserted in the notes [A]. In the year following he received the honour of knighthood. In 1586, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for trying Mary, Queen of Scots, and on the twelfth of October the same year, he sat in judgment upon her, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, he sat again in the Star-chamber, when sentence was pronounced against that Queen (g). In 1587, he sat in the Star-chamber on Secretary Davison, who was there charged with issuing the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's command, and without her knowledge. After the cause had been heard, Sir Roger Manwood then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave his opinion first, wherein he extolled the Queen's clemency, which he said Davison had inconsiderately prevented, wherefore he was for fining him ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure. Our Chief Justice spoke next, he said that Davison had done *Justum, non Juste*, that is, *He had done what was right, not in a due manner*; otherwise

(a) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 328, edit. 1721.
(b) *Anglorum Speculum*: or, England's Worthies, p. 450, Lond. 1684, 8vo.
(c) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 803, Lond. 1670, 2d edit. 8vo.
(d) *E Registro Hospicii Interior. Templi*, fol. 149, 150, 165.
(e) See note [D].
(f) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 16.
(g) *Camdeni Annal.* 1586.

[A] *Inserted in the notes.* This account is taken from a letter, written by Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to the Lord Treasurer (Burleigh) that part of it which relates to our Sage in the law, ran thus. 'On Saturday in the morning, my Lord Chancellor did awhile stand at the Chancery bar, on the side of the hall. And soon after that the Justices of the Common-Pleas were set, his Lordship came to the Common-Pleas, and there fate down. And all the serjeants standing at the bar, my Lord Chancellor called Anderson by name, declared unto him her Majesty's good likings and opinion of him, and of the place and dignity her Majesty had called him unto. And then my Lord Chancellor made a short discourse, what the duty and office of a good Justice was. And in the end, his Lordship called him up into the midst of the court; and then Mr Anderson kneeling, his commission was read: and that done, his Lordship took the patent into his hand; and then the clerk of the crown, Powle, did read him his oath. And after, he himself read the oath of Supremacy, and so kissed the book. And my Lord Chancellor took him by the hand, and placed him upon the bench. And then Father Benloos, because he was antient, did put a short case. And then Serjeant Fleetwood put the next. To the first, V O L. I. No. 12.

' my new Lord Chief Justice did himself only argue. ' But to the next that Fleetwood put, both he and the residue of the bench did argue. And I assure your Lordship, added the Recorder, he argued very learnedly; and with great facility delivered his mind. And this one thing was noted in him, that he dispatched more orders, and answered more difficult cases, in that one forenoon, than were dispatched in a whole week in the time of his predecessors.' The Recorder farther remarks in this letter, another singularity in these words. ' My Lord, under *Benedicite*, there runneth a marvellous speech over all London, that greater sums of money were offered (to whom I know not) than I may well write of, by one of the Exchequer; and all was for this office of Lord Chief Justice. If it were true, the party did not well; if it were not true, the first reporters were much to blame, to scandalize such an officer of her Majesty; by which means he is grown into a greater discredit, than may be in a short time easily forgotten.' Adding (to the Lord Treasurer's honour) ' That it was almost in every man's mouth, that his Lordship, after that he had understanding of the offering of such a mass of money, was the means of keeping him from that cushion; concluding, ' Truly, my Lord, it was well done (1).'

(1) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 139.

[B] *from*

M m

(b) *Camd. A. D.*
1587.
Lloyd, p. 803.
England's Wor-
thies, p. 460.

otherwise he thought him no bad man (b). As this was a very busy reign, and as our Chief Justice was held one of the most learned sages of the law, he had much employment therein; it being the peculiar policy of Queen Elizabeth's administration, to do all things with the greatest form, and where the matter would admit of it, with all the countenance from the law that could be given. For this reason, in the proceedings against those, who endeavoured to set up the Geneva discipline, in a manner by force, Lord Chief Justice Anderson was frequently made use of, and as he discharged his trust with great zeal, so in the case of Udal, a Puritan minister, who was confined in the year 1589, tried and condemned the year following, our Judge is severely censured by Mr Peirce (i), as one who endeavoured to trick that worthy man out of his life, with what reason the reader will judge from the account given in the note [B]. It is highly probable, that the Judge himself was sensible of the ill will his proceedings against these sort of people drew upon him, but it does not appear that it gave him any great pain; since in 1596, we have an account of his going the northern circuit, wherein he behaved himself exactly in the same way [C], declaring in his charges, that such persons as opposed

(i) *Vindication*
of the Dissenters,
London, 1717, 8vo,
p. 129.

[B] *From the account given in the note.* We shall, as it is our duty, set down the whole of this matter fairly, and in our author's own words. On the 13th of January, 1589-90, Mr Udal appeared at the Lord Cobham's house, before the Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, Dr John Young, Bishop of Rochester; Mr Fortescue, Mr Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor; Dr Aubery, and Dr Lewin. I am careful to set down their names, that they may be remembered as they deserve. The Bishop asked him whether he had the allowance of the Bishop of the diocese to go to Newcastle? Udal told him, there was no Bishop at that time in that diocese. Then, says the Bishop, you should have gone to the Archbishop; but, says Udal, there was no Archbishop at York neither. This matter then dropped; though afterwards Mr Fortescue, thinking he would cramp him, brought it about again. You are, says he, very cunning in the law; I pray you, by what law did you preach at Newcastle, being forbidden at Kingston? To which Udal answered, he knew no law against it, seeing it was the official, Dr Hone, who silenced him, whose authority reached not out of his Archdeaconry. And so there was an end of that matter, which was too impertinent to have been started; but only as they would have been glad of any occasion of worrying him; then the Lord Chief Justice Anderson told him, he was called thither to answer concerning certain books, thought to be of his writing. He told them, if it was any of Martin's books (as my Lord Chamberlain's letters imported) he had cleared himself at Lambeth a year and a half before, from being the author of them. Then was he questioned, whether he was the author of the Demonstration, or the Dialogue; to which he refused to answer. When he was asked why he would clear himself of Martin and not of these: he said, because he would not be thought to handle the cause of discipline as Martin did; but he thought otherwise of the books now mentioned, and cared not, though they should be fathered upon him. He said likewise, he thought the author, for any thing he knew, did well; and he knew he was inquired after to be punished, and therefore he thought it his duty to hinder the finding him out, which he could not better do than this: for if every one suspected denied it, the author, at length, must needs be found out. The Lord Anderson then urged him: Why dare you not confess it, if you be the author of it? Dare you not stand to your own doings? to this he thus answered: I professed before that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them, but whether I made them or no, I will not answer; neither if any other book of that argument whatsoever, goeth without name, if you should ask me for the reasons alledged before. Besides that, if I were the author, I think that by law, I need not answer. That is true, says Anderson, if it concerned the loss of your life. Oh barbarous wickedness! to urge and screw him by such arts as these to witness against himself, and to insinuate the matter did not touch his life, when the design was to try him for his life, as they afterwards did and condemned him. Well, Udal answered him thus: I pray your Lordship, doth not the law say generally; No man shall be put to answer without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process, and writ original, &c. A. 42. *Edw. 3. cap. III.* that is law, says Anderson, and it is not Law. I understand you not, my Lord, says Udal: 'tis a statute which is in force, if it be not

repealed; and so that Lord's mouth was stopped for a while, and he was relieved by some of his auxiliaries (2).

As to the case of Mr Udal, the reader will find it at large, under his article in this Dictionary; but as to what relates to the Lord Chief Justice Anderson, it is but reasonable to discuss that matter here. All that is said above is taken from Udal's trial, which was published by himself or his friends, and therefore it might be questioned, whether this be strict evidence against the Chief Justice. But admit it were so; he sat here as one of the Queen's commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and therefore, what he says must be considered as said in that capacity. The answer, with respect to the statute, is very obscure. Another writer, who pretends to transcribe Mr Peirce (3), tells us, the Lord Chief Justice answered, *That is law if it be not repealed*; this is clear and plain, and in favour of the prisoner. As to the exclamation in the foregoing account, it seems to be not altogether well founded; and, without breach of charity, one may venture to say, that it has no foundation at all. For it stands on this supposition; that the Chief Justice then knew, that there was an intention to try Udal for his life; a thing altogether improbable. This examination was in January, and he was not tried till the 24th of July following. Mr Neal indeed, would help this matter a little better out; for he, instead of Peirce's exclamation, inserts this reflection: *And yet the Justice tried and condemned him for his life* (4), which is a direct falsehood, inasmuch, as the Judges who tried him, were Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering; neither was he condemned when he was convicted, but at the Lent assizes following; and then by Serjeant Puckering, and not Sir E. Anderson; so that on the whole, though this case may prove that our Chief Justice was a vehement man against Puritans, yet it proves nothing as to his endeavouring to take away Udal's life.

[C] *Behaved himself exactly in the same way.* After the business of Hacket and Coppinger, which in those days was thought the first stirrings of rebellion, in favour of the Geneva discipline, the Judges were very severe upon Separatists; and our Chief Justice, to whom the law was a guide in all things, certainly carried this matter pretty far: we have still remaining the following account of his proceedings at Lincoln assizes, which, as a proof of our impartiality, we shall set down at large. Since my Lord Anderson hath obtained to ride this circuit, the ministry is grown into intolerable contempt; which is universally imputed unto him, both by those that would, and those that would not have it so. I am not ignorant how dangerous it is to speak the truth of mighty men, and how unlawful it is, by the word of God, to malign the rulers of the people. Neither, I thank God, have I any affection to blot paper with depraving words; and therefore, I will report to you what is done and no further. My Lord Anderson, in his first and second charge at Lincoln, insinuated with wonderful vehemency, that the country is troubled with Brownists, with Disciplinarians, as he called them; and erectors of Presbyteries. I speak the truth to you, Sir, having been at Alford these fourteen years, I never heard of any Brownist, but only one Thomas Man, who presently fled upon his schism: nor do know any minister or other in all this country, that doth so much as favour the erecting of a presbytery. Neither are the people made acquainted

(2) *Pierce's Vindication*, Part I.
p. 129, 130.

(3) *Mr Neal in his History of the Puritans*, Vol. I.
p. 509.

(4) *Ubi supra.*

opposed the Established Church, opposed her Majesty's authority, who was Supreme in cases as well ecclesiastical, as civil, and were, in that light enemies to the state, and disturbers of the publick peace; wherefore of such he directed the grand-juries to enquire, that they might be punished (k). He was indeed a very rigid lawyer, one who governed himself entirely by statutes, and thought only that to be right which was law. This appeared very signally in his conduct at the trial of Henry Cuffe, who was Secretary to the Earl of Essex, where the Attorney-General charging the prisoner syllogistically, and Cuffe answering him in the same style, L. C. J. Anderson said smartly, *I sit here to judge of Law, and not of Logick*, and directed Mr Attorney to press the statute of Edward III, which was that on which Mr Cuffe was indicted (l). His sternness made him more feared than loved; however, as an able lawyer, and a Judge of great experience, he kept his post, in the execution of which he was reputed severe and strict in the observation of what was taught in courts, and laid down as law by Reports; but this ought to be considered as a vulgar opinion, only grounded on his known attachment to the constitution, and his high notions of the reasonableness of our laws, for otherwise we have his express declaration to the contrary, and that he neither expected precedents in all cases, nor would be bound by them where he saw they were not founded upon justice, but would act as if there were no such precedents (m) [D]. His steadiness was so great, that he valued no interest at court, nor would be driven from what he thought right, by any authority whatever, as manifestly appeared in the case of Cavendish, wherein he defied the powerful Earl of Leicester, and got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative (n) [E]. Neither was it in his own case alone

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 267.

(l) Camd. Ann. A. D. 1600. England's Worthies, p. 460. Lloyd, p. 803.

(m) Goldesborough Reports, p. 96.

(n) Le Neve's MS. Vol. III. p. 359.

acquainted with the controversy of discipline, in all Lindsey coast, that I can perceive. For men have enough to do, to stand by that religion which her blessed Majesty hath approved unto us, by her express laws. Nevertheless, the ill affected people, upon the occasion of these two charges, do think all religion will be made Brownism. And this judge, with so much wrath, so many oaths, and such reproachful revilings upon the bench, carrieth himself, that there is offence taken at it by persons of principal credit and note, throughout all the circuits. If he take information from covert Papists of the state of the Church there, how lamentable shall our case be. There have been assays given to extend the statute of recusancy, to those that go to hear sermons elsewhere, though at other times they frequent their own church, and hear divine service most dutifully. In his charge this last time, he called the preachers knaves; saying that they would start up in the pulpit, and speak against every body. And whereas, there was the last Lent obtained by Lord Clinton, and the Deputy-lieutenants, for those parts, with other Justices, the Bishop's allowance, with certain conditions for a meeting to be held at Lowth, to spend the whole day in the hearing of the Word, wherein men might fast if they would; and thereupon certain preachers being moved by them, preached there; he urged thereupon, the statute for conventicles, and animated the grand-jury accordingly; affirming that he would complain to her Majesty of any, (though never so great) which should shew themselves discontented with the jury for any such matter. The demeanor of him and the other judge, as they sit by turns upon the jail, is quite opposite. And those who are maliciously affected, when Mr Justice Clinch sitteth upon the jail, do labour to adjourn their complaints (though they be before upon the file) to the next assize. And the gentlemen, in the several shires, are endangered by this means to be cast into a faction. The best is, that there is little faction likely to grow among the ministers hereby. For howsoever they differ otherwise, they hold this to be the common cause; and do heartily with a more christian proceeding. Now the reason why a faction is like to grow in the one, and not in the other, is very evident; and that is this; that there are very few in the ministry which are Papists in their hearts. And the most must needs love the common cause of religion: for the other sort you are wise enough to consider the difference. These passages are taken from a letter, written by a person unknown of the clergy, to a person of quality (5). Mr Neal, in his history of the Puritans, citing a passage from this letter, quotes Strype simply in his margin (6), which must naturally mislead the reader, because there is not one word said of it's being only a citation in Strype. This is a material thing. For if the Chief Justice was violent on the one hand, this letter-writer is no less partial on the other; and therefore it was necessary to distinguish, that this was a charge brought against the

Chief Justice, and not any conclusion of Mr Strype's founded on hearing the evidence on both sides.

[D] *Would act as if there were no such precedents.* This fact we learn from the Reports in his time, published by Mr Goldesborough. 'The case of the Refecit was moved again; and Shuttleworth said, that he cannot be received, because he is named in the writ, and said that he had searched all the books, and there is not one case, where he which is named in the writ, may be received. Anderson. What of that? Shall not we give judgment because it is not adjudged in the books before? We will give judgment according to reason, and if there be no reason in the books, I will not regard them (7).'

[E] *Got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative.* The case was this, one Mr Cavendish, who was a creature of the Earl of Leicester's, had procured by his interest the Queen's letters patents, for making out writs of Superfedeas upon Exigents in the court of Common-Pleas, and a message was sent to the Judges to admit him to that office, with which, as they conceived, the Queen had no right to grant any such patent, they did not comply. Upon this, Mr Cavendish, by the assistance of his patron, obtained a letter from the Queen to quicken them, which however did not produce what was expected from it. The courtier however pursued his point, and obtained another letter under the Queen's signet and sign manual, conceived in the following terms: 'Trufty and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we granted to our trufty and well beloved servant Richard Cavendish, Esq; by our letters patents, under our great seal of England, the making, and writing of all Superfedeas upon Exigent, issuing out of our Court of Common-Pleas, and have divers times sent unto you for his admittance into the said office, as well by message delivered by persons near about us, as otherwise, which nevertheless hath been neglected; in consideration whereof, we, for that our said servant was to depart into the Low Countries for a season, gave commandment for the sequestration *de les profits* of the said office, until our further pleasure therein should be declared, wherefore for that we look for some more dutiful regard to be had by you of our prerogative royal, we have thought good to signify our further pleasure unto you in this behalf, which is, that our said servant be no longer withholden from the benefit and use of our said grant: and these are therefore to will and command you, and every of you, that immediately, upon the sight thereof, without any further delay, you cause present payment to be made unto him, or to his assign, of all the foresaid profits, since the day of our said grant upon bond, with condition, that if from time of his admission into the said office, he, his deputy or deputies, shall by virtue of our said grant, hold and enjoy the same; without lawful eviction or recovery thereof, out of the hands of him or his deputy or deputies, by any other pretended title to the making and writing

(7) Goldesborough's Reports, 4^{to}, 1653; p. 96.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 267.

(6) History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 589.

alone that he shewed this firmness, but in concurrence with his brethren, he remonstrated boldly against such acts of power as were but too common in those days, and that too with effect, as appears by that memorable remonstrance recorded by him in his Reports, and which ought to claim a place in our history [F]. On the accession of King James I, he was continued in his office by that Monarch (o), and held it in all upwards of twenty-four years, to the time of his death, which fell out at London, August 1, 1605 (p). His body was interred on the fifteenth of September following, at Eyworth in Bedfordshire, with great funeral pomp; and in his office he was succeeded by Sir Francis Gawdy (q). His works are still, and have been always, esteemed by lawyers; and therefore an account is given of them in a note [G]. Our Chief Justice married (r) Magdalen, daughter of Nicholas Smith of Annables in Hertfordshire, by whom he was remarkably happy in his issue, which were three sons, Edward, Francis, William, and six daughters, two of which died young. Of those that survived, Elizabeth married Sir Hatton Farmer, Knt. ancestor to the present Earl of Pontefract; Griselda espoused Sir John Sheffield, Knt. from whom descended the late Duke of Buckinghamshire. Catherine became the wife of Sir George Booth, Bart. ancestor to the Earls of Warrington; and Margaret, by Sir Thomas Monson, Bart. established the family of the Lords Monson. As for the sons, Edward the eldest died without issue. Francis the second son was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and his youngest son by his second wife, Sir John Anderfon, of St Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, was created Baronet in 1628 (s). William, the Chief Justice's youngest son, left one son Edmond, who was created Baronet by King Charles II, and his family still flourishes at Kiln-wick Percy, in the east riding of Yorkshire (t). Stephen Anderfon, Esq; eldest son and heir of Stephen Anderfon, Esq; son and heir of Sir

(o) Patent. 1 Jacob. p. 24.

(p) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 141.

(q) Dugdale's Chronicle. Series P. 162.

(r) Ex Stem. prædict. pen. Dom. Edmond. Anderfon.

(s) See the funeral Certificate Book of William Camden, Esq; Clarendon in the College of Arms marked I. 16. fol. 212.

(t) By information from the rev. Mr. Wilkinfon.

' the said writs, that then the said obligation to be void, &c. And furthermore our will and pleasure is, and thereunto we will and command you, that upon our said servant offering of himself unto you in our said court, this next term, you presently, without any further delay, admit him unto the use, execution, and profits, of the said office, according to our said grant, for that we be nothing ignorant, that if any of your clerks, have any such title or interest as they pretend, both our laws lie open for their remedy, and also they be persons both for wealth and skill, able to recover their own right if any such be: in consideration whereof, we look that you and every of you, should thankfully fulfil our commandment therein, and then our letters shall be your warrant, &c. Given under, &c. the twenty-first day of April, 1587, ann. 29 Eliz.' This letter was delivered in the presence of the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Leicester, in the beginning of Easter term in the said year, and the Judges desired time to consider of it, and then answered, that they could not comply with the letter, because it was inconsistent with their duty, and to their oaths of office. The Queen upon this appointed the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and the Master of the Rolls, to hear this matter, and the Queen's Serjeant having set forth her prerogative, it was shewn by the Judges, that they could not grant offices by virtue of the Queen's letters, where it did not appear to them that she had a power to grant, and that as the Judges were bound by their oaths of office, so her Majesty was restrained by her coronation oath, from such arbitrary interpositions, with which her Majesty was satisfied (8).

[F] Claim a place in our history.] The Chief Justice tells us in his Reports, that many people being committed to different prisons without good cause, and being released by the courts of King's Bench and Common-Pleas, notwithstanding the endeavours of great men to the contrary, it was resolved to endeavour the obtaining some remedy, and with this view the Judges drew up the following paper. ' We her Majesty's Justices of both the Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, desire your Lordships, that by some good means, some order may be taken, that her Highness's subjects may not be committed nor detained in prison by commandment of any Nobleman or Counsellor, against the laws of the realm, either else to help us to have access to her Majesty, to the end to become suitors to her for the same.

' For divers have been imprisoned, for suing ordinary actions and suits at the common law, until they have been constrained to leave the same against their wills, and put the same to order, albeit judgment and execution have been had therein to their great losses and griefs.

' For the aid of which persons, her Majesty's writs have sundry times been directed to divers persons, having the custody of such persons unlawfully im-

prisoned, upon which writs no good or lawful cause of imprisonment, hath been returned or certified: whereupon according to the laws, they have been discharged from their imprisonment.

' Some of which persons so delivered, have been again committed to prison in secret places, and not to any common or ordinary prisons, or lawful officer, as Sheriff, or other lawfully authorized, to have, or keep a goal; so that upon complaint made for their delivery, the Queen's courts cannot learn to whom to direct her Majesty's writs, and by this means justice cannot be done.

' And moreover divers officers, and Serjeants of London, have been many times committed to prison, for lawfully executing her Majesty's writs, sued forth of her Majesty's courts at Westminster, and thereby her Majesty's subjects and officers so terrified, as they dare not sue, or execute her Majesty's laws, her writs and commandments.

' Divers others have been sent for by Pursuivants and brought to London from their dwellings, and by unlawful imprisonment have been constrained, not only to withdraw their lawful suits, but have also been compelled to pay the Pursuivants bringing such persons, great sums of money.

' All which upon complaint, the Judges are bound by office and oath, to relieve and help, by and according to her Majesty's laws.

' And where it pleased your Lordships to will divers of us, to set down in what cases a person sent to custody by her Majesty, her council, some one or two of them are to be detained in prison, and not delivered by her Majesty's Courts or Judges, we think that if any person be committed by her Majesty's commandment from her person, or by order from her Council-board, or if any one or two of her council commit one for high-treason, such persons, so in the case before committed, may not be delivered by any of her courts without due trial by the law, and judgment of acquittal had.

' Nevertheless the Judges may award the Queen's writs, to bring the bodies of such persons before them, and if upon return thereof, the causes of their commitment be certified to the Judges as it ought to be, then the Judges in the cases before ought not to deliver him, but to remand the prisoner to the place from whence he came.

' Which cannot conveniently be done, unless notice of the cause in generality, or else especially, be given to the keeper or goaler that shall have the custody of such prisoner.

' All the Judges and Barons, &c. did subscribe their names to these articles, Easter Term 34 Eliz. and deliver one to the Lord Chancellor, and one other to the Lord Treasurer, after which time, there did follow more quietness than before, in the causes beforementioned (9).

[G] An account is given of them in a note.] As to the writings of this great lawyer, besides his readings, which

(8) Anderfon's Reports, P. i. p. 152—158.

(9) Ibid. P. i. p. 297.

Sir Francis Anderfon beforementioned, was likewise raised to the dignity of a Baronet, in the sixteenth of Charles II, and his honour is now possessed by his direct descendant, Sir (u) Stephen Anderfon, of Broughton in Lincolnshire, and Eyworth in Bedfordshire.

(d) By information from the family.

which are yet in manuscript, and were lately in a publick sale. His printed works are these: 1. Reports of many principal cases argued and adjudged in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the common bench, London 1644, folio. 2. Resolutions and judgments on the

cases and matters, agitated in all the courts of Westminster, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Published by John Goldsborough, Esq; prothonary of the Common Pleas, London 1653, 4to.

E

A N D R E W S (LANCELOT), an eminent Divine, and Bishop of Winchester in the reigns of James I and Charles I, was born at London, in 1565, in the parish of All-Hallows Barking, being descended from the ancient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk (a) [A]. He had his education in grammar-learning, first in the Coopers free-school at Ratcliff under Mr Ward; and afterwards in Merchant-Taylors school at London, under Mr Mulcafter. Here he made such a proficiency in the learned languages, that Dr Watts, Residentiary of St Paul's and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who had lately founded some scholarships (b) at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, sent him to that college, and bestowed on him the first of those exhibitions. After he had been three years in the university, his custom was to come up to London once a year, about Easter, to visit his father and mother, with whom he usually stayed a month; during which time, with the assistance of a master, he applied himself to the attaining some language or art, to which he was before a stranger: and by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and sciences, and acquired a competent skill in most of the modern languages. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was, upon a vacancy, chosen fellow of his college [B]. In the mean time Hugh Price, having built Jesus-college in Oxford, and hearing much of the fame of young Mr Andrews, appointed him one of his first fellows (c) on that foundation. Having taken the degree of Master of Arts, he applied himself to the study of divinity, in the knowledge of which he greatly excelled; inasmuch that, being chosen Catechist in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the Ten Commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the university, and even out of the country, duly resorted to Pembroke-chapel, as to a divinity lecture. At the same time, he was esteemed so profound a Casuist, that he was often consulted in the nicest and most difficult cases of conscience. And now his reputation being spread far and near, Henry Earl of Huntingdon prevailed upon him to accompany him into the North, of which he was President; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he used a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted several Recufants, Priests as well as others, to the Protestant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth (d). That Minister, who was unwilling so fine a genius should be buried in the obscurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him Reader of controversies in the university of Cambridge, assigned him for his maintenance the lease of the parsonage of Alton in Hampshire (e), and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate in London. Afterwards he was chosen a Prebendary and Residentiary of St Paul's, as also Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he distinguished himself as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at St Paul's, in term time. Upon the death of Dr Fulke, he was chosen Master of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been scholar and fellow: a place of more honour than profit, since he spent more upon it than he received from it, and was a considerable benefactor to that college [C]. He was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who took such delight in his preaching; that she first made him a Prebendary of Westminster, in the room of Dr Richard Bancroft promoted to the see of London; and afterwards Dean of that church, in the room of Dr Gabriel Goodman deceased (f). Dr Andrews soon grew into far greater esteem with her successor King James I, who not only gave him the preference to all other Divines as a preacher, but likewise made choice of him to vindicate his sovereignty against the virulent pens of his enemies [D]. That King promoted him to the bishoprick of Chichester,

(a) Mr Isaacson's Life of Bishop Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, Lond. 1651.

(b) Since called Greek Scholarships.

(c) Mr Wood calls them Honorary or Titular Scholarships. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122.

(d) Life of Bishop Andrews, ubi supra.

(e) His Funeral Sermon, by the Bishop of Ely, subjoined to the second edition of his Sermons, in 1631, p. 18.

(f) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122. and Life of Bp Andrews, ubi supra.

[A] He was descended from the ancient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk. His father, who had spent most part of his life at sea, was, in the decline of his years, chosen master of the Trinity-House at Deptford (1).

[B] He was, upon a vacancy, chosen fellow of his college. There being at that time but one vacant fellowship, and Mr Dove (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough) being then a scholar of the house, and well approved of by the society; the master and fellows put the two young gentlemen to a trial before them in some Academical exercises: upon the performance whereof, they preferred Mr Andrews, and elected him into the fellowship. However, being unwilling to lose Mr Dove, for whom they had a great esteem, they made him an allowance for his present maintenance, under the title of *Tanquam Socius* (2).

[C] He was a considerable benefactor to Pembroke-Hall. When he first became master of that college, he found it in debt, being then of a very small endowment: but, by his care and management, he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treasury, towards improving the college estate. By his last Will and Testament, he left to that college one thousand pounds, to purchase lands for two fellowships, and other uses; three hundred volumes in folio to the library, of such books as were not there before; and lastly, a gilt cup, basin, and ewer, exactly like those given three hundred years before to the college by the pious founders (3).

[D] King James ——— made choice of him, to vindicate his sovereignty against the virulent pens of his enemies. His Majesty having, in his Defence of the Rights of Kings (4), asserted the authority of Christ

(3) Ibid.

(4) Printed among his Works, p. 427.

(1) Mr Isaacson's Life of Bp Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, London, 1651.

(2) Life, &c. ubi supra.

(g) Le Neve, Fasti Eccles. Angl. p. 58. and Life, &c. ubi supra.

(h) Life, &c. ubi supra.

(i) Le Neve, ib. p. 70. and Life, &c. ubi supra.

(k) Le Neve, ibid. p. 287. and Life, &c. ubi supra.

Chichester, to which he was consecrated November 3, 1605 (g). At the same time he made him his Lord Almoner; in which place of great trust he behaved with singular fidelity, disposing of the royal benevolence in the properest manner, and not making those advantages to himself that he might legally and fairly have done (h). Upon the vacancy of the bishopric of Ely, he was advanced to that see, and consecrated September 22, 1609 (i). He was nominated one of his Majesty's Privy Counsellors of England; and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended the King in his journey to that kingdom. After he had sat nine years in that see, he was advanced to the bishopric of Winchester, and deanery of the King's chapel, February 18, 1618 (k); which two last preferments he held till his death. There is a pleasant story related of him, while he was Bishop of Winchester, in the *Life of Mr Waller the Poet* [E]. This great prelate was in no less reputation and esteem with King Charles I, than he had been with his predecessors. At length he departed this life, at Winchester-house in Southwark, September, 25, 1626, in the seventy-first year of his age; and was buried in the parish-church of St Saviour's Southwark; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaster, on which is an elegant Latin inscription [F], written by one

ftian Princes over causes and persons ecclesiastical, Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of Matthew Tortus, attacked him with great vehemence and bitterness. The King set bishop Andrews to answer the Cardinal; who did it, with great spirit and judgment, in a piece entitled, *Tortura Torti: five, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Responſio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam Serenissimi Potentissimique Principis Jacobi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britannæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro Juramento Fidelitatis, i. e. Tortus put to the Torture: Or, An Answer to Matthew Tortus's Book lately published against the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, written by the most serene and powerful Prince James by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.* It was printed at London by Roger Barker, the King's printer, in 1609, in quarto, containing 402 pages, and dedicated to the King. The substance of what the Bishop advances in this treatise, and with great strength of reason and evidence evinces, is, that Kings have power both to call Synods and confirm them; and to do all other things, which the Emperors heretofore diligently performed, and which the Bishops of those times willingly acknowledged of right to belong to them. *Ut consistat ad huc potestas sua regibus, qua & Synodos convocare & confirmare possent; & obire reliqua omnia, quæ & olim qui Imperatores diligenter obierunt, & qui tum episcopi libenter agnoverunt* (5). Casaubon (6) gives this book of Bishop Andrews's the character of being written with great accuracy and diligence. *Exactissimæ fidei & diligentis scriptum.*

[E] A pleasant story related of him, while he was Bishop of Winchester, in the *Life of Mr Waller the Poet*. That gentleman going to see the King at dinner, over-heard a very extraordinary conversation between his Majesty and two Prelates, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr Neale, Bishop of Durham, who were standing behind the King's chair. 'His Majesty asked the Bishops; *My Lords, cannot I take my subjects money when I want it, without all this formality in Parliament?* The Bishop of Durham readily answered; *God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.* Whereupon the King turned, and said to the Bishop of Winchester; *Well, my Lord, what say you?* Sir, replied the Bishop, *I have no skill to judge of Parliamentary cases.* The King answered; *No put-offs, my Lord; answer me presently.* Then, Sir, said he, *I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it.* Mr Waller said, the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the King. For a certain Lord coming in soon after, his Majesty cried out, *O my Lord, they say you lie with my Lady.* No, Sir, says his Lordship in confusion; *but I like her company, because she has so much wit.* Why, then, says the King, *do not you lie with my Lord of Winchester there?* (7) ?

[F] There is on his monument, *An elegant Latin inscription.* It is as follows.

L E C T O R,
Si Christianus es, siste:
Moræ pretium erit,

Non nescire te, qui vir hic situs sit.

Ejusdem tecum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Membrum,

Sub eadem felicitate Resurrectionis spe,
Eandem D. Jesu prætolans Epiphaniam,
Sacratissimus Antistes LANCELOTUS ANDREWS,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ,
Aulæ Pembroch. Alumorum, Sociorum, Præfectorum,
Unus, & nemini secundus.

Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,
Humanorum, Divinorum omnium
Infinitus Theſaurus, stupendum Oraculum:
Orthodoxæ Christi Ecclesiæ
Dicitis, Scriptis, Precibus, Exemplo,
Incomparabile Propugnaculum:
Reginæ Elizabethæ à Sacris,
D. Pauli London. Residentiarius,
D. Petri Westminster. Decanus,
Episcopus Cicerstrensis, Eliensis, Wintoniensis,
Regique Jacobo tum ab Eleemosynis,
Tum ab utriusque Regni Conſiliis,
Decanus denique Sacelli Regii.

Idem ex

Indefessa opera in studiis,
Summa Sapientia in rebus,
Assidua pietate in Deum,
Profusa largitate in Egenos,
Rara Amœnitate in suos,
Spectata probitate in omnes,
Æternum admirandus.
Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ satur,
Sed bonorum passum omnium cum luctu denatus,
Cælebs hinc migravit ad Aureolam cælestem,

Anno

Regis Caroli II, Ætatis suæ LXXI,
Christi M DC XXVI.

Tantum est (Leſtor) quod te moerentes posterii
Nunc volebant, atque ut ex Voto tuo valeas, Dicit
Sit Deo Gloria.

i. e. Reader, if thou art a Christian, stay; it will be worth thy tarrying, to know how great a man lies here. A member of the same Catholic Church with thy self; under the same hope of a happy resurrection; and in expectation of the same appearance of our Lord Jesus: the most holy Bishop LANCELOT ANDREWS; born at London; educated at Cambridge; one of the Scholars, Fellows, and Masters of Pembroke-Hall, and inferior to none: an infinite treasure, an amazing oracle, of languages, arts and sciences, and every branch of human and divine learning: an incomparable bulwark of the Orthodox Church of Christ, by his conversation, writings, prayers, and example. He was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth; Residentiary of St Paul's in London; Dean of St Peter's Westminster; Bishop, first of Chichester, then of Ely, and lastly of Winchester; Almoner to King James, Privy-Counsellor of both kingdoms, and Dean of the Royal Chapel. He merits eternal admiration, for his indefatigable application to his studies, his consummate experience and skill in affairs, his constant piety towards God, his liberality and charity to the poor,

(5) Tortura Torti, p. 177.

(6) In Epist. ad Frontonem Ducum.

(7) Life of Mr Waller, prefixed to his Works.

one of his Chaplains. Besides the *Tortura Torti* already mentioned (1), Bishop Andrews wrote *A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and *A Manual of Directions for the Visitation of the Sick*; besides *Sermons* [G], and several *Traacts* in English and Latin, published after his death [H]. He had a share in the translation of the *Pentateuch*, and the historical Books from *Joshua* to the *first book of Chronicles* exclusively (m). The character of Bishop Andrews, both publick and private, was in every respect great and singular. The author of his *Life*, so often referred to, celebrates in particular his great zeal and piety [I], his charity and compassion

(1) See the remark [D].

(m) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. B. viiij. P. 693.

poor, his uncommon affability and humanity to those about him, and his unshaken integrity towards all. Full of years and reputation, to the regret of all good men, he died, a bachelor, and exchanged this life for a crown of glory; in the second year of King Charles, the seventy-first of his age, and that of Christ 1626. Reader, farewell, and give glory to God.

[G] His sermons.] In the volume of his sermons, dedicated to King Charles I. there are seventeen on the Nativity, preached on Christmas-day; eight upon Repentance and Fasting, preached on Ashwednesday; six preached in Lent; three on the Passion, preached on Good-Friday; eighteen on the Resurrection, preached upon Easter-day; fifteen on the sending of the Holy Ghost, preached upon Whit-funday; eight preached on the fifth of August; ten on the fifth of November, and eleven on several occasions. They were published by the direction of his Majesty, and under the care and inspection of Dr William Laud, then Bishop of London, and Dr John Buckeridge, Bishop of Ely; the latter of whom preached Bishop Andrews's funeral sermon. 'When the author died, (say these editors in their dedication to the King) your Majesty thought it not fit his sermons should die with him. And though they could not live with all that elegance, which they had upon his tongue, yet you were graciously pleased to think a paper-life better than none. Upon this, your Majesty gave us a first charge, that we should overlook the papers (as well Sermons as other Tractates) of that reverend and worthy Prelate, and print all that we found perfect. Had they not come perfect, we should not have ventured to add any limme unto them, lest mixing a pen farre inferior, we should have disfigured such compleat bodies. Your Majesty's first care was for the presse, that the work might be publick. Your second was for the work itself, that it might come forth worthy the author; which could not be, if it came not forth as he left it. In pursuance of these two, we have brought the work to light, and we have done it with care and fidelity; for as the sermons were preached, so are they published. When he preached them, they had the general approbation of the court, and they made him famous for making them. Now they are printed, we hope they will have the general liking of the church, and enlarge and increase his name to them that knew not him.' Dr Fuller tells us, Bishop Andrews was an unimitable preacher in his way, and such plagiarists who have stolen his sermons could never steal his preaching, and could make nothing of that, whereof he made all things as he desired. Pious and pleasant Bishop Felton (he adds) his contemporary and colleague, endeavoured in vain in his sermons to assimilate his style, and therefore said merrily of himself: 'I had almost marred my own natural treat by endeavouring to imitate his artificial am-ble (8).' But however admired Bishop Andrews's sermons were in that age, they are not in such esteem with the critics of the present. For, notwithstanding the learning and good sense with which they abound, yet the affectation in the style, and composition, makes them no longer read with pleasure. Even a contemporary author (9) censured them as affected and surcharged with verbal allusions. And a modern writer tells us, that 'Bishop Andrews, and the most eminent Divines in the beginning of the last century, reduced preaching to punning, and the eloquence of the chair to the buffoonry of the stage (10).'

[H] Several traacts, published after his death.]

1. Responso ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Praefationem Monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis Jacobi, &c. omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus inscriptam. i. e. An Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately published against the

Monitory Preface of the most serene and potent Prince King James, &c. addressed to all Christian Monarchs, Princes, and States. 2. Tortura Torti (11). 3. Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. 4. Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuariensis Provinciae ad Divi Pauli. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of Canterbury, at St Paul's. 5. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate quinto Augusti M DC VI, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem nostrum inviturus, serenissimus potentissimisque principes Christianus Quartus Danicae & Norvegiae Rex. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, August 5, 1606, at the time when the most serene and powerful Prince Christiern IV, King of Denmark and Norway, was come into England to visit our King. 6. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate decimo tertio Aprilis M DC XIII, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectissima sua conjuge, discessurus erat Gener Regis, serenissimus potentissimisque principes Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, April 13, 1613, when the King's Son-in-law, the most serene and potent Prince Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, was about to depart with his dearest Consort. 7. Quaestiones, nunquid per jus divinum magistratui liceat a reo jurandum exigere? & id quatenus & quousque liceat? Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiae mense Julii Anni 1591. i. e. A Theological Determination of the question, Whether the Civil Magistrate has a Right by the Law of God, to require an Oath of an accused Person, and how far it may be lawful; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the Month of July, 1591. 8. De Usuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiae. i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Usury, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge. 9. De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiae. i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge. 10. Responsiones ad Petri Molinae Epistolam tres, una cum Molinae Epistola. i. e. Answers to three Letters of Du Moulin's, with Du Moulin's Letters. 11. Structura: Or, A Brief Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the first Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to King James his Answer, writtten by Mr Casaubon in Latin. 12. An Answer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply, &c. 13. A Speech, delivered in the Star-Chamber, against the two Judaical Opinions (12) of Mr Traffe. 14. A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning Pows, in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Case (13). These pieces were printed at London, after the author's death, by Felix Kyngton, in 4to, 1629, and dedicated to King Charles I, by the Bishops of London and Ely. There are extant, besides, 15. The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular; published by John Jackson, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. Άποστασμοδία. Sacra: Or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St Paul's and St Giles's Crisplegate church. London, 1657, fol.

[I] His great zeal and piety.] These were distinguishable in his private and secret devotions, in which he daily spent many hours; and in his public prayers with his family. His chapel, in which he had monthly communions, was so decently and reverently adorned, and the behaviour of himself and his family so pious and exemplary, that many, who came thither (even through accident) in the time of divine service, were greatly affected therewith, and excited to the like reverend deportment; and some even

(11) See the remark [D].

(12) 1. That Christians are bound to abstain from meats prohibited in Leviticus. 2. That they are bound to observe the Jewish Sabbath.

(13) That lady was convicted of disobedience for refusing to answer or be examined, on pretence she had made a solemn vow to the contrary.

(8) Worthies of England, Lond. p. 206, 207.

(9) Bayley, in his Laudensium Autocatacriton.

(10) Mr Oldmixon, Arts of Logic and Rhetoric, p. 20.

compassion [K], his fidelity and integrity [L], his gratitude and thankfulness [M], his munificence and bounty [N], his hospitality [O], his humanity and affability [P], his modesty [Q], his diligent application to study [R], and his talents as a preacher and a writer [S]. He generally hated all sorts of vices, but more especially three, which were, usury, simony, and sacrilege [T]. King James had so great an awe and veneration for him,

even desired to end their days in Bishop Andrews's chapel (14).

(14) Life, &c. ubi supra.

[K] *His charity and compassion.*] These he practised even before he came to great preferments, extending his charity in a liberal manner to the relief of poor parishioners, and prisoners; besides his constant Sunday alms in his parish of St Giles's. But when his means became greater, his charity increased in a large proportion. And one thing in his manner of relieving the distressed, is remarkable, that he always gave strict charge to his servants, whom he entrusted with the distribution of his bounty, not to acknowledge from whence the relief came, but give it as from a benefactor unknown. His private alms alone, in his last six years, amounted to upwards of 1300*l.* Nor did his charity end with his life: for, by his last Will, he left 4000*l.* to purchase 200*l.* per annum, in land, to be distributed quarterly in the following manner: to aged and decayed poor men, especially sea-faring men, fifty pounds; to poor widows, the wives of one husband, fifty pounds; to the binding of poor orphans apprentices, fifty pounds; and to the relief of poor prisoners, fifty pounds. He left besides, to be distributed presently after his death, among maid-servants of honest report, and who had served one master or mistress seven years, the sum of two hundred pounds. Lastly, a great part of his estate, which remained after the expenses of his funeral and his legacies were discharged, he left to be distributed among his poor servants (15).

(15) Ibid.

[L] *His fidelity and integrity.*] He was ever careful to keep in good repair the houses of all his spiritual preferments, and spent much money that way; as, upon the vicarage-house of St Giles's, the prebendal and deanry houses of Westminster. He expended upon the episcopal palace of Chichester above 420*l.*; upon that of Ely above 2440*l.*; and upon that of Winchester 2000*l.* But his fidelity and integrity were most discoverable in his pastoral care and government of his dioceses. He filled the vacant preferments, which were in his own gift, with the ablest and best men; and often conferred benefices on men of character and learning, who stood in need of them, without any solicitation or request on their part. So that what was once said of St Chrysofom, may be fitly applied to Bishop Andrews: *In administratione Episcopatus præbuit se fidelem, constantem, & vigilantem Ministrum Christi.* Nor was he less faithful in the discharge of those temporal offices, with which he was vested. Not to mention here his conduct as head of Pembroke-hall (16), his regulation of Westminster college and school sufficiently speak for him. To which may be added, that, whereas by virtue of his deanry of Westminster, his mastership of Pembroke-hall, and his Bishopric of Ely, the election of scholars into the school of Westminster, and from thence to the two Universities, as also of many scholars and fellows in Pembroke-hall, some in Peterhouse, and some in Jesus-college, was in his power and disposal; he waded all letters of recommendation from great persons, and, setting aside all favour and affection, chose only such as in his judgment were fittest (17).

(16) See the remark [C].

(17) Ibid.

[M] *His gratitude and thankfulness.*] Of this virtue there were divers instances. Among the rest, he gave the living of Waltham in Hampshire to Dr Ward, son of his first school-master. And he always retained so high an esteem for his other school-master Mr Mulcaster, that he used to place him at the upper end of his table, and, after his death, caused his picture to be hung up over his study-door. After much enquiry concerning the kindred of Dr Watts, who had bestowed on him his first scholarship at Pembroke-hall, he found but one; to whom, being a scholar, he gave preferments in that college; and at his death ordered, by his Will, that out of the scholarships of Dr Watts's foundation, the two fellowships, which he himself had founded at Pembroke-hall, should be supplied, if such scholars should be found qualified for them (18).

(18) Ibid.

[N] *His munificence and bounty.*] After he became a Bishop, he never visited either of the Universities,

but he left fifty or an hundred pounds to be distributed among poor scholars. And when King James honoured the university of Cambridge with his presence in 1617, Bishop Andrews, who was present with His Majesty at the Philosophy-A&T, sent, at his departure, to four of the disputants, forty pieces of gold, of two and twenty shillings a piece, to be divided equally among them. To these instances may be added the magnificent entertainment he gave his said Majesty at Farnham Castle, where in the space of three days he spent three thousand pounds (19).

(19) Ibid.

[O] *His hospitality.*] His table, which was always plentifully and elegantly furnished, was open to all persons of quality and worth, especially scholars and strangers. And his behaviour to his guests was so courteous, and his discourse so gravely facetious, that those whom he entertained would often profess they never came to any man's table, where they received better satisfaction, and that, in respect to the plenty they found there, his Lordship kept Christmas all the year (20).

(20) Ibid.

[P] *His humanity and affability.*] These were conspicuous, not only in his behaviour towards his guests (as mentioned in the last remark) but in his general conversation; for which he was justly admired by the most famous scholars both at home and abroad: such as (to omit those of our own nation) Casaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, Grotius, Du Moulin, Erpenius, and others (21).

(21) Ibid.

[Q] *His modesty.*] This was so great, that, though the whole world took notice of his deep and profound learning, yet he was so far from acknowledging it, that he would often complain of his defects, professing that he was but *inutilis servus, nay inutile pondus.* Being promoted to the Bishopric of Chichester, he was so sensible of his insufficiency to undergo such a charge, that he caused to be engraven about the episcopal seal these words of St Paul, 'Et ad hæc quis idoneus? i. e. And who is sufficient for these things?' 2 Cor. ii. 16. (22).

(22) Ibid.

[R] *His diligent application to study.*] This can scarce be paralleled, if we consider him from his childhood to his old age. Never any man spent so much time in study as this reverend Prelate. From the hour he rose (his private devotions finished) to the time he was called to dinner, which was not till twelve o'clock at the soonest, he kept close to his books, nor would be interrupted by any that came to speak with him, or upon any occasion, public prayer excepted. And he was so displeas'd with scholars, who attempted to speak with him in a morning, that he would say, he doubted they were no true scholars that came to him before noon. He would spend two or three hours after dinner, in conversing with his guests, or in dispatching his own temporal affairs, or those belonging to his episcopal jurisdiction; and having got rid of these and the like avocations, he would return to his study, where he usually spent the rest of the afternoon, until bed-time. Nor was he less diligent in his application to study even at that time of life, when it might be expected he would have taken some respite from his former pains (23).

(23) Ibid.

[S] *His talents as a preacher and a writer.*] He had such a dexterity at preaching, that some would say of him, he was quick again as soon as delivered: so that he was truly styled *Stella Prædicantium*, and an angel in the pulpit (24). And as to his acuteness and profundity in controversial writing, he so excelled all others of his time, that neither Bellarmine, nor any other of the Romanists, were ever able to answer what he wrote (25): so that, as his sermons were inimitable, his writings were unanswerable (26).

(24) See more of his character as a Preacher in the remark [G].

(25) See the remark [D].

(26) Ibid.

[T] *He hated three vices more especially, Usury, Simony, and Sacrilege.*] With respect to the first of these vices, he was so far from it himself, that, when his friends stood in need of such money as he could spare, he lent it them freely without interest. As to Simony, it was so detestable to him, that for refusing to admit several persons to livings, whom he suspected to be simoniacally preferred, he suffered much by suits of law; choosing to be compelled, against his will, by

him, that, in his presence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himself at other times (u). What opinion my Lord Clarendon had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, he remarks, that 'if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, or any man who understood ' and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not ' afterwards be so easily expelled (o).' Our great poet Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death (p). His style and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the best critics of the present (q).

(u) Fuller's Ch. History, B. xi. §. 46.

(o) Hist. of the Rebellion, B. i. p. 88, edit. in 8vo, Oxford, 1721.

(p) Paradise Regained, &c. Lond. 1725, 12mo, p. 286. Milton was but 17, when he wrote that poem.

(q) See the remark [C].

by the law, to admit them, rather than voluntarily to do that which his conscience made a scruple of. So that what was said of Robert of Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, may be applied to Bishop Andrews: 'Beneficia ecclesiastica nunquam nisi doctis contulit; precibus & gratia nobilium fretos & am-bientes semper repulit. i. e. He never conferred ecclesiastical preferments on any but men of learning, and always rejected those, who sought for them by

'the favour and recommendation of great men.' His abhorrence of Sacrilege appeared from hence, that when the Bishoprics of Salisbury and Ely were offered him upon terms favouring that way, he utterly rejected them. And when he was Bishop of Winchester, he refused several large sums for the renewing of some leases, because he conceived such renewal would be prejudicial to his successors (27). T

(27) Ibid.

A N D R E W S, or as himself wrote it, A N D R E W E (EUSEBIUS) a gentleman of a good family feated in Middlesex (a). He was, when young, brought into the family of Lord Capel, to whom he was afterwards Secretary. By the direction of his patron he applied himself to the Law, and became a Barrister of Gray's-inn, as many authors tell us (b), though there seems to be good authority to prove his being of Lincoln's-inn (c). However, in the year 1642, he quitted the gown, in order to take up arms for his Majesty King Charles I, whom he served in the honourable post of a Colonel, with great loyalty and courage, till the surrender of Worcester in 1645; when, supposing the King's affairs not to be retrieved, he returned privately to London, in order to take some care of his own (d). He practised for some time privately, and it seems was a man of such capacity, and of so steady a loyalty, that the Parliament, or rather those who directed it, caused spies to be placed upon him, from almost his first coming to town, to the day of his death, or at least of his apprehension (e). But these spies finding nothing to report of Colonel Andrewe, but his good affection to the royal cause, it was thought proper to push him and several others, since they would not of themselves, take methods for their own ruin [A]. With this view, in the spring of the year 1649, one Mr John Barnard, who had been Major to Colonel Andrewe's regiment, and who, for his sober behaviour and great parts, had been much in his favour (f), informed the Colonel, that some of the Reformadoes, that is, reduced officers in the Parliament's service, were sorry for what they had done, and inclined to return to their duty, and promote, as far as in their power lay, the service of King Charles II. The same person brought to the acquaintance of Colonel Andrewe, Captain Holmes, and one Mr John Benfon, who were in the same situation with himself (g). When they were together, Major Barnard proposed an attempt

(a) See Le Neve's Monuments Anglicana, Vol. II. p. 136.

(b) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers, for King Charles I, p. 681. Echard's History of England, p. 636, a.

(c) His dying Speech, printed for John Clowes, 1650, 4to.

(d) See Col. Andrewe's Narrative in the State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(e) Lloyd, ubi supra. Elench. Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 82.

(f) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(g) Id. ibid.

[A] Since they would not of themselves take methods for their own ruin.] This practice of setting on foot plots, in order to take off such persons, as are esteemed dangerous to any government, might have been in danger of wanting a proper name, if we had not been informed, that at this time it was called in England TREPANING. The author who tells us this, tells us also, the import of this phrase. *Trepan*, says he, *was a word newly heard in England, being a denomination of a lewd sort of people, who prostitute strumpets under pretence of their being their wives; and having apprehended persons of estates, by a sign given in the fact, prosecuted them at law, to the recovery of great damages* (1). Thus we see the original of this term, and how it came to be applied in a political sense. Colonel Andrewe, in a petition presented by him to parliament, gives us so very just a description of his case, that it will be proper to make use of his own words. After the title of the petition, he proceeds thus: 'That your petitioner hath been by a confederate pack of setters wrought into actions, which, abstracted from their circumstances, render him liable to your justice; and this done not without their further hope, that your petitioner, as they supposed, had interest to have drawn divers persons of quality and fortune into the same entanglement. That failing of that part of their aim, the said confederates did betray your petitioner to the Council of State, &c. (2).' A very intelligent person assures us, that Bernard and Pits, two of the witnesses against Mr Andrewe, were suborned by Serjeant Bradshaw, and Sir Henry Mildmay (3). But if these were all calumnies, there is a clear proof of the truth of this fact, which arises thus: Colonel Andrewe, who was a man of spi-

rit and spoke freely, fairly charged it upon Bradshaw at one of his examinations; who, instead of denying it, pretended to justify it by the example of other States (4). Yet was this no better than an evasion, for under no legal government was there ever men employed to make plots, tho' spies have been encouraged to detect them. This policy however was found of such use to that government, that it was practised as long as it subsisted; what the fate was of the person principally employed in decoying Colonel Andrewe, the reader will see at the end of this article, and if he inclines to be better acquainted with the whole affair, he may meet with a very circumstantial account of it, written by Mr Beaulkley, who assisted Colonel Andrewe in his imprisonment, in the State Trials (5). There is besides a passage in a book written by a person too honest to deceive, and too well informed to be himself misled, I mean Dr Bates, who was physician to O. Cromwell; there is, I say, a passage in a work of his, which too nearly concerns this matter to be omitted: for having related the various means made use of to weaken the Royalists, he says, 'There were also, a kind of *Duckoys* and *Trepans*, of all men the most accused, whose chief study was to teaze the most hot-headed and choleric, and who drew them thereby into capital snares, and when they had thus caught them, informed against them, that they might be brought to a trial, or oppressed them with secret calumnies. Colonel Andrewe thus circumvented lost his head: nor was the president Bradshaw ashamed openly to declare in court, that by counterfeit letters, he had corresponded with him in the name of the 'King' (6).

(4) State Trials, Vol. VII, p. 328.

(5) Vol. VII. p. 324.

(6) Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 70.

(1) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(2) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 329.

(3) History of In-dependency, p. 29, 34.

attempt upon the Isle of Ely, which he knew Colonel Andrewe had formerly meditated, when in the service of King Charles I. At the same time he told the Colonel, that Sir John Gell, who had been formerly a Colonel in the Parliament service, and who was known to have a great interest in his country, would assist in such a design. After some discourse, the eighteenth of October was mentioned as a proper day for the enterprize, because it was the fair day (*b*). Some time after this, Captain Holmes brought instructions from Sir John Gell, to draw a petition for the payment of his arrears, which Mr Andrewe performed. Soon after he had a conference with Sir John, whereby he found all that had been reported to him of that gentleman, true. This gave him a greater confidence in the people who had hitherto transacted with him, inasmuch, that he ventured to make a journey into Cambridgeshire, on purpose to see how far his scheme of surprizing the Isle of Ely, might be practicable upon a proper occasion (*i*). On his return however, finding the steps taken by his Confederates no way answerable to their promises, or his own expectations, and finding also that he was within the compass of a new law, which required all such as had not taken the Protestation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, or subscribed a late engagement, to quit the kingdom by a day prefixed, he turned his thoughts solely to the providing for this retreat, which was, strictly speaking, an exile (*k*). With this view he entered into a treaty with Sir Edmund Plowden, who was proprietor of New Albion, resolving to fix himself in that plantation. But on Saturday the sixteenth of March, Major Barnard, and Captain Benson, came to make him a visit, wherein they told him in general terms, that there was a great design on foot, and that he should have immediately very considerable advantages, if he would go over to the King in Holland, and manage what was necessary there for the service of those concerned. To which the Colonel assented, provided the money that was promised appeared to be ready (*l*). Not long after, the same persons came again, assuring him, that there were several persons of quality and great estates, in the counties of Kent, Buckingham, and Dorset, who would draw near the town in order to further the design, provided those they were to treat with entered into an engagement, which engagement, according to their instructions, and at their requests, he drew, and promised to move Sir John Gell to sign and seal it, as he himself did (*m*) [B]. Colonel Andrewe accordingly mentioned it to Sir John, who absolutely refused to comply with his desire, but told him in general, that he was well affected to the King, and begged him to tell his Majesty as much, in case he went over to Holland (*n*). On Monday following, Major Barnard appointed the Colonel to meet the gentlemen of the several counties beforementioned, at a certain place; but when the Colonel came there, he found nobody but Major Barnard, who produced to him certain letters, written as from the aforesaid gentlemen, and requiring him, the Major, to come to them immediately. Thus from time to time they trifled with the Colonel, in hopes of gaining by his means Sir John Gell's subscription, and actually drew Mr Andrewe as far as Gravesend, upon an assurance, that if he did not receive two hundred pounds there, he should have his subscription delivered up to him. But waiting for the performance of these fair promises, he was, on the twenty-fourth of March, apprehended at Gravesend, by Major Parker, who brought him prisoner to London (*o*). The next day he was examined by the Lord President Bradshaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Thomas Scott, Esq; who were a Committee from the Council of State. The questions they put to him were so nice and particular, that the Colonel saw he was betrayed, and that they knew every step he had taken for four years together. He told them as much, and they did not deny it, but pressed him to make a full and free confession. Accordingly he drew a narrative of the whole affair, and laid it before them, which did not hinder their committing him on Sunday the thirtieth of March, to the Tower, for high-treason (*p*). From that time forwards he petitioned them frequently, but to no purpose, continuing a close prisoner for three months compleat, notwithstanding he also presented a petition to Parliament (*q*). In the beginning of August 1650, he was brought before the High Court of Justice, where he was prosecuted upon his own narrative before Bradshaw, at whose instance he had drawn it. The Attorney-General, Prideaux, treated him with very bad language, nor was it

without

[B] *To move Sir John Gell, to sign and seal it as he himself did.* The judicious reader will easily perceive, that those who set this matter on foot, had more in view than the bare destruction of Colonel Andrewe, and therefore it is necessary to explain a little what that design was. It is, in the first place, to be remarked; that immediately after the murder of the King, the affairs of the parliament were in a very doubtful posture, and grew worse for some time. The Scots had actually owned King Charles II, and were preparing to restore him: Sir Thomas Fairfax had laid down his commission in discontent; but that which gave them most pain, was the general defection of the Presbyterians, who had shown a general abhorrence of the proceedings against the King, and many of their ministers had given broad indications of their wishing well to the King of Scots. This plot therefore was laid, to destroy

the wisest and wariest of that party; Sir John Gell, whom it was presumed Colonel Andrewe might draw in, and then, as Major Barnard actually told the Colonel, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir John Curson, Sir Thomas Whitmore, and several other persons of distinction would join them, on Sir John Gell's first motion. If therefore this plot had taken, the whole Presbyterian interest had been undone (7), as it was, the imprisonment of Sir John Gell, and the forfeiture of his estate, intimidated his friends, and made way for an event, those who projected this plot, never thought of; the turning out of the parliament by Cromwell, to whose power Bradshaw was as great an enemy, as ever he had been to the King's, and actually served as far as he could, such of the royalists as escaped the high court of justice, when power fell into other hands (8).

(7) Hist. of Independency, p. 34.

(8) See Farwick's Life, p. 160.

without some difficulty, that he procured leave to offer any thing to the court; but he could not obtain permission to put in his answer in writing, which is exactly transcribed in the notes (r) [C]. After this he offered to put in a second and a third answer of the same date, but not being permitted, he made a noble defence by word of mouth, grounded chiefly on the illegality of the court, and which may perhaps be styled, as eloquent an oration as is to be met with in our own, or any foreign language. To all which, Mr Attorney-General Prideaux made the following short answer, viz. *That the Court was not at leisure to take notice of his law cafes, but of his confession. That he had an affection to act, though nothing acted, which was sufficient treason, and for that affection he deserved death* (s). On this the court pronounced sentence against him, that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Colonel upon this, offered his reasons at large against such a proceeding, but to no purpose; and the only favour granted him was this, that upon his petition, the parliament passed an act, authorizing the High Court of Justice to issue their warrant for their beheading him according to his petition (t). This was accordingly executed on a scaffold on Tower-hill, upon the twenty-second of August, 1650. He died with great resolution, as appears by the speech he made to the people, of which the reader will find an extract in the notes [D]. He left behind him

(r) *Ibid.* p. 329; 330.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 330. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 561. Heath's Chron. p. 270.

(t) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 339; 340.

[C] Which is exactly transcribed in the notes.]

The Humble Answer of Eusebius Andrewe, Esq; in his Defence, to the Proceeding against him, before the Honourable High Court of Justice, presented the 16th Day of August, 1650.

THE said respondent (with the favour of this honourable court) reserving, and praying to be allowed the benefit and liberty of making further answer; offereth to this honourable court. First, that by the statute or charter, stiled Magna Charta, which is the fundamental law, and ought to be the standard of the laws of England, confirmed above thirty times, and yet unrepealed; it is in the 29th chapter thereof, granted and enacted. 1. That no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or free custom, or to be outlawed, or exiled, or be any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or condemn him, but by a lawful judgment of his peers, and by the laws of the land. 2. We shall sell to no man, nor defer to any man justice or right. Secondly, that by the statute of 42 of Edward III, cap. 1. — 1. The great charter is commanded to be kept in all points; and 2. It is enacted, that if any statute, be made to the contrary, that shall be holden for none; which statute is unrepealed. The respondent observeceth, that by an act of the 26th of March, 1650, entitled, an act for establishing an high court of justice; power is given to this court, to try, condemn, and cause execution of death to be done upon the freemen of England; according as the major number of any twelve of the members thereof shall judge to appertain to justice. And thereupon the respondent doth humbly infer, and offereth for law: that the said act is diametrically contrary unto, and utterly inconsistent with, the said great charter, and is therefore by the said recited statute, to be holden for none. That it can with no more reason, equity, or justice, hold the value and reputation of a law (the said statutes before recited, being in force) than if contrary to the second clause in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta; it had been also enacted, that justice and right shall be deferred to all freemen, and sold to all that will buy it. Thirdly, that upon premising by the petition of right, 3. Car. That contrary to the great charter, trials and executions had been had and done against the subjects, by commissions, martial, &c. It was therefore prayed, and by the commission enacted; that, 1. No commission of the like nature might be thence forth issued, &c. And that done, 2. To prevent, lest any of the subjects should be put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the Land. The respondent humbly observeceth, and affirmeth; that, this court is (tho' under a different stile) in nature, and in the proceeding thereof, directly the same with the commission martial; the freemen thereby, being to be tried for life, and adjudged by the major number of the commissioners sitting, (as in courts of commissioners martial was practised, and was agreeable to their constitution) and consequently against the petition of right; in which he and all the freemen of

England (if it be granted there be any such) hath, and have right and interest, and he humbly claims his right accordingly. Fourthly, that by the remonstrance of the 15th of December, and the declaration of the 17th of January, 1641. The benefit of the laws and ordinary courts of justice, are the subjects birth-rights. By the declarations of the 12th of July, and 16th of October, 1642. The preservation of the laws, and the due administration of justice, are owned to be the justifying cause of the war; and the ends of the parliament's affairs, managed by their swords and councils: and God's curse is by them imprecated, in case they should ever decline those ends. By the declaration of the 17th April, 1646, promise was made not to interrupt the course of justice in the ordinary courts thereof. By the ordinance or votes of non-addresses, January 1643, it is assured on the parliament's behalf, that though they lay the King aside, yet they will govern by the laws, and not interrupt the course of justice, in the ordinary courts thereof. And thereupon the respondent humbly inferreth, and affirmeth, that the constitution of this court, is a breach of that publick faith of the parliament; exhibited and pledged in the declarations and votes to the freemen of England. And upon the whole matter, the respondent (saying as aforesaid) doth humbly affirm for law, and claim as his right. 1. That this court in defect of the validity of the act, by which it is constituted, hath not power against him, or to press him into a further answer. 2. That by virtue of Magna Charta, the petition of right, and the before recited remonstrance and declarations, he ought not to be proceeded against by this court, but by an ordinary court of justice, and to be tried by his peers. And prays that this present answer and salvo may be accepted and registred, and that he may be tried by his peers accordingly (9).

Eus. Andrewe.

(9) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 329, 330.

The intent of transcribing this paper, is to show the temper and spirit of Colonel Andrewe, whose reasons were fatal to the high court of justice, tho' of no service to him. For upon publication of them, and the concurring judgment of all lawyers, this court grew to be so universally detested, and the grounds of it's illegality were so openly discussed, that the powers then in being, found it absolutely necessary to lay it aside.

[D] The reader will find an extract in the notes.] Colonel Andrewe was attended in his last moments by Dr Swadling, the sequestred minister of St Botolph Aldgate, who had been permitted to visit him for three days before, in which space, he had seen so much of the Colonel's disposition; that immediately before he suffered, the doctor told him, he had been rather his scholar than his instructor, and gave thanks for the many Christian discourses they had had together (10). Mr Andrewe, after he had been some time on the scaffold, turned to the people and made a long speech, some paragraphs of which deserve the reader's notice (11). As for my accusers, said he, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am sorry for them, they have committed Judas his

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(11) These are taken from the original Speech, printed in 4to by John Clowes, Lond. 1650.

him an only daughter, Mavilda Andrewe, to whom he bequeathed a great deal of good advice, and a very narrow fortune (*u*). At his condemnation, one of his judges was heard to say, *Alas poor Innocent!* As for the rest of the persons concerned with him, they met with different fates. Sir John Gell had behaved so wisely, that they could not touch his life. However they condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, and to lose all his estate (*w*). Captain Ashley was sentenced to be beheaded, but was pardoned by the Parliament. Captain Benson was sentenced to be hanged, and was accordingly executed on the seventh of October, 1650 (*x*). Major Barnard, the evidence who had drawn all these gentlemen into this snare, had for his reward three hundred pounds in money, and a troop of horse (*y*). But this did not hinder his receiving a more proper gratification four years afterwards, when, for robbing Colonel Winthorp's house at Westminster, he suffered an infamous death at Tyburn (*z*).

(*u*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 437.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 474.

(*y*) Hist. of Independence, p. 29, 34.

(*z*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 563.

' his crime; but I wish and pray for them Peter's
' tears, that by Peter's repentance, they may escape
' Judas his punishment, and I wish other people so
' happy, they may be taken up betimes, before they
' have drunk more blood of Christian men possibly
' less deserving than myself. It is true, there have
' been several addresses made for mercy, and I will
' put the obstruction of it, upon nothing more than
' my own sin, and seeing God sees it fit (I have
' not glorified him in my life) I might do it in
' my death, which I am content to do. I profess,
' in the face of God, particular malice to any one
' of the state or parliament, to do them a bodily
' injury, I had none. For the cause in which I had
' a great while waited, I must needs say, my en-
' gagement or continuance in it, hath laid no scruple
' upon my conscience, it was on principles of
' law: the knowledge whereof I profess, and on
' principles of religion, my judgment satisfied, my
' conscience rectified, that I have pursued those ways,
' for which, I bless God, I find no blackness upon
' my conscience, nor have I put it into the bead-
' roll of my sins. I will not presume to decide con-
' troversies; I desire God to honour himself in pro-
' pering that side that hath right with it, and that
' you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shall
' enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possess
' here; in my conversation in the world, I do not
' know where I have an enemy with cause, or that
' there is such a person to whom I have a regret;
' but if there be any, whom I cannot recollect un-
' der the notion of Christian men, I pardon them,
' as freely, as if I had named them by name; I
' freely forgive them, being in free peace with all
' the world, as I desire God, for Christ's sake to
' be at peace with me. For the business of death,
' it is a sad sentence in itself, if men consult with
' flesh and blood. But truly, without boasting I say
' it, or if I do boast, I boast in the Lord, I have
' not to this minute, had one consultation with the
' flesh, about the blow of the ax, or one thought
' of the ax more than as my passport to glory.
' I take it for an honour, and I owe thank-
' fulness to those under whose power I am,
' that they have sent me hither, to a place however
' of punishment, yet of some honour to die a death,
' somewhat worthy of my blood, answerable to my
' birth and qualification; and this courtesy of theirs,
' hath much helped towards the pacification of my
' mind. I shall desire God, that those gentlemen

' in that sad bead-roll, to be tried by the high
' court of justice, that they may find, that really
' there is, that is nominal in the act, an high court
' of justice, a court of right justice, hath in it's
' righteousness, though not in it's severity, no more
' clouded with the testimony of those who sell blood
' for profit. Father, forgive them, and forgive me,
' as I forgive them. I desire now that you will
' pray for me, and not give over praying till the
' hour of death, not till the minute of death, for
' the hour is come already; that as I have a very
' great load of sins, so I may have the wings of
' your prayers, to help those angels that are to con-
' vey my soul to Heaven; and I doubt not, but I
' shall there see my Saviour, my gallant master the
' King of England, and another master whom I much
' honoured, my Lord Capel; hoping this day to see
' Christ in the presence of the Father, the King
' in the presence of him, and my Lord Capel in
' the presence of them all, and myself there to re-
' joice with all other saints and angels forevermore.
—He gave the executioner three pounds, being all
he had. Before he lay down upon the block, he
spoke again to the people thus, *There is not one
face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps
different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks)
hath something of pity in it, and may that mercy
which is in your hearts, fall into your own bosoms
when you have need of it; and may you never find
such blocks of sin to stand in the way of your mercy;
as I have met with. I beseech you join with me in
prayer.* Then he prayed (leaning on the scaffold)
with an audible voice for about a quarter of an
hour; having done, he had some private conference
with Dr Swadling, then taking leave of the
Sheriffs, his friends, and acquaintances, saluting them
all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himself
for the block, kneeling down said, *let me try the
block, which he did, after casting his eyes up, and
fixing them very intently upon Heaven, he said,
when I say Lord Jesus receive me, executioner, do
thine office.* Then kissing the ax he laid down, and
with as much undaunted and yet Christian courage
as could be in man, did expose his throat to the
fatal ax, his life to the executioner, and commended
his soul into the hands of God, as into the hands
of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the mer-
itorious passion of a gracious Redeemer; saying the
forementioned words, his head was smitten off at one
blow. E

ANNAND (WILLIAM), Dean of Edinburgh in Scotland, the son of William Annand, minister of Air, the Head-burgh Royal of the shire of Air, in the diocese of Glasgow, was born at Air in 1633. Five years after, his father was obliged to quit Scotland with his family, on account of their loyalty to the King, and adherence to the episcopal government established by law in that country. In 1651, young Annand was admitted a scholar in University-College in Oxford; and though he was put under the care of a Presbyterian tutor, yet he took all occasions to be present at the sermons preached by the loyal divines in and near Oxford. In 1656, being then Bachelor of Arts, he received holy orders from the hands of Dr Thomas Fulwar, Bishop of Ardfert, or Kerry, in Ireland, and was appointed preacher at Weston on the Green, near Bicester, in Oxfordshire, where he met with great encouragement from Sir Francis Norris, Lord of that manor. After he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, he was presented to the Vicarage of Leighton-Buzzard in Bedfordshire; where he distinguished himself by his edifying manner of preaching, till 1662, when he went into Scotland, in quality of chaplain to John Earl of Middleton, the King's High-Commissioner to the Church of that kingdom. In the latter end of the year 1663, he was instituted to the Tolbooth church, at Edinburgh, and from thence was removed some years after to the Trone church of that

that city, which is likewise a Prebend. In April 1676, he was nominated by the King to the Deanry of Edinburgh; and in 1685 he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the university of St Andrew. He wrote several pieces, particularly those mentioned below [A]. Dr Annand died the 13th of June 1689, and was honourably interred in the Grey-friers church in Edinburgh (a) [B].

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 832, 833.

[A] *His works.* 1. *Fides Catholica, or The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in eighteen grand Ordinances, referring to the word, sacraments, and prayer, in purity, number, and nature, catholically maintained, and publicly taught against heretics of all sorts.* Lond. 1661-2, 4to. 2. *Solutions of many proper and profitable questions, suitable to the nature of each ordinance, &c. printed with the Fides Catholica.* 3. *Panem Quotidianum, or A short Discourse tending to prove the legality, decency, and expediency, of set forms of prayers in the Churches of Christ, with a particular Defence of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.* Lond. 1661, 4to. 4. *Pater Noster; Our Father: or The Lord's Prayer explained, the sense thereof, and duties therein, from scripture, history, and the Fathers, methodically cleared, and succinctly opened.* London, 1670, 8vo. 5. *Mysterium Pietatis, or The Mystery of Godliness, &c.* Lond. 1672, 8vo. 6. *Doxologia, or Glory to the Father; the Church's hymn, reduced to glorifying the Trinity.* Lond. 1672, 8vo. 7. *Dualitas, or A twofold subject displayed and opened, conducing to*

godliness and peace in order: first, Lex loquens, the honour and dignity of magistracy, with the duties thereupon, &c. Secondly, Duorum Unitas, or The agreement of magistracy and ministry at the election of the honourable magistrates at Edinburgh, and opening of the Diocesan Synod of the Reverend Clergy there. Edinb. 1674, 4to.

[B] *He died the 13th of June, 1689, &c.* As his life was pious and devout, so his sickness and death afforded great consolation to those, who attended him in his last moments. He received the communion from the hands of Dr Alexander Monro, principal of the college of Edinburgh, assisted by Dr Strachan professor of Divinity; at which time he lamented with tears the overthrow of their Church, saying, *he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland, yet hoped others would live to see it restored.* He was buried without a funeral sermon, which was not permitted by the Presbyterians, in whose hands the magistracy then was (1).

T (1) Wood, ubi supra.

ANNESLEY (ARTHUR) Earl of Anglesey, and Lord Privy-Seal, in the reign of King Charles II. He was the son of Sir Francis Annesley, Baronet, Lord Mount Norris, and Viscount Valentia in the kingdom of Ireland: By his first wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Phillips, of Picton castle in Pembroke-shire (a). He was born on the 10th of July 1614, in Fifth-Shamble-street in the city of Dublin, and was publicly christened on the 20th of the same month, in the parish church of St John in the same city, the Lord Chichester, then Deputy of Ireland, being his Godfather, from whom he received the name of Arthur (b). He continued in Ireland till he was ten years old, and was then removed into England, where he remained about six years, and was then sent to the university of Oxford. There he became a Fellow-Commoner in Magdalen-college, where he was placed under the care of an experienced tutor in 1630, he pursued his studies in this place three or four years, enjoying, during that space, the friendship and conversation of Dr Frewen, then President of that college, afterwards Archbishop of York, the celebrated Dr Hammond, and several other eminent persons, himself being always considered as a young Man of great hopes, and an honour to his college (c). Sir Peter Pett affirms, in a book addressed to the person of whom we are speaking, that he performed his exercise for a degree in that university with general applause (d), but of this Anthony Wood takes no notice. In 1634 he was removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he studied the Law with great success, till his father thought fit to send him to travel (e). He made the tour of Europe, and continued some time at Rome, whence he returned into England in 1640 (f). He was elected Knight of the shire for the county of Radnor, in that parliament, which sat at Westminster the 3d of November, in the same year, but he quickly lost his seat by a vote of the house that Charles Price, Esq; was duly elected for that county. In the beginning of the civil war, Mr Annesley inclined to the royal cause, and actually sat in the parliament held at Oxford 1643 (g), but afterwards he reconciled himself so effectually to the parliament, as to be taken into their favour and confidence; his estate and quality, but above all, his great abilities, and general reputation, rendering him every way fit for the offices with which they entrusted him. The first of these was going as commissioner into Ulster in the year 1645, by authority, under the great Seal of England (h). It was certainly a very difficult task, that Mr Annesley and his fellow commissioners undertook, considering the Scotch forces under General Monroe, had been long in possession of those parts, and had brought the English interest very low. However, Mr Annesley, who was not then much above thirty years of age, managed all things so dexterously, and with so perfect a judgment, both in civil and military affairs, that the great rebel Owen Roe O'Neil was disappointed in his designs, both on this province and that of Connaught. The Popish Archbishop of Tuam, who was the great oracle of his party, and whose councils had hitherto been very successful, was not only taken prisoner, but his papers seized, and his foreign correspondence discovered, whereby all the designs of the rebels were broken, and vast advantages accrued to the Protestant interest (i) [A]. The parliament had sent commissioners to treat with the

(a) Peerage of England by Arth. Collins, Vol. II. p. 338. edit. 1741.

(b) The Happy Future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, Lond. 1688, fol. p. 3.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 139.

(d) The Happy Future State of England, p. 3.

(e) Wood, ubi supra. Collin's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(f) Happy Future State of England, p. 4.

(g) List of the Members of the Long Parliament 1640, as also of the Oxford Parliament 1643.

(h) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

(i) The Happy Future State of England, p. 4. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

[A] *Vast advantages accrued to the Protestant interest.* It ought not to be ascribed to any defection from his loyalty, that Mr Annesley accepted of this commission. In those times of confusion, a desire of rendering service to the English nation, and to the Protestants of Ireland, might well induce a man to do any thing within the bounds of his duty, to answer so laudable a purpose. How well, in so nice a con-

junction, he fulfilled all that could be expected from his fidelity to the parliament, and this without wounding in the least his duty to his Majesty, King Charles I, appears sufficiently from the publick histories of those times (1); but never so pathetically as in his own words, in a paper addressed to King Charles II, in answer to a complaint of the Duke of Ormond's. Having taken notice, that the Duke had, in his paper, ma-

(1) Hist. of the execrable Irish Rebellion, by Dr Borlace, Lond. 1680, fol. p. 151.

the Marquis of Ormond, for the delivery up of Dublin, but without success; but the state of affairs making it necessary to renew their correspondence with him, they made choice of a second committee, consisting of men, who in their judgment, were more agreeable to him, and at the head of this commission Mr Annesley was placed (k). These commissioners landed at Dublin on the 7th of June 1647, and were so successful in their negotiations, that in a few days a treaty was concluded between them and the Lord Lieutenant; it was signed on the 19th of that month, and very soon after, Dublin was put into the hands of the parliament. This was certainly a very signal service, not only to those who employed him, but to the whole Protestant interest in Ireland, which was then on the very point of being extinguished. However, after the commissioners assumed the supreme power, he was not able to hinder them from doing many things against his judgment, and therefore ought not to be blamed for those irregularities, which were such as the times seemed to require, though they could not excuse (l). [B].

Mr

(k) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 71.

(l) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 603.

liciously insinuated, that they were of opposite parties in the Irish wars, he goes on thus. 'The Earl (for Mr Annesley was then Earl of Anglesey) was (under the authority his late Majesty had entrusted both houses of parliament with, for ordering and governing the affairs in Ireland, after the horrid rebellion began) instrumental there, to preserve the British and Protestant interest, countries, and garrisons, from being swallowed up by Owen O'Neill's barbarous army; or falling into the bloody Irish hands. He also held correspondence with, and offered assistance to, the then Marquis of Ormond, to preserve the English and save the city of Dublin, and other English garrisons and quarters, from the treacherous Irish, who broke all faith with the Marquis. He likewise sent to the Marquis, the late King's Majesty's positive prohibition in writing, against making any peace, or having at all further dealing with the Irish; and used his most earnest persuasions herein, foreseeing it would be destructive to the English, and mischievous to the late King; and still offered assistance to the Marquis, to encourage him in vigorously opposing the Irish, and to enable him to disapprove their treachery, and the consequence of their faith-breaking (2).' As to that letter of the King's, it was dated the 11th of June 1646, and was transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, inclosed in a letter from Mr Annesley, General Monroe, and Colonel Beale, dated the 22d of June. To this letter the Marquis of Ormond wrote the following answer, which shews how early a distaste he had to Mr Annesley, and on what causes.

(2) True Account of the whole proceedings betwixt his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Anglesey, Lond. 1682. fol. p. 9.

'WE do acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated the 22d of June last, which came to us by the conveyance of Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt. not long after the date thereof; and in the said letter, we found enclosed one signed by his Majesty, bearing date the 11th of June; as also one directed to the Lord Polliott. To that signed by his Majesty, our answer had been long since sent; but that as well by your several letters (wherein you declare in effect, that no dispatch from us shall be permitted to pass by you to his Majesty, unless you be made acquainted therewith) as by other printed papers, and several concurring circumstances, we find so little hope of receiving his Majesty's free pleasure, touching his affairs and servants here, that we have great cause to fear, even the safety of any messengers of trust we should send. But as soon as it shall please God to afford us clear and uninterrupted ways of address to his Majesty, we hope to give him fitting accounts of all his commands, directed to us his Lieutenants, which title (by the way we hold fit to observe unto you) his Majesty is pleased to give us, though you in the several letters directed by you unto us, are not pleased so to stile us. The letter to the Lord Polliott was delivered to him unbroken open, as we believe he would have told you before you receive these our letters: though we conceive we might in all respects have justified the perusal thereof, better than any subject (not authorized in that behalf by his Majesty) can justify the attempting to look into the contents of any dispatches sent to his Majesty, and better than we could justify the imparting such our dispatches to you. And so we remain; from his Majesty's castle of Dublin, the 18th of July, 1646 (3).'

ORMOND.

Duke of Ormond, tells us, that by this treaty the Protestants were to be secured in their estates, all who had paid contribution to be protected in their persons and fortunes, all who had a mind to go with the Marquis out of Ireland, to have passes; and the Popish recusants who had not adhered to the rebels, to be encouraged to continue in their habitations, and in enjoyment of their estates, in confidence of the favour of the parliament, according as they should demean themselves in the present service. It was likewise stipulated, that the Marquis should receive the sum of 13877 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* which he had borrowed for the use of the garrison. Of this, 3000 *l.* was to be paid down, and bills of exchange were to be given him for the rest, drawn on sufficient men in France or Holland; one moiety at fifteen days after fight, and the other at six months. But the Historian says, the commissioners were not so exact in this respect as they ought to have been. The 3000 *l.* in money was not brought, and the Marquis was forced to leave his Lady in Dublin to receive it, and discharge the debts to which they were assigned. Bills were indeed brought for the rest, but not accepted; and he was forced to send Theodore Schout and Peter Wybrants, two Dublin merchants, to Holland, to see the first accepted and paid. The commissioners indeed passed their words, that he should be no sufferer, for want of acceptance of the bills, and that he might depend upon the honour and faith of the parliament. He acquiesced with a seeming readiness in those assurances, but found by experience, that bodies of men are not the most religious observers of their word. The bill for the first half was indeed paid; but the treasurers of goldsmith's hall, who had drawn the second on their correspondence in Holland, had, before it was presented, taken care by letters of advice, to forbid the acceptance of it, so that it was returned protested. In vain were the parliament, and the committee of Derby-house, solicited by the Marquis himself, during near six months stay that he made in England, and by Sir George Lane and others afterwards; they paid only some part of it at last to Mr Maule, a friend of Sir John Clotworthy's, and others of his creditors, who had an interest in them, without his consent; but after all that they did in this respect, out of regard to others 1515 *l.* still remained, and was never paid in any manner. The Marquis of Ormond had put off the delivery of the Regalia, till July 28, in hopes of getting time to receive from England a permission to carry men into foreign service, and to take measures for their levies and transportation. The commissioners did not care he should continue there so long; and to make his stay uneasy, they, on July 14, placed guards on Lord Taaffe, Col. John Barry, and Miles Power, and issued orders for apprehending Sir Edmond Verney, the Colonels George Vane, Edward Hammond, and others. When the Marquis complained of this breach of the articles, they did not offer to assign a reason for their proceeding, but told him, they were competent judges, and would allow no body else to judge of their actions. On the 16th, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the castle, and deliver the Regalia within four days. He found that they were uneasy whilst the castle continued in his possession, and was guarded by his own soldiers, pursuant to the stipulation in that behalf; and therefore as his remove at that time was inconvenient, he accommodated the business with them, by consenting to leave immediately the securing of the castle to them, and deferring the ceremonial part of quitting the sword till the set time (4). We have an account somewhat different from this, in the paper referred

[B] As the times seemed to require, though they could not excuse.] Mr Thomas Carte, in his life of the

(4) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 603-606.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 600.

Mr Annesley, not liking his situation, returned speedily home, where he found all things in confusion, the government being on the very point of dissolution, which however did not discourage him from doing all that lay in his power to serve his country; and though he did this without effect (m), yet sure it is very unjust to charge him with it as an offence, as Wood does, who represents him as an absolute time-server (n), though he was one of the secluded members, and as eminent for opposing the illegal things done after the murder of the King, as any man in the nation, who had not born-arms in his service. After the death of Cromwell, when the Rump resumed their old power, Mr Annesley, though he doubted whether the parliament was not dissolved by the death of the King, resolved to get into the house if it was possible, in which good design he got several worthy gentlemen to concur with him, but with little success, though managed with great wisdom and spirit, such as sufficiently declared what his real sentiments were, and how much he had the re-settling of the constitution at heart (o). In the confusions which followed, he had little or no share, as being too well known to be trusted either by the Rump, or the army; and besides, shrewdly suspected of knowing at least of Sir George Booth's insurrection, if not concerned in it. But when things began to take a better turn, by the restoring the secluded Members to their seats, February 21, 1660, Mr Annesley began again to make a figure, and to appear in his old character, that of a true patriot (p). In this he appeared with such lustre, that he was chosen President of the new council of state, having at that time a correspondence with his Majesty, King Charles II, then in exile; which cost him the life of his dear brother who was drowned, stepping into a packet-boat with letters for his Majesty (q) [C]. Immediately after the Restoration, viz. on the twentieth of April 1661,

(m) See the Vindication of the secluded Members by Wm Pryne. History of Independency, first three parts. England's Confusion, written by one of the few Englishmen that are left in England. Heath's Chronicle. Memoirs of Col. Legg, a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Heath's Chronicle, p. 419.

(p) Hist. of the Rebellion by the Earl of Clarendon. Hist. of Independency. P. iv. p. 39. Heath's Chronicle. P. iv. p. 437.

(q) Ibid. p. 439.

ferred to in the former note, which it will be likewise necessary for the reader to see, as it contains abundance of curious particulars, and relates strictly to the personal history of this illustrious nobleman. 'After the peace made by the Lord Lieutenant (notwithstanding the informations beforementioned) with the Irish confederate rebels, and their shameful and treacherous breach of it, with design and endeavour to surprize the Marquis, and all the English garrisons in Leinster; and after they had so handled their business, as to get the commissioners of parliament to be rejected and sent away by the Marquis; he the said Earl, (then Mr Annesley) upon a second invitation of the Marquis to the parliament, (upon the Irish rebels continued breaches and treacheries) went again for Ireland, after he had used all his intercessit to persuade them to send again, though they were very unwilling; and it was much opposed by reason of the former unexpected disappointment; and was the chief employed in commission from the parliament, with an army of horse and foot, furnished with all things necessary to deliver the Marquis and English from the Irish treacheries and designs, and to receive the city of Dublin, and other garrisons, into the parliament's custody, who were trusted, and able to preserve the fame for the Crown, if we could agree upon articles for that purpose, which, by the blessing of God, the Earl did, to the Marquis, and the late Lord Chancellor, Eustace, (whom the Marquis chiefly trusted therein) their great satisfaction, as well as his own, and the English and Protestants. And after he and the rest of the commissioners had received the city of Dublin, and other garrisons, and conveyed the Marquis with the honour due to his quality, to the Sea-side, to take shipping for England, as the articles gave leave; and had spent some time to lay the foundations, which after happily succeeded, for the total reduction of the Irish, and breaking their cursed confederacy, and powerful treachery, and final subduing them to the crown of England, with the forfeiture of all their estates, for the satisfaction of adventurers, and soldiers, and the vast increase of the revenue of the crown; the Earl returned for England, as he had leave to do, before he went. Where, by his interest in parliament, he secured to the Marquis, the 13,000 l. £. agreed by the articles for the surrender of Dublin, &c. to be paid to him, though much endeavour was used by the Lady Viscountess Moore, and others, upon legal pretences to deprive him of it; so that he lost not one penny of it, and then the said Marquis thought, and held the said Earl his real friend, and a punctual performer of publick faith (5).'

must be perfwaded that such as were then entrusted with the executive part of the government, must have had a considerable, if not the largest, share in completing that work. However, let us hear what Mr Wood says. After taking notice of Mr Annesley's going to Ireland, he proceeds thus. 'He returned into England, complied with the parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and his party, took the oath called the Engagement, as before he had the Covenant: but when he saw that King Charles II, would be restored to his kingdoms, he then, when he perceived it could not be hindered, struck in, and became instrumental for the recalling of him home, as many of his perfwasion did, and thereupon, they footed themselves up, and gave it out publicly, that they were as instrumental in that matter, as the best of the royal party; nay, they stuck not to say, that if it was not by their endeavours, his Majesty would not have been restored. At that time, he was made a privy counsellor, and to shew his zeal for his Majesty's cause, he procured himself to be put in among the number of those justices, or judges, to sit first at Hicks's-Hall, and afterwards at the Old Baily, on the Regicides, where one of them, named Adrian Scrope, did reflect upon him, as it was by all there present supposed, and on others too, as having before been misled, as well as himself (6)'. The falshood of almost every fact, advanced in this charge, might be demonstrated from the most authentic pieces published at that very time, such as the pamphlet, entitled, *England's Confusion: Or, a true and impartial Relation of the late Travellers of State in England, written by one of the few Englishmen that are left in England:* in which, among other things, there is a very warm letter to William Lenthall, Speaker to the Rump, from Mr Annesley, expostulating with him, on account of his being excluded the House, for not taking the Engagement (7), which Wood affirms he had taken. Clement Walker, in his four parts of the History of Independency, gives a large account of Mr Annesley's active endeavours against the usurped powers, when they were in the zenith of their authority. His very fitting in judgment on the Regicides, which Mr Wood so basely misrepresents, was an act of the greatest honour and loyalty. He foresaw, that some of those unhappy men would plead the authority of parliament, to justify that execrable action; and indeed, General Harrison did so, upon which, Mr Annesley rose up, and in an excellent speech, shewed all who were present, the vanity of that pretence; explained the nature of the quarrel between King and Parliament at the beginning, and the difference between subjects struggling for their just liberties, and wickedly deposing, or murdering their lawful Prince, which he proved no parliament could sanctify; and also that in the present case, this infamous action was not abetted by an eighth part of the House of Commons, the House of Lords being ejected, so that the odium of it, could not with any colour of reason be

(6) Athen. Ozon. Vol. II. col. 789.

(7) Page 13.

(5) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Anglesey, p. 9, 10.

[C] With letters for his Majesty.] It cannot be supposed, that these dispatches were of ordinary importance, which were committed to the care of young Mr Annesley; and besides, whoever considers the cautiousness of Monk, and the little weight that declared royalists had at the time of the dissolution of the Rump,

he was raised to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Annesley of Newport Pagnel, in the county of Bucks; as also of an Earl, by the style of * * * *

(r) As the author of this article has been informed by a late learned Antiquary.

(s) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479, Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(t) Happy Future State of England, p. 5.

(u) Wood, ubi supra.

(w) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

(x) Ibid. p. 341.

(y) See note [D].

(z) Happy Future State of England, p. 16.

(a) See his Narrative of the same date, published by order of the House of Commons.

(b) Happy Future State of England, p. 205.

(8) Heath's Chronicle, p. 436.

(9) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Anglesey, p. 11.

* * * which some little time afterwards was changed for that of Anglesey (r). In the preamble of the patent, notice is expressly taken of the signal services rendered by him in the King's Restoration (s); nay some tell us, that his Lordship might then have been Prime-Minister if he had not declined it (t) to avoid envy; however he had always a considerable share in the King's favour; and was heard with great attention at council, and in the house of Lords. He certainly shewed his extreme detestation of the King's murder, by his sitting in judgment on the Regicides at Hick's-Hall, and the Old-Baily, though the Oxford Historian reflects upon this, insinuating that he had been as deep in those matters as the persons then tried, which is a palpable falsity (u). Many reflections of this sort he bore in his life-time with great constancy, or rather indifference, being desirous of discharging his duty to his King and Country without hurting others, and without being sollicitous of making great advantages to himself, yet as he served a generous master, he received from him offices both of profit and of trust. In 1667 he was made Treasurer of the Navy; and on the fourth of February 1671-2, his Majesty in council was pleased to appoint the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Anglesey, the Lord Holles, the Lord Ashley Cooper, and Mr Secretary Trevor, or any three of them, to be a committee, to peruse and revise all the papers and writings, concerning the settlement of Ireland, from the first to the last, and to make an abstract of the state thereof in writing (w). And accordingly, on the twelfth of June 1672, they made their report at large, which was the foundation of a commission, dated the first of August 1672, to Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, Earl of Anglesey, Lords Ashley and Holles, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Thomas Chickley, to inspect the settlement of Ireland, and all proceedings in order thereunto. And this was followed by another commission of the seventeenth of January 1672, to Prince Rupert, &c. whereunto the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Treasurer, Clifford, were added to inspect the affairs of Ireland, viz. the acts of settlement and explanation, and the execution of them, and the disposing of forfeited lands, and the state of his Majesty's revenue, &c. After which, by reason of his singular prudence and fidelity, he had the great office of Lord Privy-Seal conferred on him the twenty-second of April 1673 (x), and all this, notwithstanding a great variety of attempts made to prejudice him, as well in the King's, as in the publick opinion; all which he not only effectually defeated by clearly exposing them, and manifesting his own innocence, but also turned them to his advantage, so as to rise more by the intrigues of his enemies, than by any art of his own (y). The long experience his Lordship had of men and things, rendered him so true a judge of merit, that he could discover it in men of all persuasions, and his freedom from prejudice such, that he could hate it in none, how different soever from himself in religious, or political opinions (z). This noble disposition, rendered him liable to a formidable attack, during the time of the Popish plot; when to have behaved with decency towards the Roman Catholics of any rank, was sufficient to stigmatize the sincerest Protestant, with the dangerous character of being a favourer of Papists. One Dangerfield, whose name will be transmitted to late posterity, as a discoverer of plots, true and false, on the twentieth of October 1680, charged his Lordship in an information delivered upon oath, at the Bar of the House of Commons, with endeavouring to stifle evidence, with relation to the Popish plot, and to promote the belief of a Presbyterian one, with many other things alike probable, or rather alike improbable, yet so far credited at that time as to receive countenance from the house (a). The trouble he received from this base attack, did not hinder him from speaking his opinion freely of those matters in the House of Lords, particularly in relation to the Irish plot, of which he declared his absolute disbelief, when few durst own they suspected it (b), notwithstanding the apparent marks of imposture in the accounts given of it [D]. His charity for men of all religions, did not however abate either his zeal for

thrown on that parliament which began the war (8). The Earl of Clarendon, in his history, hath done right to this noble person, as far as his knowledge extended. But perhaps, the reader will be best satisfied from what the Earl of Anglesey himself said, of his transactions in those times, in the memorial to King Charles II, which has been more than once mentioned. He therein affirms, the part he acted, was 'To preserve the Church in it's legal establishment to the last, to defend the King and the Laws, against Usurpation, and arbitrary Government, to adventure his Estate and Life, to save his from execrable Murder, and never to sit still, till he and his friends, His late Majesty's, and Your faithful Subjects, had compassed your Majesty's happy Restauration, with the apparent and imminent Hazard of their Lives; whereof, the said Duke, *i. e.* Ormond, had vast Benefits without Danger (9).

[D] Marks of imposture in the accounts given of it. The House of Commons voted *nem. con.* that there was an Irish plot, and in the House of Peers,

the Earl of Anglesey, was the single Lord who dissented from a vote to the same purpose. His sense of things at that time, exposed this noble Lord to great inconveniences, for the House of Commons ordered Dangerfield's information of the 20th of October, 1680, to be printed, wherein the Earl was charged with encouraging Dugdale to recant what he had sworn, and promising to harbour him in his house, and that his Lordship's Priest should accompany and watch him (10). If this was true, then the Earl of Anglesey was a Papist, which is not over credible, for many reasons; and amongst others, for this, that the very witness he is here sworn to have tampered with, had before sworn in his narrative, concerning the Popish plot, that if the designs of the Papists had succeeded, Sir William Gage, was to have been Lord Privy-Seal (11). So that we must suppose, not only that the Earl of Anglesey conspired against the King and the Constitution, but also against himself; and that while he, as a Papist, was doing all this for the Papists, they were contriving to give his post to another,

(10) The Happy Future State of England, p. 35.

(11) See Dugdale's Narrative.

the Protestant cause, or his affection for the true interest of his country. The Earl of Castlehaven, thought fit in the year 1680 to write his Memoirs, wherein he took a great deal of pains, to represent the general rebellion in Ireland, in the lightest colours possible, and as if it had been far from universal at first; and that it was made so, at least as much by the measures pursued by such as ought to have suppressed them, as by any ill intention of the Catholics concerned in it (c). The Earl of Anglesey having received those Memoirs from their author, thought fit to write some animadversions upon them, which he did in a letter to the Earl of Castlehaven, wherein he takes notice of abundance of remarkable passages in those distracted times; and, as his subject led him, delivered his opinion freely in respect to the Duke of Ormond, and his management of affairs in that kingdom (d). This letter to the Earl of Castlehaven was written in August 1680, but was not published till 1681. The Duke of Ormond, about a year afterwards, expostulated with the Lord Privy-Seal, on this subject, by letter, to which the Earl replied; and there the matter rested, as the reader will be informed in the notes [E]. In 1682, when the nation was in a high ferment; the Earl drew up a

(c) Memoirs concerning the Wars of Ireland, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Castlehaven, Lond. 1680. 12mo.

(d) The title of his book was, A Letter from a person of honour in the country, written to the Earl of Castlehaven; being Observations and Reflections upon his Lordship's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland. London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1681.

very

another, who could do nothing for them at all. But this was not all, for the zealous Earl of Essex charged him in the House of Lords, with being prayed for by name, in the mass-houses in Ireland; to which the Earl of Anglesey answered, that he believed it was not so; but if the Jews in their Synagogues, or the Turks in their Mosques, would pray for him unasked, he should be glad to be the better for their devotion (12). This spleen against the Earl rose at last so high, that Sir William Jones, when he was proposing to the House of Commons attacking several of the King's Ministers, was pleased to glance at Anglesey, in these words: 'There is another in the council, a Nobleman too, among the King's Ministers, and a Lawyer, but if we cannot reach him, do not impeach him (13).' These were strange times to live in, when the then Earl of Halifax, who always opposed Popish councils, was judged an enemy to his country for promoting them; and the Earl of Radnor, was thought to decline in his zeal for the Protestant Religion, merely because he could not swallow all the absurdities which were grafted on the Popish plot (14). It was however particularly hard on the Earl of Anglesey, to be suspected as a favourer of Popery, since he was before in disgrace with the warm churchmen, on suspicion of his favouring the Nonconformists. Besides, in all his conduct both before and after the Restoration, he manifested a high dislike of the Papists, as a party, though he was very kind and civil to such as he judged worthy men amongst them; nor did he alter his conduct, even after all this clamour, but persisted in his old opinion, that there might be good men among the Papists, though in that respect they were not good Papists; and this he labours hard to prove, in that book which goes under the title of his Memoirs. Sir P. Pett informs us, that the Earl, when Mr Annesley, disobliterated the Popish party excessively, by the pains he took to defeat their schemes, and to secure the person of General Lambert, one of the King's Judges, and who opposed to the last, the return of King Charles II, and yet, was at the bottom a jesuited Papist, of which one circumstance appeared; for being condemned to perpetual imprisonment, a little before the Popish plot broke out, an application was made to the King for procuring his discharge, and an eminent Popish Peer offered to be security for his peaceable behaviour (15). However this matter might be, certainly, if the whole tenor of a man's life and conduct could prove any thing, it ought to be believed, that the Earl of Anglesey was any thing rather than a Papist. The truth seems to be, that he was a man of so much moderation, as to be in the good graces of no party, though in the time of their distress, he was tender towards the sufferers of all parties.

[E] As the reader will be informed in the notes.] As these letters are very curious, and yet are not to be met with in the large account of the dispute between these two noble persons; the reader will be doubtless well pleased to meet with them here. That from the Duke to the Earl of Anglesey, was dated from Dublin, November 12, 1681, and ran thus.

My Lord,

IT is now, I think, more than a year, since I first saw a little book, written by way of letter, called Observations and Reflections, on my Lord of

Castlehaven's Memoirs: wherein, though there are some things that might lead the reader to believe that your Lordship was the author, yet there were many more I thought impossible should come from you; for it affirms many matters of fact positively, which are easily and authentically to be disproved; and from those matters of fact, grossly mistaken, it deduces consequences, raises inferences, and scatters glances injurious to the memory of the dead, and the honour of some living. Among those, that, by the blessing of God, are yet living, I find myself worst treated. Twenty years after King's Restoration, and forty after the beginning of the Irish Rebellion, as if it had been all that while reserved for me, and for such times as these, we are fallen into, when calumny (though the matter of it be never so groundless and improbable) meets with credulity; and when liberty is taken to asperse men, and represent them to the world, under the monstrous and odious figures of Papists, or popishly affected; not because they are so thought, by those that employ the representers, but because they are known to be too good Protestants, and too loyal subjects, to join in the destruction of the Crown and Church: besides, the treatise came forth, and must have been written, when I had but newly received repeated assurances of the continuance of your friendship to me; wherein, as in one of your letters you are pleased to say, you had never made a false step; for these reasons, I was not willing to believe that book to be of your Lordship's composing, and hoped some of the suborned libellers of the age, had endeavoured to imitate your Lordship, and not you them: But I was, in a while after, first, by my son Arran, and afterwards by the bearer, Sir Robert Reading, assured your Lordship had owned to me, that the piece was your's, but professed the publication to be without your order; and that you did not intend to do, or think that you had done, me any injury, or prejudice: if your Lordship really thought so, the publication might have been owned, as well as what was published; but then let the world judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dangerous tools in your hands? When I was thus assured your Lordship was the author, it cost me some thoughts how to vindicate truth, my master the late King, myself, my actions, and family, all reflected on, and traduced by that pamphlet: I found myself engaged in the service of our present King, and that in a time of difficulty and danger, and in such times, for the most part, it has been my lot to be employed in publick affairs; and though I had not been so taken up, yet I well knew that writing upon such occasions is no more my talent, than it is my delight; and, to say truth, my indisposition to the exercise, might help to persuade me, that the book, though honoured with your Lordship's name, would, after it had performed it's office in Coffee-houses, and served your Lordship's design in that conjuncture, expire, as writings of that nature and force usually do: and herein I rested without troubling myself, or any body else, with animadversions on your Lordship's mistakes, which are so many, and so obvious, that I wonder how you could fall into them. I will add to this, that I have been in expectation, that by this time your Compleat History would have come forth; wherein, if I may judge by the pattern, I have just cause to suspect, that

(12) Happy Future State of England, p. 266.

(13) Ibid. p. 267.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. p. 28.

very particular Remonstrance, dated April the twenty-seventh, the same year, and presented it to his Majesty. It was very warm and very loyal; it and yet was far from being well received, for reasons of which the reader will be able to judge, from the extracts we have

that neither the subject, or myself, will be more justly dealt with, than in that occasional essay; and, I would have been glad to have seen all my work before me, in case I should think fit to make a work of it. The delay of your publishing that history, and the consideration of your Lordship's age and mine, are the occasions of this letter; whereby, I inform you, that as no man now alive is better able than I am, to give an account of the principal transactions during the Rebellion in Ireland; so no man is possessed of more authentick commissions, instruments, and papers, all which, or transcripts of them, you might have commanded before you set forth your reflections. But, possibly, to have stayed for them, might have lost you a seasonable opportunity of publishing your abhorrence of the Irish Rebellion, and your zeal against Popery: what your Lordship might then have had, you may yet have, because I had rather help to prevent than detect errors, but then, I must first know to what particular part of your history you desire information, and how you deliver those parts to the world, and to posterity. If after this offer, your Lordship shall proceed to the conclusion, and publication of your history, and not accept of it, I must, before-hand, appeal from you, as from an incompetent judge of my actions, and a partially engaged and unfaithful historian.

ORMOND.

The Earl of Anglesey's answer was as follows.

My Lord,

YOUR Grace's of the 12th of November, I received towards the end of that month, and was not a little surprized, after being threatened above a year, with your Grace's answers, to the Observations and Reflections on my Lord Castlehaven's Memoirs, which your Grace takes notice you had seen above a year before, to find them only most satyrically burlesqued, and my intentions in the writing of them, most unnaturally misinterpreted, and misjudged, without giving instance of any one particular, which could so much transport your Grace, or interest you to judge of a letter of mine to another, with so invective heat and mistake. Your Grace's letter, therefore, consisting only of generals, I can no otherwise adapt my answer, (after a most serious revision of my book upon this occasion) but by giving the reverse of your Grace's strained and erroneous affirmatives, by my plain and true negatives; till your Grace shall administer occasion, by communicating the particular animadversions, your Grace hath been so long (as I hear) about. The reasons leading your Grace to believe it impossible I could be the author of that discourse, I cannot admit, though they import a fair opinion of me; and that in the beginning of your letter, your Grace had better thoughts than when your hand was in and heated. I do therefore absolutely deny, that I affirm any matter of fact, positively in that book, which are easily, or authentically (or at all) to be disproved. Or that, from those matters of fact, grossly mistaken, it deduces consequences, raises inferences, and scatters glances injurious to the memory of the dead, and the honour of some living; among which, your Grace finds your self worst treated. This being so, your Grace's unjust inferences from the time of it's writing, and the misjudging the design of the author, give no countenance, or occasion, to your Grace's rhetorical character of the times, though I joyn in all, but the opinion your Grace seems to have taken up, that there is a plot (other than that of the Papists) to destroy the Crown and Church; a discovery worthy the making, if your Grace knows and believes what you write; but how I am concerned to have it mentioned to me, I know not, your Grace can best tell what you intend to insinuate thereby. These are your Grace's reasons, why you were not willing to believe that book of my composing; yet you cannot leave me without a sting,

in your expressing the hopes which succeeded them, viz. That some of the sordid libellers of the age, had endeavoured to imitate me, and not I them. Whether I should imitate sordid libellers, or they me, would be all one for my reputation; because I were grossly criminal in the first, and must have been so before in your Grace's opinion, or they could not imitate me in the second: your Grace will want instances in both, except this of your own making; and therefore, there must be some other reason why your Grace did not believe (if really you did not) that discourse to be of my composing. But this admitted for truth, (as it is undoubtedly) your Grace, in the next place, calls the world to judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dangerous tools in my hands. I remember the times, when they were serviceable to the King's Restoration, and constant service of the crown, or craved in aid by your Grace, that you did not account them so: and it is much to my safety, that they are not so in your Grace's hands, though I find them as sharp there, as in any man's alive. Your Grace being at length assured I was the author, your next care was to spend some thoughts to vindicate truth, the late King, yourself, your actions, and family, all reflected upon and traduced (as your Grace is pleased to fancy) by that pamphlet. But your Grace had no cause to trouble your thoughts with such vindications, unless you could shew, where in that book they are reflected upon and traduced, no such thing occurring to me, (upon the strictest revision) nor ever shall be objected to me with justice and truth. After your Grace hath brought it to the Coffee Houses, (where I believe it never was, till your Grace preferred it to that office) and where you have doomed it to expire, as writings of that nature and force use (you say) to do, (for which I shall not be at all concerned) you rested, without troubling yourself or any body else with animadversions upon my mistakes, which your Grace is pleased to say, are so many and so obvious, (though you name none, nor do they occur to others) that you wonder how I could fall into them. If your Grace believes yourself in this, you seem to have forgot the long time you spent in considering and animadverting upon that despicable pamphlet, with your labours whereon I was threatened by some of your Grace's relations for many months; and your Grace hath redeemed the delay, by the virulent general reflections you have now sent me, which yet I doubt not will evaporate or shrink to nothing, when your Grace shall seek for instances to back them, whereof if you can find any, I claim in justice they may be sent me. Your Grace adds, that you have been in expectation, that by this time my compleat History would have come forth, wherein (if you may judge by the pattern) your Grace faith, you have just cause to suspect, that neither the subject, nor yourself, will be more justly dealt with than in that occasional Essay; and therefore, offer me all the helps of authentick commissions, transactions, and papers, your Grace is possessed of, whereof you inform me none hath more. This is an anticipating jealousy, which no man living can have ground for, and when my history shall be compleated, (which is now delayed for those assistances your Grace is so well able, and so freely offers to afford me) though my weakness may be exposed, my integrity and impartiality shall appear, and your unjust suspicion will, I doubt not, cease, if truth may be welcome to you, and not accounted one of the dangerous instruments in my hand; by which having incurred your anger and enmity in the first Essay, I have slender hopes to be more acceptable in the second; though I resolve to hold to the first approved law of a good and faithful historian, which is, that he should not dare to say any thing that is false; and that he dare not but say any thing that is true; that there be not so much as suspicion of favour or hatred in his writing. And this might give a superfluous to your Grace's unreasonable appeal before a Gravamen, though I never

have made out of that piece (e) [F]. It was not however thought proper to remove him from his high office on this account, and therefore in the month of June 1682, the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was prevailed upon to exhibit a charge against the Lord Privy-Seal, on account of his reflections on the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs. This produced a sharp dispute between those two Peers, which ended in the Earl of Anglesey's losing his place of Lord Privy-Seal, though it certainly raised his reputation; his very enemies being forced to confess, that he was both hardly and unjustly treated (f) [G]. After this misfortune, which happened in August 1682, his Lordship remained

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 341.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

‘ ver intended, by relating the truth of things past, to become a judge of your Grace's or any other man's actions, but barely *Res gestas narrare*, for the information, correction, and instruction of this age and posterity. Your Grace desiring to know to what particular parts of my history I would have information, I shall at present only mention these. The intrigues of the cessation and commissions for them, and the two peaces of 1646 and 1648, forced upon the King by the rebellious Irish. The grounds and transactions about depriving Sir William Parsons from being one of the Lords Justices, and then dismissing him; Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treasurer; Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls; Sir Robert Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. from the council table. The mystery of Glamorgan's peace and his punishment, the several ungrateful expulsions of your Grace, by the confederate Roman Catholics. The passages concerning the parliament's present of a jewel to your Grace. The battles, reliefs, sieges, and chief encounters, in your Grace's time. The proceedings between your Grace and the Roman Catholick Assembly of the clergy in 1666, with the commission for their sitting. The plot for surprizing the castle of Dublin, in which Warren and others were concerned with the examinations and what offenders were executed, &c. and any thing else your Grace judgeth of import, to have conveyed to posterity. Other parts of the history shall be proposed to your Grace in my progress, and before I put my last hand to it, with a resolution, that though I may have been sometimes mistaken in judgment, yet as I never did promote the report of a matter of fact, which I knew to be false, so I never would. Which I am induced the rather to mention, because your Grace saith, you had rather help to prevent than to detect errors (16).’

A N G L E S E Y.

[F] From the extracts we have made out that piece.] This Memorial was intituled, *The Account of Arthur Earl of Anglesey, Lord Privy-Seal to your most excellent Majesty, of the true State of your Majesty's Government and Kingdoms*, April 27, 1682. In one part whereof he says, The fatal cause of all our mischiefs present, or apprehended, and which, if not by wisdom antedated, may raise a fire, which may burn and consume to the very foundations, is the unhappy perversion of the Duke of York (the next heir to the crown in one point of religion); which naturally raises jealousy of the power, designs, and practices, of the old enemies of our religion and liberties, and undermines and cmafculates the courage and constancy, even of those and their posterity, who have been as faithful to, and suffered as much for, the crown, as any the most pleased, or contented in our impending miseries can pretend to have done (17), and concludes in these words, Though your Majesty is in your own person above the reach of law, and sovereign of all your people, yet the law is your master and instructor how to govern; and your subjects assure themselves, you will never attempt the enervating that Law by which you are King, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by a solemn oath upon your Throne, been obliged in a most glorious presence of your people to the maintenance of; and that therefore, you will look upon any that shall propose or advise to the contrary, as unfit persons to be near you; and on those who shall persuade you it is lawful, as sordid flatterers, and the worst and most dangerous enemies you and your kingdoms have. What I set before your Majesty, I have written freely, and like a sworn faithful Counsellor; perhaps not like a wise man, with regard to myself, as they stand; but I have discharged my duty, and shall

account it a reward, if your Majesty vouchsafe to read, what I durst not but write, and which I beseech God to give a blessing to (18).

[G] That he was both hardly and unjustly treated.]

The Earl of Anglesey himself caused a distinct narrative of the whole affair, relating to his dispute with the Duke of Ormond, before the Privy-Council, and his being thereupon deprived of the Privy-Seal, to be printed for the satisfaction of the world. The sum of the matter was this, On the 17th of June, 1682, James Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Steward, represented to his Majesty in Council, the injuries he supposed to be done him by the Lord Privy-Seal, in his book published against the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs. This representation being read openly before the Council, then sitting at Hampton-Court, his Majesty declared, that he would hear the matter thereof in Council, and did order that a copy of the said representation should be delivered to Anglesey, and that he appear and make answer thereunto, at a Council to be holden at Whitehall, on the 23d of the said month. In obedience to this, Anglesey, though much troubled with the gout, appeared, made a short speech to his Majesty, in vindication of himself, banded the matter with Ormond, and then put in his answer to Ormond's representation, or complaint against him. These things being done, another Council was held July 13, at which time, Ormond delivering a paper to the board, containing several charges against him, it was then ordered, that a copy of it should be sent to Anglesey, and that he return an answer thereunto on the 20th of the said month at Hampton-Court. But no Council being then held (notwithstanding Anglesey had made answer to Ormond's particular charges against him the next day) the matter was deferred till the 27th of the said month. Another Council being therefore held there the same day, the charges and answers were debated; which done, and the Lords concerned being withdrawn, this resolution passed by the Council on Anglesey's letter to the Earl of Castlehaven, viz. That it was a scandalous libel against his late Majesty, against his now Majesty, and against the Government. When the parties, or Lords concerned, were called in again, the Lord Chancellor only told Anglesey, that the King conceived him faulty in the clause, p. 32, of the said letter to the Earl of Castlehaven, wherein the committees of the Parliament of Ireland were mentioned, as having been in the intrigues of the Popish faction at Court. After which a farther hearing was appointed, to be on the 3d of August following, but Anglesey continuing extreme ill of the gout, and finding himself prejudged by the resolution of the Council, on the 27th of July, he wrote a letter on the 2d of August to his Majesty; which being openly read in Council the next day, he did in some manner (as it was said) resent it, for some passages therein, yet nothing appeared inferred to be done thereupon. Afterwards the Earl of Castlehaven, (James Touchet) was called in several times, and questioned about his Memoirs; which he acknowledging to be his, the said book in conclusion, was by his Majesty and Council judged to be a scandalous libel against the Government. On the 9th of the said month of August 1682, the Privy-Seal, by command from his Majesty, was taken away from Anglesey, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, without any farther hearing, and was given to George Marquis of Halifax (19). From these circumstances, even Wood could collect that this noble Earl was hardly treated, yet he could not prevail upon himself to say as much, but sets it down as a report, *he was moved many thought unjustly*. A more candid and much better informed writer, tho' he as seldom allows his heroes to be wrong as any man living, yet upon this occasion swayed

(18) Transcribed from the Collection before-mentioned.

(16) Transcribed from a Collection of State Papers belonging formerly to John Lord Sommers.

(17) Page 16.

(19) See the Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Anglesey. Also Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 790.

mained pretty much at his country seat at Blechingdon, in Oxfordshire, where he devoted his time to his studies, and meddled very little with publick affairs, yet did he not entirely abandon business, much less discover any pique or disrespect towards the Royal Family, on account of what he had suffered; but behaved with so much temper and duty, that, without betraying or even dissembling his principles, he recovered the favour of King James II, so that it is generally believed he would if he had lived a month longer have been declared Lord Chancellor of England (g). But this, as we have observed, was prevented by his death, which happened April the 6th 1686, at his house in Drury-Lane, without any long sickness, by a quinsy, in the seventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him a numerous posterity (b) [H]. It is not easy to say any thing worthy of so great a man's character, and yet something is necessary to compleat the design of this life, and to give the reader some idea of the mind of this great man, as well as his fortune. As he had an excellent and universal education, becoming the heir of a noble family, so he was always remarkably prone to learning, and to the encouragement of learned men. He was well read in the Classics, and perfectly versed, not only in the Greek and Roman history, but in the spirit and policy of those famous nations. His intercourse however with foreign writers, did not hinder him from retaining a superior passion for all the branches of learning, which had any respect to his country. He had studied the laws with such diligence, as to be stiled and esteemed a lawyer, even by the most conceited lawyers of his time (i). In history he was a very great critick, and with respect to records, and whatever else fell under the consideration of a judicious antiquary, no man of his time deserved greater reputation than he; he was also well versed in the civil and cannon law, understood Church history perfectly, and was a great Divine. His writings, which are extant, will fully support all that has been hitherto said; and the world would have still higher proofs of his Lordship's great learning and abilities, if the largest and most valuable of all his works had not been unluckily lost, or, as some say, injuriously destroyed (k). However, as Anthony Wood, who never speaks well of this nobleman, but against his will, allows that he had a smooth, sharp, and keen pen, I presume no-body will doubt it (l) [I]. As to the aspersions

(g) See Sir P. Petti's Dedication of the Earl of Anglesey's Memoirs, to the Lord Altham his Lordship's son.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

(i) Happy Future State of England, p. 267.

(k) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789.

by the weight of evidence, he tells the story fairly and plainly thus. Lord Anglesey had for many years enjoyed the post of Lord Privy-Seal, a post much envied, and which the Earl of Halifax, Mr Edward Seymour (who was thought to stand fairest for it) and others, thought very convenient for themselves. The King did not care to remove an old servant without some pretence; so that when the Duke of Ormond came over, the affair of the letter was revived, and a complaint was presented against the author of it to the Council. The matter was there examined, so far as it affected the memory of the late King; for nothing personal to the Duke of Ormond ever came under their consideration. As the expediency of the cessation in 1643, was the chief subject of the debate, and as that matter has been fully cleared up in this history, I have no occasion to enter farther into this dispute, which ended in what was probably resolved before, the dismissal of the Earl of Anglesey from the Council board, and removing him from the charge of the Privy-Seal (20).

[H] Leaving behind him a numerous posterity.] His lordship married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir James Altham, of Oxei in the county of Hertford, Knight, one of the Barons of the court of Exchequer, a Lady of exemplary prudence and piety, who died April 12, 1692; and by her he had seven sons, and six daughters; of the sons, four died young. James succeeded his father in his honours. Altham, was created Baron of Altham in the kingdom of Ireland, by patent dated 14 Feb. 1680. Richard the third son, succeeded to the title of Altham, by the demise of his brother without issue, and his posterity are now Earls of Anglesey also: for the daughters, Dorothy married Richard Power, Earl of Tir-oen in the kingdom of Ireland. Elizabeth became the wife of Alexander Macdonald, second son to the Earl of Antrim in the kingdom of Ireland. Frances, the third daughter, to Francis Windham, Esq; of Felbridge in the county of Norfolk, and afterwards to John Thompson, Baron of Haversham in the county of Bucks; Philippa, the fourth Daughter, was first the wife of Charles Lord Mohun, and afterwards to Thomas Coward, Esq; Serjeant at Law. Lady Anne, the fifth daughter, married Mr Baker; and Lady Bridget died young (21).

[I] I presume no body will doubt it.] The reader may judge himself of this, from the extracts we have given him. His Lordship published in his life-

time the following pieces. 1. *The Truth unveiled, in behalf of the Church of England; being a Vindication of Mr John Standish's Sermon, preached before the King, and published by His Majesty's Command*, London, 1676, 4to. To which is added, *A short Treatise on the Subject of Transubstantiation*. 2. *A Letter from a Person of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Castlehaven, being Observations and Reflections on his Lordship's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland*, London, 1681. 8vo. 3. *A true Account of the whole Proceedings between James Duke of Ormond, and Arthur Earl of Anglesey, before the King and his Council, &c.* London, 1682, Folio. 4. *A Letter of Remarks upon Jovian*, London, 1683, 4to. Besides these, he wrote many other things, some of which were published after his decease; as 5. *The Privileges of the House of Lords and Commons, argued and stated in two Conferences between both Houses, April 19th, and 22d, 1671*. To which is added, *A Discourse, wherein the Rights of the House of Lords are truly asserted. With learned Remarks on the seeming Arguments, and pretended Precedents, offered at that time against their Lordships: Written by the Right Honourable Arthur Earl of Anglesey, Lord Privy-Seal*. These conferences were principally managed by the Earl, and were concerning a bill for impositions on merchandize, &c. And a resolution, the Commons in a conference communicated to the Lords, that there is a fundamental right in that house alone, in bills of rates and impositions on merchandize, as to the matter, the measure, and time. Whereupon the Lords in parliament, on full consideration thereof, and of the whole conference, came to this resolution, *nem. con.* That the power exercised in the House of Peers, in making the amendments and abatements in the bill entitled, An act for additional imposition on several foreign commodities, and for encouragement of several commodities and manufactures of this kingdom, both as to matter, measure, and time, concerning the rates and impositions on merchandize, is a fundamental, inherent, and undoubted right of the House of Peers, from which they cannot depart. This resolution produced another conference, which the Earl began, and asserted the right of the House of Lords, in learned remarks on the said two conferences. (6) *The King's right of indulgence in spiritual matters, with the equity thereof asserted*. London 1688. 4to. This was published by Henry Care, the year before that in the title page. (7) *Memoirs, intermixt with moral, political, and historical observations by way of discourse, in a letter to Sir Peter Pett*, London

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

as persons thrown on his memory, by a reverend Prelate his contemporary, they would have deserved a more particular consideration, if it had been usual for that conscientious writer, to have given good characters of any of his acquaintance, or to have avoided characterizing such as he had little or no acquaintance with; however as this work ought not to contain either apologies or panegyrics, the words of that grave Author ^(m) are set down in the notes, with only a few remarks submitted to the censure of the peruser [K]. We will conclude our account of this noble person, with observing, that he was one of the first English Peers, who distinguished himself by collecting a fine library, which he performed with great care, as well as at a large expence, and as he was desirous that so noble a collection might not be quickly dissipated, but remain in his family, he caused it to be disposed in a manner suitable to it's worth, in a particular apartment in Anglesey house (n). But these precautions proved fruitless, as his Lordship's good intentions likewise did; his books within a few months after his decease being exposed to publick sale by Mr Millington, a famous auctioneer (o). Yet this sale was attended with an accident, which will hinder it's being ever forgot, I mean the discovery of the Earl's famous Memorandum in the blank leaf of an ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, or the pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings, in order to disabuse the world as to the true author of that book, who according to that memorandum was not King Charles I, but Bishop Gauden, which produced a long controverly managed by various hands, and in several books. To enter into a particular detail of so perplexed an affair, would take up too much room, but the reader will find the original memorandum, and some remarks thereupon, which are not to be met with elsewhere, in the notes [L]. As this noble family of Anglesey, had a very honourable beginning in

(m) Bp Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(n) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 791. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(o) A true Account of the author of a book intitled, ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, by Dr Walker, Lond. 1692, 4to, p. 23.

London 1693. 8vo. This was written in answer to a book we have often cited, entitled, *The happy future state of England*, penned by way of letter to the Earl of Anglesey by the said Sir Peter Pett, who was Advocate-General of England, a very learned person, and a great admirer of our noble author. Besides these some very valuable pieces have been lost, particularly, *The history of the late commotions and troubles of Ireland, from the Rebellion in 1641, till the Restoration of the King in 1660*, which contained all the treaties, negotiations, sieges, battles, and other memorable transactions during that time. Besides certain large and learned discourses against the errors of Popery written in his lordship's younger years, and which many of his friends would have persuaded him to have published at the time of the Popish plot, but this, by the advice of Sir P. Pett, he declined.

[K] Submitted to the censure of the peruser] The character referred to in the text, is to be found in the Bishop of Salisbury's history of his own times, where it runs thus, 'Another man very near of the same sort, who passed through many great employments, was Annesley advanced to be Earl of Anglesey; who had much more knowledge (than Shaftsbury) and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject; but he spoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery for he was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great application; and was a man of a grave deportment; but stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any man on any side; and he seemed to have no regard to common decencies; but sold every thing that was in his power; and sold himself so often, that at last the price fell so low that he grew useless. — His Lordship afterwards adds, 'these five whom I have named last, viz Shaftsbury, Anglesey, Hollis, Manchester, Radnor, had the chief hand in engaging the nation in the design of the Restoration. They had great credit chiefly with the Presbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: and they were put in great posts by the Earl of Clarendon's means. By which he lost most of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted (22).' It seems that in the Bishop's opinion this noble Lord was a man of great parts, deep knowledge in the law, and was perfectly acquainted with our constitution. It is likewise owned that he had a large share in the King's Restoration, and for that reason, the Earl of Clarendon thought it necessary he should have a large share in the administration. These concessions without farther help destroy the probability, and indeed, I think, in a good measure, the possibility, of the cruel reflections contained in the character having any grounds in fact. For how can it be imagined, that a bad man, bad to such a de-

gree as to preserve no regard for decency, should preserve the King's confidence and the highest employments for two and twenty years together, and at last rise in reputation by being removed? Is it possible to believe that Parliaments which went such lengths, and upon such slight grounds as they did against the Earl of Danby, and other ministers, should not attack a man who minded nothing but getting, without any respect to virtue or even to appearances! can it be supposed that if this was really the case, the Rev. Prelate could not have added instances to his accusation, or ought we in justice or charity to give any credit to what he says without them? But after all, this, like most parts of the Bishop's book, is capable of being refuted by better authority. He charges the Earl with being a corrupt man. Now, he had two offices in which this must have appeared. He was Vice-Treasurer of Ireland for many years, and at last a committee was appointed to inspect the management of the treasury in that kingdom, with a design, if possible, to fix a charge upon this very nobleman, and yet they were forced to acquit him, as his antagonist the Duke of Ormond informs us in a representation he made to the King, in which also he suggests, that from the satisfaction his Majesty received from this enquiry, as to the honour and integrity of the Earl of Anglesey, he was induced to trust him in the high office of Lord Privy-Seal (23). In this office again if he had been really a man inclined to corruption, he must certainly have had great opportunities, and yet, when his enemies had gained credit enough to strip him of it, we have seen what a poor pretence was made use of for that purpose, when 'if the Bishop's story had been true, they must have had many just and even legal causes to have assigned for his removal, in their power. Then again, as to his being inconsiderable before his death, Anthony Wood, who cared as little for the Earl of Anglesey as Bishop Burnet, owns that he stood well with King James II, and that in this particular he was not misinformed, I can prove from a passage in the Earl's own diary. 'March 8, 1685, Spent most at home in business, and Duty; (i. e. prayer) in the evening was private with the Lord Sunderland, my good friend; and then was with the King a full hour at Mr Chiffinche's, who was very kind, free, and open in discourse, said he would not be priest-ridden: Read a letter of the late King, said I should be welcome to him (24).' In short, from the Restoration to the day of his death, the Earl of Anglesey was barely four years out of employment, most of which he spent in retirement, and died, when every body expected he should have been Chancellor, the highest office to which the King could raise him, and yet the good Bishop tells us, he was fallen so low as to be both contemptible and useless (25).

[L] Which are not to be met with elsewhere, in the notes.] To begin this note regularly we must produce the paper itself, which Mr Millington shewed to some people, and which ran in these words. 'King Charles II, and the Duke of York, did both (in the last sessions

(23) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, in the Appendix to the second Volume, p. 85.

(24) Transcribed from the Earl's Diary in the custody of Mr Ryley, June 17, 1693.

(25) Observations on the Characters inserted in Bishop Burnet's History, communicated to the author of this article.

(22) Bp Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

in this worthy person, so it has flourished ever since, and produced some very great men and true patriots. James, who succeeded his father in 1686, deceased in 1690, and was succeeded by his son James, who married her Grace the late Duchess of Buckinghamshire. He died in the beginning of the year 1702, and was succeeded by his brother John Earl of Anglesey, who was Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaster of the forces in Ireland. He deceased in the year 1710, and was succeeded by his brother Arthur, who, while he sat in the House of Commons in Ireland, distinguished himself by the weight and eloquence of his speeches, and was always heard after his accession to the title of Earl of Anglesey, with the utmost attention and respect in the British House of Peers. On the death of Queen Anne, he was made choice of by King George I, to be one of the Lords Justices till he arrived from Hanover; after which he was made one of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and on the third of January 1714-15, (with Henry Hyde, then Earl of Rochester) again made Joint-Treasurer of Ireland, and Treasurer at war. On the death of the Duke of Manchester, he was on the ninth of February 1701-2, in full senate unanimously elected High Steward of the university of Cambridge, where he had his education; and had been one of their representatives in three several Parliaments, whilst he was a Commoner. He deceased the

thirty-first

of Parliament, 1675, when I shewed them in the Lords house, the written copy of this book, wherein are some corrections and alterations, (written with the late King Charles I's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr Gauden Bishop of Exeter; which I here infer, for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my hand (26).²

(26) Walker's True Account of the Author of the Eikon Basilike.

ANGLESEY.

On the first publishing of this memorandum, it made a very great noise, and, as we say in the text, abundance of books were wrote about it. It would take up more room than we have to spare to examine the whole of this controversy, but one branch of it seems particularly to require our notice, *viz.* Whether this memorandum ought to be esteemed genuine? against which several arguments have been produced. First it is to be observed that this was written while the Earl of Anglesey was Lord Privy-Seal, and he was wont to subscribe Anglesey P. S. C. The King and the Duke of York were living, and therefore in decency he would have wrote his Majesty and his Royal Highness. If to this it be replied, that he used Charles II and Duke of York for the sake of exactness, this can never be admitted, because he styles Dr Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, though he died Bishop of Worcester. Add to this, that the memorandum itself is not dated, though it must have been written either in 1675 or 1676 (27). There is however another circumstance, which has never yet been taken notice of with respect to this memorandum, and which seems to affect the credit of it in a very sensible manner. It has been shewn before, how Sir Peter Pett came to write so long a letter to the Earl of Anglesey. In this very letter Sir Peter hath this passage. 'My Lord, there is another kind of power inherent in you, and that you cannot part with, such a power as King Charles I, in his Eikon Basilike affixes to the character of his favourite, when he says he looked on the Earl of Strafford as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state. Your very reputation for power is power, for that engageth those to adhere to you, who want protection (28).' Though this book was published two years after the Earl of Anglesey's death, yet it was printed long before, and the Earl had it in his study. He also wrote an answer to it, which he designed should have been printed and bound up with it, and in this answer he takes particular notice of a very remarkable passage in the letter, freely differing from Sir Peter in many of his sentiments, and sometimes correcting his mistakes, as for instance in the following passage of the Earl's answer. 'It here occurs to me to observe to you, that after an *erratum* of the prefs in p. 38 of your Discourse: Namely, where you are referred to p. 325 in the *Advocate of Conscience Liberty*, instead of p. 225, you make the last letter of D'Osia's to be from Rome, Anno 1596, and I suppose you happened to do so, by casting your eye on the old date of the last letter but one, printed in the volume of his letters in folio of the Paris edition, Anno 1625, and finding it to be Anno 1596. But it came not into your mind then, to observe that the last of his letters as they are ranged in order was

(27) See the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. 4to, 1711.

(28) Happy Future State of England, p. 24.

the 199th and in the end of book 9th, and which was to Villeroy from Rome, March 6th, Anno 1604, and in which year he died, as you rightly refer to his epitaph to shew (29). Yet as nice and circum-spect as this shews the Earl to have been, we find no notice at all taken of this passage cited from the King's book, but his friend is left in his error if it was one, though he sets him right in twenty things of less consequence in his answer to his letter, which takes up 350 pages in octavo. There are only two things that can be said in answer to this, *viz.* That either Lord Anglesey had acquainted his friend with this before, and therefore a repetition was needless, or else that the Earl thought it inexpedient to publish such a thing to the world. But whoever considers the matter a moment, will discern that neither of these excuses can be admitted. For if Sir P. Pett knew or believed the book not to be the King's, his citation and application of the character of the Earl of Strafford from thence would have been impertinent. On the other hand, who can hesitate at believing that the Earl would as soon have published this fact, having so fair an opportunity in his printed letter to Sir P. Pett, as leave it in a memorandum, when that memorandum was designed for the undeceiving others in that point? To such as are unacquainted with the books cited in this note, there may appear some deficiency in this argument, but whoever takes the pains to read the folio letter and the octavo answer, will gain so thorough an acquaintance with the temper and disposition of the writers, as will convince him that on such a point as this, one or other of them could not have been silent, if the fact mentioned in the memorandum had fallen within the compass of his knowledge. It is very true that Bishop Burnet tells pretty near the same story, for he affirms, that, in 1673, the Duke of York told him the book was not his Father's, but was written by Dr Gauden, who after the Restoration brought the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Northampton to the King and himself, and vouched their knowledge of it's being of that Doctor's writing, and this the Bishop tells us was the reason that Gauden obtained the bishoprick of Exeter, notwithstanding he had taken the Covenant, and was opposed by Bishop Sheldon, and others, for that reason (30). It happens unluckily for this story, that the Duke of Somerset, after a long illness, was at rest in his grave before Dr Gauden was made a Bishop; and it is also observable, that the Earl of Southampton was dead too, before the story was told by the Duke of York to the Bishop. Besides this there are two other unlucky circumstances, one that the Bishop did not believe the Duke himself, because having inquired of the Earl of Louthian, a zealous Presbyterian, who knew King Charles I. very well and lov'd him very little, about this very matter, the Earl told him he was sure it was the King's book, because he had often heard his Majesty deliver periods of it in his discourse (31). The other unlucky circumstance is, that the Bishop has hinted a reason why no body else ought to believe the Duke, and which would destroy the credit of the Earl of Anglesey's memorandum if it were really his; for the Rev. Prelate informs us, that the Duke of York told him this story of Dr Gauden, on his pressing him with passages against Popery out of his Father's book. If these Brothers were both Papists, as the greatest part of the world supposes they were then is there no great reason

(29) Anglesey's Memoirs, p. 346.

(30) Ep Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 50.

(31) Id. ibid.

thirty-first of March 1737, and was succeeded in his title by his cousin Lord Altham, of the Kingdom of Ireland (p).

(P) Collins's Peccage, Vol. II. p. 344.

reason to wonder they should desire the book in question to be ascribed to any body rather than King Charles I. But we may be left to wonder after all, how the Earl of Anglesey should forget that Dr Gauden was

Bishop of Worcester, as well as Exeter; when there is good reason to believe, that it was in consequence of this noble Earl's solicitations Dr Gauden was translated from this Bishoprick to that (32).

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 566, in the notes.

ANNESLEY or ANELEY, (SAMUEL) a very eminent Non-Conformist Minister. He was the son of John Aneley, of Hareley, in Warwickshire; where his family were possessed of a pretty good estate (a) [A]; and was born about the year 1620, and his father dying when he was four years old, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was a very prudent and religious woman (b). In Michaelmas term 1635, he was admitted a Student in Queen's College at Oxford (c), where at the usual times, he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Master of Arts (d). While he was in the University, he was particularly remarkable, for temperance and industry. He commonly drank nothing but water, and though he is said to have been but of slow parts, yet he supplied this defect in nature, by prodigious application (e). He was from his youth inclined to the Ministry, and his desires we are told were much fortified by a dream of his, which was, that being a minister, he was sent for by the Bishop of London, who condemned him to be burnt for a Martyr (f). In all probability this dream which he had in his childhood, might be owing to his reading the writings of John Fox, which in those days were put into most young people's hands. There is some dispute as to his receiving Holy Orders, that is to say, whether he had them from a Bishop, or according to the Presbyterian way, and as there is authority on both sides, the point must be discussed in a note [B]. In 1644, he became chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral of the Parliament's fleet (g). In process of time his own behaviour, and the great interest he had with such as were then in power, procured him a very good establishment at Cliffe in Kent (h). Here he succeeded Doctor Griffith Higges, who was ejected for his loyalty. This was a very considerable living, having not only a revenue of between three or four hundred pounds per annum, but being also a Peculiar, a great jurisdiction belonged to the incumbent, who therefore holds a court, wherein all things relating to wills, marriage contracts, &c. are decided (i). The people of the parish were it seems extremely fond of Dr Higges, and therefore treated his successor but very roughly, whereupon Mr Annesley told them, 'That if they conceived him to be biased by the value of so considerable a living, they were exceedingly mistaken; that he came amongst them with an intent to do good to their souls, and that he was resolved to stay, how ill soever they used him, till he had fitted them for the reception of a better minister; which, whenever it happened, he would leave them, notwithstanding the great value of the living (k).' On the twenty-sixth of July 1648, he preached the fast sermon before the House of Commons, which by their order was printed (l) [C]. About this time also he was honoured with the title of Doctor of Laws, by the University of Oxford (m), which has given occasion to some very severe reflections [D]. The same year, viz. the twenty-fifth of August,

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(b) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. III. p. 65.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Calamy, ubi supra.

(e) Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Calamy, ubi supra.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. ii. p. 39.

(i) Wood, ubi supra, col. 967.

(k) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 47.

(l) Wood, ubi supra.

(m) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

[A] Possessed of a good estate.] It was the misfortune of this gentleman, to live in such times, as, generally speaking, engage men to become of some party or other, which is sure to expose them to the hatred of all parties except that of which they are. This is the true reason why there is scarce a fact which relates to him uncontroverted. In the first place there is no small doubt about his name. Certain it is that he himself wrote it Annesley (1); and Dr Calamy assures us, that Arthur Annesley, the first Earl of Anglesey, was his relation (2). Yet the Oxford Antiquary tells us, that he was entred of the university of Oxford by the name of Samuel Aneley (3), the son of John Aneley, and he cites the register in support of this (4). He adds, that our author wrote himself afterwards, and was called by the name of Annesley because it was a noble name (5). In order to have given some light into this matter, I have enquired after the Family of Aneley, but I cannot find that there is such a one in Warwickshire, or at least if there be such a one it can be of no great note, neither to say the truth do I find that there is any family of the Annesley's settled there (6). Yet after all, as Mr Wood allows our author to have been a man of probity, I cannot but suppose he wrote his name as it should be.

[B] Must be discussed in a note.] We have it on the authority of Mr Wood, that our author took holy orders from a Bishop (7). Doctor Calamy informs us, that he had Presbyterian ordination, and he proves it by a certificate dated the 18th of December, 1644, subscribed by seven Presbyterian ministers. By this certificate it appears, that the intent of his ordination was that he might officiate as a chaplain in a Man of War call'd the Globe (8). At first sight these facts

seem to be directly opposite, yet I cannot avoid informing the reader that it is not absolutely impossible both may be true. I say this because there were in those days instances of persons, who, notwithstanding their being ordained by Bishops, desired to be re-ordained by Presbyters. Yet I cannot think that this was our author's case, for this plain reason, that he was but just of age to receive orders when he took this certificate.

[C] Which by their order was printed.] It was this sermon that raised Dr Annesley so many enemies who have pursued him even beyond the grave. His text was Job xxvii. 5, 6. *God forbid that I should justify you: Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteousness I hold fast and will not let it go, my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live* (9). In this sermon he inveighed against the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, excited the Parliament to do justice upon him instead of treating with him any more, and at the same time highly extolled the Covenant. It is plain that the House were very well pleased with his discourse, by their ordering it to be printed; neither can it be denied, that Dr Annesley took the Engagement and went all the lengths with the party, which is the grounds of Mr Wood's bitterness against him (10).

[D] Some very severe reflections.] Mr Wood says that our author had the degree of Doctor of Laws to qualify him the better for holding his courts as Rector of Cliffe in Kent (11). Dr Calamy gives quite another reason, he says that the Earl of Warwick having several chaplains who were Doctors, was desirous that Mr Annesley should be a Doctor too (12). As they disagree in this, so they do in every thing else; for Wood asserts, that Dr Annesley's contemporaries

(9) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(10) Expressed in every thing he says of him in his History of Oxford Writers.

(11) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(12) Vol. III. p. 67.

(1) See the certificates in the third Vol. of Calamy, and the Doctor's Will in note [E].

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 73.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(4) Lib. Matic. PP. fol. 95. b.

(5) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(6) See the second edition of Dugdale's Warwickshire.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. c. 967.

(8) Calamy, ubi supra, p. 66.

(m) Heath's Chronicle, P. i. P. 176.
Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 67.

(o) Id. *ibid.*

(p) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 47.

(q) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 68.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 69.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(t) See the Ordinance of Parliament.

(u) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 71.

(w) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 967.

(x) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 73.

(y) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 515.

(z) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 48.

(a) Id. *ibid.*

(b) Id. *ibid.*

he went to sea with his Patron the Earl of Warwick, who was employed in giving chase to that part of the English navy which went over to the then Prince, afterwards King Charles the II (*n*). The Doctor continued at sea till the tenth of December in the same year, when he returned to London (*o*). Some time after this, he quitted his Kentish living, much against the will of his parishioners, that he might keep the promise he had made them, when they were in another disposition (*p*). In 1657, he was nominated by Oliver Lord Protector, Lecturer at St Paul's (*q*), and afterwards, viz. in 1658, was presented by Richard Lord Protector, to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate (*r*). But this presentation growing quickly useless, he in 1660 procured another from the trustees for the maintenance of ministers (*s*), being also a commissioner for the approbation and admission of Ministers of the Gospel, after the Presbyterian manner (*t*). His second presentation growing as much out of date as the first, he, before the end of the year, viz. August the twenty-eighth 1660, obtained a third presentation of a more legal stamp from King Charles the II (*u*). Yet even this did not keep him there long, for in 1662 he was ejected for Non-conformity (*w*). It is said that the Earl of Anglesey, who was his near relation, took some pains to persuade him to conform, and even offered him a considerable preferment in the Church, in case he would have complied with his request (*x*), but the Doctor refused, and continued to preach privately during that King's reign, and so long as King James the II sat on the throne. His Non-conformity we are told created him troubles, but no inward uneasiness (*y*). His goods were distrained for keeping a Conventicle, but Dr Calamy remarks it as the Judgment of God, that a Justice of Peace died, as he was signing a warrant to apprehend him (*z*). As he had a very strong constitution, so he laboured earnestly in the work of his ministry for no less than fifty-five years (*a*). At last, in the year 1696, he was attacked by a painful distemper, which after seventeen weeks intolerable torture, put an end to his life the last day of that year (*b*). He had the reputation of being a warm pathetic preacher, as well as a pious, prudent, and very charitable divine, laying by the tenth part of his income, whatever it was, for the use of the poor [*E*]. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Daniel Williams, and as to his writings they are mentioned in the notes [*F*].

aries in Queen's Coll. looked upon the giving him this degree as the most scandalous thing in nature, because they knew he was utterly unacquainted with law; nay, he tells us that some of the gravest fellows there, particularly Dr Barlow, said often in his hearing, that if this gentleman could then have told what the Pandects were, he should freely have had their vote to go out Doctor of Laws. But so it was, continues Wood, that for his money, and favour of those in authority, he had that degree conferred upon him, as others then had degrees in other faculties that knew little or nothing of learning, to the great disgrace of the university (13). The Oxford Antiquary was so fond of this story, that he put it not only into his history of Oxford writers, but also into his account of the graduates of Oxford (14), and it has been transcribed by Dr Walker, without losing any of his circumstances (15). Dr Calamy complains heavily of this, tho' he has passed a severe censure on Dr Higgs, the Doctor's predecessor at Cliffe, with as little reason (16). The truth of the matter is, that this degree was bestowed at the command of Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the university, who acted there with boundless authority, and therefore these are usually stiled the Pembrokean Creations, and, as Wood says, were in general scandalous enough.

[*E*] For the use of the poor.] Dr Calamy's character of him is so full, that it deserves to be transcribed (17). He had, says he, a large soul and a flaming zeal, and his usefulness was very extensive. He had the care of all the churches upon him, and was the chief instrument in the education and subsistence of several Ministers, whose useful labours the church had otherwise wanted. He was the main support of the morning lecture, for which so many have cause to be thankful to God, and after the death of old Mr Care, he took the care of it upon himself; in the last 30 years of his life, he had great peace of mind from the assurance of God's covenant love. For several years indeed before that he walked in darkness and was disconsolate, which is no unusual thing with such as are converted in their childhood, whose change being not so remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be questioned, but in his last illness, he was full of comfort. To this character of Dr Calamy, let us add our author's Will, because it is very short, and at the same time very remarkable (18).

In the name of God, Amen. I Dr Samuel Annesley of the Liberty of Norton Folgate, in the County of Middlesex, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, being through mercy in health of body and

mind, do make this my last will and testament concerning my earthly pittance. For my soul I dare humbly say, it is, through Grace, devoted unto God otherwise than by legacy, when it may live here no longer: And I do believe that my body, after it's sleeping a while in Jesus, shall be re-united to my Soul, that they may both be for ever with the Lord.

Of what I shall leave behind me, I make this short disposal: My just debts being paid, I give to each of my children one shilling, and all the rest to be equally divided between my son Benjamin Annesley, my daughter Judith Annesley, and my daughter Ann Annesley, whom I make my Executors of this my last will and testament, revoking all former, and confirming this with my hand and seal this 29th day of March, 1693.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY.

[*F*] They are mentioned in the notes.] He hath not left much in print. He published a sermon before the house of Commons in 1648. Two sermons he preached at St Paul's about *Communion with God*, in 1655. A Sermon at St Laurence Jewry, to the Gentlemen Natives of Wiltshire, Nov. 9, 1654. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise* at St. Giles's, on the *Covenant of Grace*. He published the *Morning Exercise* at Cripplegate in 1661. And hath a Sermon there which begins the whole; upon *being universally and exactly conscientious*. He also published and prefaced the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise* at Cripplegate, anno 1674, and begins it with a Sermon upon *Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds*. He hath also a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise* against *Popery, against Popish Pardons and Indulgences*. He afterwards published and prefaced the *Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions*, in 1683; and begins it with a Sermon shewing *how the adberent Vanity of every Condition, is most effectually abated by serious Godliness*: And in 1690, he published and prefaced the fourth Volume of *Casistical Morning Exercises*; which he begins with a Sermon shewing, *how we may give Christ a satisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Ministry of the Word*. He wrote likewise the Life of Mr Thomas Brand, which was published with his Funeral Sermon. A Funeral Sermon for Mr William Whitaker; and besides all these, he wrote a Preface to Mr Richard Allein's *Instructions about Heart Work*: And joined with Dr Owen in a Preface to Mr Eliza Coles's *Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty*.

E

A N S E L M

(18) Turner's remarkable Providence, ch. 143.

(13) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(14) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, P. i. p. 142. P. ii. p. 39.

(16) Vol. II. p. 48.

(17) Id. *ibid.*

A N S E L M, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, was an Italian by birth, being born in the year 1033, at Aoft, a town at the foot of the Alps, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. He was descended of a considerable family: his father's name was Gundulphus, and his mother's Hemeberga (a). After he had gone through a course of studies, and travelled for some time in Burgundy and France, he took the monastic habit in the abbey of Becc in Normandy, of which Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (b), was then Prior. At that time Anselm was no more than twenty-seven years of age. Three years after, when Lanfranc was made Abbot of Caen, Anselm succeeded him in the priory of Becc; and when Herluin, Abbot of that monastery, died, Anselm was promoted to the abbacy. About the year 1092, Anselm came over into England, being invited thither by Hugh Earl of Chester, who requested his assistance in his sickness. Soon after his arrival, William Rufus, falling sick at Gloucester, and being pressed to fill up the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant above four years [A], thought fit to nominate Anselm; who with much difficulty was prevailed upon to accept that dignity [B]. Before his consecration, he gained a promise from the King for the restitution of all the lands, which were in the possession of that see in Lanfranc's time. And thus having secured the temporalities of the archbishopric, and done homage to the King, he was consecrated with great solemnity on the fourth of December 1093 (c). Soon after his consecration, the King intending to wrest the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, and endeavouring to raise what money he could for that purpose, Anselm made him an offer of five hundred pounds; which the King thinking too little refused to accept, and the Archbishop thereby fell under the King's displeasure [C]. About that time, he had a dispute with the Bishop of London, touching the right of consecrating churches in a foreign diocese (d) [D]. The next year, the King being ready to embark for Normandy, Anselm

(a) Baroni. Annali. Tom. II. an. 1093.

(b) Lanfranc was Anselm's immediate predecessor in that see.

(c) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuar. Histor. Novor. Lond. 1623. lib. i. p. 20.

(d) Ibid. p. 22.

[A] *The See of Canterbury had been vacant above four years.*] Archbishop Lanfranc died in May 1089, and Anselm succeeded him in December 1093. During the vacancy of the See, the profits were returned into the Exchequer. The King, it seems, at that time, was much influenced by one Ranulph, a Clergyman, who, tho' a Norman and of mean extraction, had a great share in the King's favour, and at last rose to the post of Prime Minister. This man, having gained the King's ear by flattering his vices, misled him in the administration, and put him upon several arbitrary and oppressive expedients. Among others, one was, to seize the revenues of a church, upon the death of a Bishop or Abbot; allowing the Dean and Chapter, or Convent, but a slender pension for maintenance (1). But the King, falling sick, began to be touched with remorse of conscience, and to recollect the mismanagements of his reign. Among other oppressions, he was particularly afflicted for the injury he had done the Church and Kingdom in keeping the See of Canterbury, and some others, vacant. The Bishops and other great Men took this opportunity to entreat the King to fill up the vacant Sees; and Anselm, who then lived in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, being sent for to court, to assist the King in his illness, was pitched upon by the King as a proper person, and accordingly nominated to the See of Canterbury (2).

[B] *He was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept that dignity.*] He expressed great uneasiness at this promotion; and when he was hurried into the King's presence, to receive investiture by delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, he made all the decent opposition imaginable. The Bishops expostulated with him upon his refusal, telling him, 'That his modesty was no better than a plain desertion of his duty; that things were in the utmost confusion; that all sorts of disorders prevailed in the Church, and Christianity was almost exterminated by the licentiousness and tyranny of the administration: that, since the remedy of these evils was now in his power, the declining to make use of it was hardly reconcilable to conscience, or the character of an honest man; and that the preferring his own ease and quiet to the public service of religion, was a very indefensible motive.' Anselm, in excuse of himself, alledged, 'That he had not health and vigour sufficient for so weighty a charge; that his inclination was entirely for the cloyster, and that he had always declined concerning himself in secular affairs.' He desired therefore, 'They would not endeavour to drag him out of his repose; and force him upon his aversion.' He added, *I am Abbot of a Monastery in a foreign dominion; I am bound to canonical obedience to the Archbishop of that province; I owe allegiance to the Prince of the country; and am likewise obliged to assist my convent to the best of*

*my power. Things standing thus, I am not at liberty to quit the monastery without the consent of the Monks, nor to disengage from my Prince without his permission; nor to withdraw myself from the jurisdiction of my spiritual father the Bishop, unless he is pleased to discharge me. Finding him persist in his refusal, they forced him into the King's presence, who asked him in a very pathetic manner, 'Why he endeavoured to ruin him in the other world; which would infallibly follow, in case he died before the archbishoprick was filled.' When no arguments could prevail, the Bishops and those who were present clapped the pastoral staff into his hands, shouted for his election, and bore him by force into the church, where *Te Deum* was sung upon the occasion. But, notwithstanding all this solemnity, Anselm would not acquiesce, till the King had written to the Duke of Normandy, the Archbishop of Roan, and the Monastery of Becc, and procured him a discharge from the obligations above-mentioned (3).*

[C] *The Archbishop thereby fell under the King's displeasure.*] When the King heard of the intended sum, he was pleased at first; but afterwards some of the courtiers, disaffected to the Archbishop, representing it as too trifling an acknowledgment, he refused to accept it. This temper of the court surprized Anselm, who thereupon went to the King, and addressed him in this manner: 'Sir, I intreat your Highness would be pleased to accept the present I sent you; it will not be the last acknowledgment your Archbishop will make you: And I humbly conceive, 'tis both more serviceable and more honourable for your Highness to receive a lesser sum from me with my consent, than to extort a greater by force and violence; for voluntary payments will be more frequent in their return. If your Highness allows me the freedom and privilege of my station, my person and all that belongs to me will be at your service; but if I am treated like a slave, I shall be obliged to stand off, and keep my fortune to myself.' This frank declaration greatly disgusted the King, who bid him take his Money and be gone. The Archbishop, not being in a condition at that time to double the sum, as the King expected, without racking his tenants, desisted after a second offer, and gave the Money to the poor (4).

[D] *He had a dispute with the Bishop of London about the right of consecrating churches in a foreign diocese.*] The Archbishop was preparing to consecrate a church, in one of his manours, built by his predecessor Lanfranc. The town, called Berga, lay within the diocese of London; the Bishop of which See sent down two Prebendaries to claim the right of consecration. Upon this the Archbishop consulted Wulfstan Bishop of Worcester, who, being the only English or Saxon Bishop then living, was thought the best qualified to pronounce upon the controversy. This prelate giving his

(1) Orderic. Vital. Eccles. Hist. l. viii. p. 678.

(2) Eadmer. Histor. Nov. l. i. p. 16.

(3) Id. Ib. p. 17.

(4) Ibid.

Anselm waited upon him, and desired his leave to convene a national Synod, in which the disorders of the Church and State, and the general dissolution of manners, might be remedied: but the King refused his request, and even treated him very roughly; whereupon the Archbishop and his retinue withdrew from court (e) [E]. Another cause of discontent between the King and the Archbishop, was, Anselm's desiring leave to go to Rome, to receive the pall from Pope Urban II, whom the King of England did not acknowledge as Pope, being more inclined to favour the party of his competitor Guibert. This misunderstanding occasioned great disputes; and, to put an end to the controversy, a council or convention was held at Rockingham castle [F]; the issue of which was, that the majority of the Bishops, being either gained or over-awed by the Court, threw up their canonical obedience, and renounced Anselm for their Archbishop [G]. Hereupon Anselm desired a passport, to go beyond the sea, till the present misunderstandings could be made up. But the King absolutely refused this request, and would only consent, that there should be a kind of truce or suspension of the affair from March to Whitsuntide [H], during which interval the difference was to sleep. But, long before the expiration of this term, the King broke through the agreement, banished several clergymen who were Anselm's favourites, and miserably harrassed the tenants of his see. Whitsuntide being come, and the Bishops having in vain endeavoured to soften Anselm into a compliance; the King, with the advice of

(e) Id. ibid.

A. D. 1094.

A. D. 1095.

opinion in favour of the Archbishop's pretensions, Anselm went on with the consecration, performed divine service, and executed other parts of his function, in all the towns belonging to the See of London, without moving for the consent of the diocesan (5).

[E] *The Archbishop — withdrew from court.*

Our Prelate began to reflect, that the King's displeasure towards him might prevent his acting in his station with advantage to the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he applied to the Bishops, to entreat the King to receive him into favour. But the King being inexorable, the Bishops advised him to make his Majesty a fresh offer of five hundred pounds, with a promise of as much more as soon as it could be raised. To which Anselm replied, 'That this method might prove very unfortunate; that the King might probably be angry again e'er long, upon the same prospect; that the tenants of the archbishoprick had been miserably harrassed since the death of his predecessor; and that to take any more from them would be their utter undoing.' Besides, says he, *God forbid I should do any thing to make the world believe my Sovereign's favour is mercenary. I owe the King allegiance, and ought to be tender of his honour. How then can I be true to these engagements, if I go about to bring an ill report upon his justice, and offer to buy his friendship with a little money, like a horse in a fair? At this rate royal favour would be valued no higher than the proportion of the sum. But far be it from me to undervalue a thing of that dignity, and to put so paltry a consideration in balance against it. Your way therefore will be, to persuade the King not to set a price upon his reconciliation, but to receive me upon frank and honourable terms, and treat me as his spiritual Father: And for my part I am ready to pay him the duty of a subject. But as for the money, since he was pleased to refuse it, I have given it to the poor, and have now nothing to offer of that kind.* This being reported to the King, he appeared very angry, and declared, 'He would never look upon Anselm as his ghostly Father; that he hated his prayers and benedictions, and therefore he might go whither he pleased.' Upon this, says Eadmer (6), who was one of Anselm's retinue, *we withdrew from Court.*

(6) Ubi supra.

[F] *A council — was held at Rockingham Castle.* In this assembly, Anselm, opening his cause, told them with what reluctance he had accepted the Archbishoprick; that he had made an express reserve of his obedience to Pope Urban; and that he was now brought under difficulties upon that score. He therefore desired their advice how to act in such a manner, as neither to fail in his allegiance to the King, nor in his duty to the holy See. The Bishops were of opinion, he ought to resign himself wholly to the King's pleasure. They told him, there was a general complaint against him, for intrenching upon the King's prerogative; and that it would be precedence in him to wave his regard for Urban; that Bishop (for they would not call him Pope) being in no condition to do him either good or harm. To this Anselm returned, that he was engaged to be no farther the King's subject than the laws of Christianity would give him leave; that as he was willing to render unto Caesar the things

that were Caesar's, so he must likewise take in the other part of the precept, and give unto God that which was God's. Hereupon William Bishop of Durham, a court prelate, who had inflamed the difference, and managed the argument for the King, insisted, that the nomination of the Pope to the subject was the principal jewel of the crown, and that by this privilege the Kings of England were distinguished from the rest of the Princes of Christendom (7).

[G] *The Bishops renounced Anselm for their Archbishop.* The King would have had them gone farther, brought him to his trial, and deposed him in the council. But the Bishops refused to carry their resentment against him so far. As for Anselm, when he heard that his suffragans had disclaimed him, he complained greatly of their ill treatment of him, and demanded the regard due to a Metropolitan. In a letter, which he wrote to the Irish Bishops about that time, he expresses the great uneasiness this usage gave him, and desires they would put up their prayers on his behalf, 'That God would inspire him with fortitude and resolution, to preserve the government of the Church, and appear boldly against disorder and licentiousness.' And in the close of the letter, *If these happen, says he, any difficulty in your country about the consecration of Bishops, or any other matter relating to ecclesiastical discipline, I desire you would inform me of the case, and take the assistance of the best advice I can give you* (8). It is remarkable, that when the King applied to the temporal nobility, to engage them to follow the example of the Bishops, and disclaim Anselm, they unanimously refused to do so; and this generous declaration of the Barons in favour of the Archbishop, made the servile compliance of the Bishops appear the more scandalous and unjustifiable (9).

(7) Eadmer. ib. p. 28, 29.

(8) Dacherius, Spicileg. T. IX. p. 123.

(9) Eadmer. ubi supra, p. 30.

[H] *A truce, or suspension of the affair, from March to Whitsuntide, was agreed upon*] During this interval, Walter, Bishop of Alba, was sent by Urban into England, attended by two clergymen, who officiated in the King's chapel. These ecclesiastics had been privately dispatched to Rome, to enquire into the late election, and examine which of the two pretenders, Guibert or Urban, was canonically chosen. These agents, finding the right lay in Urban, applied to him, and endeavoured to persuade him to send the King the Archbishop of Canterbury's pall. This was the King's point; who thought, by getting the pall into his possession, he should be able to manage the Archbishop (10). The Pope complied so far, as to send the Bishop of Alba to the King with the pall, but with secret orders concerning the disposal of it. This prelate, arriving at the English court, discoursed very agreeably to the King, making him believe the Pope was entirely in his interest. Whereupon William ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope in all his dominions. After he had thus far gratified the See of Rome, he began to treat with the Legate about the deprivation of Anselm; but was greatly disappointed, when that prelate assured him the design was impracticable. However it was now too late to go back; and therefore, to set the best face upon the matter, he resolved, since he could not have his revenge upon Anselm, to drop the dispute, and pretend himself reconciled (11).

(10) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 32.

(11) Ibid.

[I] *The*

of his great men, received him into favour upon his own terms; and, because Anselm persisted in refusing to receive the pall from the King's hands, it was at last agreed, that the Pope's Nuntio, who had brought the pall into England (f), should carry it down to Canterbury, and lay it upon the altar of the cathedral; from whence Anselm was to receive it, as if it had been put into his hands by St Peter himself. Things being thus adjusted, the Archbishop went to Canterbury, and received the pall with great solemnity, the June following (g). And now it was generally hoped, that all occasion of difference between the King and the Archbishop was removed: but it appeared soon after, that the reconciliation on the King's part was not sincere. For William, having marched his forces into Wales, and brought that country to submission, took that opportunity to quarrel with Anselm, pretending he was not satisfied with the quota the Archbishop had furnished for that expedition (h) [I]. Finding therefore his authority too weak to oppose the corruptions of the times, he resolved to go in person to Rome, and consult the Pope. But the King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom, seemed surprized at the request, and gave him a flat denial (i) [K]. Notwithstanding which, the Archbishop resolved upon the voyage [L], and accordingly embarked at Dover. But when the King heard that he had crossed the channel, he seized upon the archbishopric, and made every thing void which Anselm had done (k). The Archbishop got safe to Rome, and was honourably received by the Pope. After a short stay in that city, he accompanied the Pope to a country seat near Capua, whither his Holiness retired on account of the unhealthfulness of the town. And here Anselm wrote a book, in which he gave an account of the reason of our Saviour's Incarnation. The Pope wrote to the King of England in a strain of authority, enjoining him to re-estate Anselm in all the profits and privileges of his See. Anselm likewise wrote into England upon the same subject (l). As for the King, he endeavoured to get Anselm discountenanced abroad, and wrote to Roger Duke of Apulia, and others, to that purpose (m). But he had not credit enough, it seems, to gain his point: for Anselm was treated with all imaginable respect wherever he came [M]. This famous Archbishop was very serviceable to the Pope in the council of Bari, which was held to oppose the errors of the Greek Church, with respect to the procession of the Holy Ghost (n). In this Synod, Anselm answered the objections of the Greeks, and managed the argument with so much judgment, learning, and penetration, that he silenced his adversaries, and gave general satisfaction to the Western Church. This argument was afterwards digested by him into a Tract [N], and is extant among his other works (o). In the same council Anselm

(f) See the remark [H].

(g) Eadmer. ubi supra, l. ii. p. 33.

(h) Id. ib. p. 37.

A. D. 1097.

(i) Id. ib. p. 39.

(k) Id. ib. p. 41, 42.

(l) Id. ib. p. 45.

(m) Ibid.

A. D. 1098.

(n) In this Synod the Pope gave Anselm the title of Alterius Orbis Papa, i. e. Pope of the other World, meaning England.

[I] *The King quarrelled with Anselm, pretending he was not satisfied with the quota he had furnished for the Welsh expedition.* The King complained, that the Archbishop had failed in his proportion, and that his men were neither well accoutred, nor fit for the service. He even threatened to have him tried for a misdemeanour, and ordered him to be ready to make his appearance upon the first summons. Anselm thought silence the best expedient upon this occasion, and therefore returned no answer to the King's message (12).

[K] *The King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom — gave him a flat denial.* He added, 'That he did by no means understand the reason of such a voyage; that he could not think Anselm so far guilty of any crime, as to stand in need of the Pope's absolution: and, as for consulting him, he had that good opinion of the Archbishop's judgment, that he thought him every jot as well qualified to give the Pope advice, as to receive any from him.' Anselm renewed his petition in vain; and despairing to obtain the King's leave, he sent for the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Bath, who were then at court, and told them, 'That it belonged more particularly to their office, to advise here to the interest of religion: If therefore they would stand by him, upon this occasion, and be firm to the service of the Church, he would lay his intentions before them, and be governed by their advice.' They desired a little time for deliberation; and having consulted together, they returned to him with the following answer: 'My Lord, we know you to be a very religious and holy man, and that your conversation is wholly in Heaven; but as for ourselves, we must confess, our relations and secular interest are a clog upon us, inasmuch that we cannot rise up to those seraphic flights, nor trample upon the world with the noble contempt that you do. If you please to stoop to our infirmities, and content yourself with our methods and management, we will solicit your cause with the same heartiness we do our own, and assist you to the utmost of our power. But if you are all spirituality, and have nothing but the Church in view, all we can do is to preserve our former regards to you, and that with a reserve of acting nothing, which may

'intrench upon our allegiance to the King.' After this conference with the Bishops, the King sent another message to him, expostulating with him upon breach of duty in leaving the kingdom without the royal permission. Whereupon Anselm went to court, and, according to his customary privilege, seating himself at the King's right-hand, would have entered upon his justification: But the King persisted in his denial of leave, and the Archbishop left the court, resolved upon his voyage (13).

[L] *The Archbishop resolved upon the voyage.* At his parting from the court, he told the King, 'He was now just ready to set forward; that if he could have gained his permission, he conceived it might have been more serviceable to his Majesty, and more satisfactory to all good people: But since it proved otherwise, he must acquiesce in the misfortune, and should always have the same regard for the welfare of the King's soul: That now, not knowing when he should wait upon his Highness again, he was ready to recommend him to God Almighty, and to dismiss him with the same solemnity of good wishes that were owing from a spiritual father to a son, he had so great an affection for; and which a King of England ought to receive from an Archbishop of Canterbury.' And therefore, unless your Highness rejects it, says he, I am ready to give you my blessing. The King replying, he did not refuse it, Anselm rose up, and making the sign of the cross over the King's head, who bowed at that ceremony, took his leave; the King and all the court admiring the resolution and unconcernedness of his behaviour (14).

[M] *Anselm was treated with all imaginable respect wherever he came.* Finding his preaching had a good effect on his audiences in Italy, he desired leave of the Pope to resign his Archbishopric, believing he might be more serviceable to the world in a more private station. The Pope would by no means consent to such a step, but charged him, upon his obedience, never to drop his title, or quit his station (15).

[N] *This argument was digested by him into a Tract.* Baronius's remark upon this discourse of Anselm's deserves to be remembered. He takes notice, that

(o) See the remark [FF].

(12) Id. ib. p. 37.

(13) Id. ib. p. 39.

(14) Id. ib. p. 41.

(15) Id. ib. p. 45.

- generously interposed, and prevented the Pope from pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the King of England, for his frequent outrages on religion (p). After the Synod of Bari was ended, the Pope and Anselm returned to Rome, where an Ambassador from the King of England was arrived, in order to disprove Anselm's allegations and complaints against his master [O]. And, the better to effect his purpose, he tried the interest of his purse; and partly by presents, and partly by promises, he bribed the court of Rome to desert Anselm (q) [P]. The Archbishop, perceiving how matters went, would have returned to Lyons, but the Pope would not part with him; and, to sweeten him after his disappointment, lodged him in a noble palace, where his Holiness made him frequent visits. About that time, the Pope having summoned a Council to sit at Rome [Q], Anselm had a very honourable seat assigned him and his successors; this being the first time of an Archbishop of Canterbury's appearing at a Roman Synod (r). When the Council broke up, Anselm immediately left Rome, and returned to Lyons, where he was entertained for some time by Hugo the Archbishop. He staid there till he heard the news of King William's and Pope Urban's death, which happened not long after (s). Henry I, the new King of England, having restored the Sees of Canterbury, Winchester, and Salisbury, which had been seized by his predecessor; Anselm was solicited to return into England; and being come as far Clugny, an Agent from the King met him with a letter inviting him to return to his archbishopric [R]. In this letter the King excused himself for not staying till Anselm's return, and being crowned by another Prelate. The Archbishop, being arrived in England, was received with extraordinary respect by the King and the people. And thus far matters went smoothly enough. But when it was required of Anselm, that he should be re-invested by the King, and do the customary homage of his predecessors, he refused to comply, alledging the canons of the late Synod at Rome about investitures (t) [S]. The King was greatly disgusted at Anselm's non-compliance: however, not being well settled on the throne, he was unwilling to come to a rupture. It was agreed therefore that the dispute should rest till the Easter following; and in the mean time both parties were to send their agents to Rome, to try if they could persuade the Pope to dispense with the canons of the late Synod in relation to investitures. About this time Anselm summoned a Synod to meet at Lambeth [T], on occasion of the King's

that the Archbishop, in this tract, does not make use of the authorities either of the Greek or Latin fathers: not of the Latins, because the Greeks expected against their testimony, as being friends and parties; nor of the Greeks, because, when they were cited against them, they used to object against the credit and authenticity of the copy. Anselm therefore, trusting to the goodness of the cause, took none of these auxiliaries into the service, but had recourse solely to the Scriptures, and confuted his adversaries from thence (16).

[O] *The English ambassador endeavoured to disprove Anselm's allegations, and complaints against his master.* This minister told the Pope, that his master was surprized at his Holiness's order for re-instating Anselm in his Archbishopric, since he had positively acquainted that Prelate what he must expect, in case he quitted the realm without his Majesty's leave. The Pope asked the Ambassador, if he had any thing farther in his instructions against Anselm? He answered, nothing. 'Could you then (said the Pope) think it worth your while to take so long and tedious a journey, only to acquaint me, that your Primate has been deprived of his See for appealing to St Peter's chair? If you have any regard for you master, return and tell him, that unless he will venture the highest censure of the Church, his method will be forthwith to restore Anselm to all his rights and properties.' The Ambassador, being shocked with this answer, told the Pope, he had something farther to communicate; and desired a private audience, in which he found means to soften his Holiness, and prevail upon him to relax a little in his demands (17).

[P] *The English Ambassador bribed the Court of Rome to desert Anselm.* This story is modestly told by Eadmer (18) in a few words. But William of Malmbury enlarges with more freedom upon the prevarication of the Court of Rome. He tells us (19), the Pope was under some difficulty and irresolution about the matter; that for some time his Holiness hung in suspense between conscience and interest, but was at last overbalanced by the consideration of a good present. And here Malmbury declaims with a great deal of honesty and satire against the prevalence of money; and frankly acknowledges, that it was scandalous in a person of his Holiness's station and character to prostitute his honour and conscience, and depart from justice for the sake of a little pelf.

[Q] *The Pope summoned a council to meet at Rome.*

When the canons of this council were agreed on, and drawn up, the Pope ordered Reingerius, Bishop of Lucca, to publish them to the assembly. This Prelate, after he had gone through part of his commission, seemed on a sudden to be greatly disturbed; and breaking off the reading of the canons, he cried out: 'What will become of us? We are loading the people with new precepts and articles of duty; but do not relieve those, who apply to us for protection. The whole world is surprized at this conduct, and complains, that the head of the Church does not sympathize with the members.' Then he expressly mentioned Anselm's case, and remonstrated against the delays in doing him justice. Here the Pope interposed, and desired him to forbear, with a promise that matters should be rectified. Reingerius, being a man of warmth and zeal, replied, 'twas fit it should be so; for God would not pass over the neglect: and when he had said this, he went on with the publication of the canons (20).

[R] *The King sent him a letter, inviting him to return to his Archbishopric.* The learned reader will find King Henry's letter to Anselm, in the collection of that Prelate's letters (21), and in Mr Collier's collection of Records, N. 14. at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I.

[S] *Anselm alledged the canons of the Synod of Rome about investitures.* This Synod excommunicated all lay persons, who should give investitures for abbies or cathedrals; and all ecclesiastics, who should receive investitures from lay hands, or came under the tenure of homage for any ecclesiastical promotion, were put under the same censure (22).

[T] *Anselm called a Synod at Lambeth.* The King being generally censured for intending to marry the Princess Maud, who was supposed to have embraced a religious life, that Lady applied herself upon this occasion to Archbishop Anselm, and desired his advice. The Archbishop objected the common report to her, and declared, that no motive whatsoever should prevail with him to disengage her from her vow to Almighty God. The Princess denied there had been any such engagement, and alledged that, though she had indeed worn a veil, it was against her inclination, being forced thereto by her aunt Christian, who had put a piece of black cloth about her head, to prevent her being violated by the Normans. She added, that her father, seeing her veiled, broke out into a passion, and tore the veil in pieces, protesting that he designed her

(p) Eadmer. *ibid.*

(q) *Id.* *ibid.* p. 52.

A. D. 1099.

(r) W. Malmbr. de gest. Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. post Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(s) Eadmer. *ubi supra.* l. iii. p. 55.

(t) *Id.* *ib.*

(16) Baron. *Annal.* T. II. ad. an. 1097.

(17) Eadmer. *ubi supra.* p. 52.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) De Gestis Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. post Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(20) Eadmer. *ib.*

(21) Anselm. *Epistolar.* l. iii. *Epist.* 41. A. D. 1090.

(22) W. Malmbr. *ubi supra.*

King's intended marriage with Maud or Matilda, eldest daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland. In this Synod it was determined, that the King might lawfully marry that Princess, notwithstanding she was generally reported to be a Nun, having worn the veil, and had her education in a religious house (u). Soon after this marriage, Anselm was of signal service to King Henry against his brother the Duke of Normandy [U], who had invaded England, and landed with a formidable army at Portsmouth. For the Archbishop not only furnished the King with a large body of men, but was very active likewise in preventing a revolt of the great men from him (w). The agents, sent by the King and the Archbishop to Rome, being returned, brought with them a letter from Pope Paschal to the King (x), in which his Holiness absolutely refused to dispense with the Canons concerning investitures. The King, on his part, resolved not to give up what for some reigns had passed for part of the royal prerogative. And thus the difference was kept on foot between the King and Anselm. In this dispute the majority of the Bishops and temporal nobility were on the Court side; and some of them were very earnest with the King, to break entirely with the See of Rome (y). However it was not thought adviseable to proceed to an open rupture without trying a farther expedient; and therefore fresh agents were dispatched by the King to Rome, with instructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to depart from his former declaration, and relax in the point of investitures, or to be content with the banishment of Anselm, and to lose the obedience of the English, and the yearly profits accruing from that kingdom. At the same time Anselm dispatched two Monks, to inform the Pope of the menaces of the English Court. But the King's Embassadors could not prevail with the Pope to recede from his declaration; his Holiness protesting he would sooner lose his life than cancel the decrees of the Holy Fathers (z) [W]: which resolution he signified by letters to the King and Anselm. Soon after, the King, having convened the great men of the kingdom at London, sent Anselm word, that he must either comply with the usages of his father's reign, or quit England. But, the agents disagreeing in their report of the Pope's answer (aa), Anselm thought proper not to return a positive answer till farther information. And thus the controversy slept for the present (bb). The next year a national Synod was held under Anselm at St Peter's Westminster; at which the King and the principal nobility were present (cc). The year following the King was pleased to relent, and desire Anselm to take a journey to Rome, to try if he could persuade the Pope to relax. Anselm, at the request of the Bishops and the Barons, undertook the voyage (dd). At the same time the King dispatched one William Warelwast to Rome. This agent, arriving there before Anselm, solicited for the King, his master: but to no purpose; for the Pope persisted in refusing to grant the King the right of investiture. But at the same time his Holiness wrote a very ceremonious letter to the King of England, entreating him to waive the contest, and promising all imaginable compliance in other matters (ee). Anselm, having taken leave of the Court of Rome, returned to Lyons, where he received a sharp and reprimanding letter from a Monk, acquainting him with the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury [X]. During the Archbishop's stay at Lyons, the King sent

(u) Id. ib. p. 56, 57, 58.
 (w) Id. ib. p. 59.
 (x) Id. ib. p. 59, 60, 61.
 (y) Id. ib. p. 63.
 (z) Id. ib. p. 64.
 (aa) See the remark [U].
 (bb) Eadmer. ib. p. 65.
 A. D. 1102.
 (cc) Id. ibid.
 (dd) Id. ib. p. 70.
 (ee) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77.

her for marriage, and not for a nunnery. Anselm thought this case too weighty to rest upon his single judgment, and therefore brought it before the Synod of Lambeth; in which, the truth of the Princess's allegations being sufficiently proved, the assembly was of opinion, that the Princess Maud was under no necessity of being a nun, but might dispose of her person as she thought fit. Accordingly that Lady was married to the King. And, to prevent calumny and misreport, when the wedding was solemnized, and a great concourse of the nobility and people were assembled about the church, Anselm, seating himself higher than the rest, gave them an account of what had been decreed in the Synod, and demanded if they had any thing to object to it? Whereupon they unanimously cried out, that the matter was rightly settled (23).

[U] Anselm was very serviceable to King Henry, against his brother the Duke of Normandy. That Duke, being disappointed in his expectations from the English, was contented to sign an agreement; by which he renounced his pretensions to the crown, and accepted a yearly pension of three thousand marks in lieu of it. And this he did the more readily, because he was well assured that Anselm would excommunicate him for an invader, in case he refused to comply (24).

[W] The Pope declared, he would sooner lose his life, than cancel the decrees of the holy fathers. It is remarkable, that the agents disagreed in their report of the Pope's answer. The Bishops, sent by the King, declared, that his Holiness, at a private audience, had given them assurance, that, provided the King managed in other points to the satisfaction of the Court of Rome, he would indulge his Highness in the privilege of investitures, and not excommunicate him

for giving Bishops and Abbots the pastoral staff: that the reason why this favour was not expressed in the Bull, was, that it might not come to the notice of other Princes, who would be apt to insist upon the same privilege. On the other hand, Anselm's agents protested, that the Pope had given no answer by word of mouth in contradiction to his own letters. To this the King's Ambassadors replied, that the matter was secretly concerted, and without the privacy of Anselm's agents. This disagreement between the agents occasioned a division among the great men. Some maintained, that the testimony of the Monks ought to be received, and that the Pope's hand and seal were not to be questioned. Others were of opinion, that the evidence of three Bishops ought to be taken before that of a scroll of parchment blacked over with ink, with a bit of lead at the end of it (25).

[X] A letter from a Monk, describing the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury. This Monk, whose name Eadmer does not mention, tells the Archbishop, 'That all places were over-run with violence and injustice, that the churches were harassed and oppressed, the poor plundered, and the consecrated virgins violated: that if the Archbishop had maintained the ancient discipline, this disorder had not happened: that his quitting the kingdom gave great advantages to the enemies of religion: that he, who has undertaken the management of the helm, ought by no means to quit the vessel at the approach of a storm, but keep faster to his post than ever: that 'tis possible, at the great day he may be ashamed of his excessive caution, when he shall see so many brave governors of the Church, who stood by their flocks in time of danger. How glorious then will be the memory of the holy Bishop

(25) Id. ibid. p. 65.

(23) Eadmer. ubi supra, p. 56, 57, 58.

(24) Id. ibid. p. 59.

sent another embassy to Rome, to try if he could prevail with the Pope to bring Anselm to a submission. But the Pope, instead of being gained, excommunicated some of the English court, who had dissuaded the King from parting with the investitures. However his Holiness declined pronouncing any censure against the King (*ff*). Anselm, perceiving the Court of Rome dilatory in its proceedings, removed from Lyons, and made a visit to the Countess Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, at her castle in Blois. This lady enquiring into the business of Anselm's journey, he told her that, after a great deal of patience and expectation, he must now be forced to excommunicate the King of England. The Countess was extremely concerned for her brother, and wrote to the Pope to procure an accommodation. The King, who was come into Normandy, hearing that Anselm designed to excommunicate him, desired his sister to bring him with her into Normandy, with a promise of condescension in several articles. To this Anselm agreed, and waited upon the King at a castle called *L'Aigle*, where the King restored to him the revenues of the archbishopric, but would not permit him to come into England, unless he would comply in the affair of the investitures: which Anselm refusing to do continued in France, till the matter was once more laid before the Pope (*gg*). And now the English Bishops, who had taken part with the Court against Anselm, began to change their minds, as appears by their letter directed to him in Normandy [*Z*]. In this letter, after having set forth the deplorable state of the Church, they press him to come over with all speed, promising to stand by him, and pay him the regard due to his character: it is subscribed by Gerrard Archbishop of York, Robert Bishop of Chester, Herbert Bishop of Norwich, Ralph Bishop of Chichester, Samson Bishop of Worcester, and William Elect of Winchester (*bb*). Anselm expressed his satisfaction at this conduct of the Bishops, but acquainted them that it was not in his power to return, till he was farther informed of the proceedings of the Court of Rome. In the mean time, being informed, that the King had fined some of the clergy for a late breach of the canons [*Z*], he wrote to his Highness to complain of that stretch of his prerogative [*AA*]. At length the Embassadors returned from Rome, and brought with them a decision more agreeable than the former: for now the Pope thought fit to make some advances towards gratifying the King [*BB*]; and though he would not give up the point of investitures, yet he dispensed so far as to give the Bishops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities (*ii*) [*CC*]. The King, who

(*ff*) Id. ib. p. 78, 79.

(*gg*) Id. ib. p. 80.

(*bb*) Id. ib. p. 84.

A. D. 1106.

(*ii*) Eadmer. ib. p. 77.

* St Ambrose, who maintained the authority of his character to the Emperor Theodosius's face, and refused him entrance into the church, till he had qualified himself by repentance? What change in affairs might not such holy zeal, such heroic fortitude, produce? He proceeds to tell the Archbishop, That the blackest prospect of torture and death could not have excused his withdrawing himself? What therefore could be said, when this was not his case? His liberty had not been taken from him, nor his person insulted: he seemed to have been frightened out of the kingdom by the menaces of a single courtier; and by thus going had left open the gates to the enemy, and let in the wolves upon the sheep. He takes the freedom to acquaint the Archbishop, That his conduct had proved a very unfortunate precedent; that the courage of his suffragans was sunk by their Primate's cowardice. Indeed what is to be expected, when a General quits the field? He therefore exhorts Anselm to return immediately to his province, where he will find a great many persons ready to espouse the interest of religion, and stand by him (26).

(26) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77.

(27) Ubi supra, p. 84.

(28) Id. ib. p. 83.

[*Y*] *The letter of the English Bishops, directed to Anselm in Normandy.*] This letter is extant in Eadmer (27), and in Mr Collier's collection of *Records*, No. 15, at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I.

[*Z*] *The King had fined the Clergy for a late breach of the canons.*] Eadmer, in enumerating several grievances relating more particularly to the Church, tells us (28), that the Priests and secular canons, who had been enjoined celibacy by the late synod of London, had taken the opportunity of Anselm's absence to break through the injunction, and many of them were married. The King, who took every method of collecting money, made his advantage of this behaviour of the clergy, and forced them to fine for the liberty they had taken.

[*AA*] *The Archbishop wrote to the King, to complain of the stretch of his prerogative.*] In his letter, he remonstrates, that the Prince's interposing so far in ecclesiastical matters was unprecedented in the Church of God: that the correction of Priests for violation of the canons belonged only to their respective Ordinaries. He therefore intreats the King not to break in upon the government of the Church,

telling him, that the money, raised by so indefensible an expedient, would prove unserviceable to his purpose, and endanger his soul. Lastly, he desires his Highness to remember, that he had taken him into his protection, and restored him to the profits and privileges of his Archbishopric; and that the punishing the misdemeanors of the clergy was a peculiar branch of his jurisdiction; the spiritual administration and authority being more essential to his character, than any temporal privilege and property whatever (29).

(29) Id. ib. p. 85.

[*BB*] *The Pope thought fit to make some advances towards gratifying the King.*] In a letter, which Pope Paschal wrote upon this occasion to Anselm, he tells him, That he imputes the King's tractableness and good disposition to the effect of his (the Archbishop's) prayers. He desires him Not to be surprized at his condescensions to the English court; that it was only done out of a pious motive to recover them from their error, and fix them more firm to their duty: that he who would lift another up must necessarily stoop his own body: that this bending posture, though it may seem to tend towards a fall, does by no means throw a man off his legs. His Holiness therefore Absolves those, who lay under excommunication about the matter in dispute, and gives Anselm leave to communicate with such as had received investitures from the crown (30).

(30) Id. ib. p. 77.

[*CC*] *The Pope would not give up the point of investitures, but dispensed so far as to give the Bishops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities.*] As the dispute concerning the right of investiture is the most material circumstance in the life of Archbishop Anselm, I shall here give the reader the state of the question, as it is drawn up by a judicious and accurate historian. 'I begin (says our author (31)) with laying it down as a fact, which appears to me incontrovertible, that from the reign of Charlemagne, sovereign Princes took upon them to give the investiture of the greater benefices by the ring and pastoral staff. Gregory VII was the first who endeavoured to take from them this right, towards the end of the XIth century. The Popes, his successors, continued the prosecution of this design with the same zeal. It must be allowed, that Princes themselves gave but too frequent occasions to the Popes to cry out against the abuses of this prerogative. Under pretence that the Bishops and Abbots could

(31) M. Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre. lib. vi. Etat de l'Eglise.

who was highly pleased with this condescension in the Pope, sent immediately to invite Anselm into England: but the messenger finding him sick, the King himself went over into Normandy, and made him a visit at the abbey of Becc; where all differences between them were perfectly adjusted. And now Anselm, being recovered from his sickness, embarked for England, and, landing at Dover, was received with extraordinary marks of welcome. To omit other circumstances of respect, the Queen herself travelled before him upon the road, to provide for his better entertainment *(kk)*. From this time very little remarkable happened in the life of this famous Archbishop, excepting only his contest with Thomas elected Archbishop of York, who endeavoured to disengage himself from a dependency upon the see of Canterbury *(ll)* [DD]. Before the termination of this dispute, Anselm died at Canterbury, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his prelacy, on the twenty-first of April, A. D. 1109. This great Prelate was author of several pieces. The largest edition of his works is that published by Father Gerberon *(mm)*. It is divided into three parts. The first of these, containing Dogmatical Tracts, is entitled *Monologia* [EE]. The second part contains practical and devotional Tracts. The third part takes in Anselm's Letters in four books.

I shall

' could not take possession of their benefices before they had received the investiture of them, they publicly sold the bishoprics and abbays to the highest bidder. I say, they sold them: for, though the elections might seem to be agreeable to the canons, the sovereigns nevertheless were masters of them, since they had it in their power to refuse investiture to those who were not agreeable to them. By this means they were sufficiently enabled to procure the election of those whom they recommended, there being no ecclesiastic who desired to be a Bishop or an Abbot, without enjoying the temporalities annexed to the benefice. In order therefore to be chosen, it was necessary to have the consent of the Prince; after which the Bishop or Abbot, even before consecration, received the investiture in the manner already mentioned. Besides that simony had too often a place in elections made after this manner, there was another reason which seemed to justify the Popes in their endeavours to abolish the investitures. This was, that Princes, by investing ecclesiastics in a manner different from that which was practised with respect to the laity, and even before their consecration, seemed to assume the privilege of conferring on them the character. This the Popes called a manifest usurpation upon the rights of the Church. Indeed one cannot but discover something like it in this practice, on account of the two characters which were confounded in the Bishop elect, namely that of a minister of the Church, and that of a temporal Lord of lands annexed to the benefice. If the Popes and the Princes had acted fairly, they would carefully have distinguished these two characters: on the contrary, they found their respective advantages in confounding them. Hence Princes got the elections into their power, and hence also the Popes took occasion to dispute with Sovereigns the right they were in possession of. And therefore all the contests between Princes and the Popes upon this subject arose, properly speaking, from this confusion. The former said, they could not suffer any person to possess lands dependent on their crown, without having received the investiture thereof from their hands. The Popes on their side maintained, that it was not reasonable that Princes should interpose in elections, or confer a character, which it belonged to the Church alone to give. Both parties were equally distant from the true state of the question. It was very possible for a man to be a Bishop or an Abbot, without holding lands of the crown; in which case Princes could pretend to nothing. On the other side, Princes could receive no prejudice by the spiritual character's being conferred without their consent, since they had it in their power to take their own precautions, before they put the Prelates in possession of the temporalities. But it was impossible to reduce them to this point, in the disposition they were in of making no concessions on either side. Thus it plainly appears, that the temperament, which Paschal II and Henry I followed, was a very reasonable one, and no ways prejudicial to the rights of the Church or the King.

[DD] He had a contest with Thomas, elected Archbishop of York, who endeavoured to disengage himself from a dependency on the See of Canterbury.] Thomas, elect of York, not moving for his consecra-

tion at Canterbury so soon as was expected, Anselm put him in mind of this delay in a letter, in which he acquainted him, that, according to the canons, a Bishop's see ought not to be vacant above three months. He enjoins him therefore to come to Canterbury, within a time prefixed for that purpose; and in case he shall fail to make his appearance, Anselm declares, that the jurisdiction of the province of York belongs to himself, and that he shall manage accordingly *(32)*. Thomas making dilatory excuses, and sending an unsatisfactory answer, Anselm wrote to Pope Paschal to stop his Fall, till his Holiness should be informed by letter, that Thomas had received his consecration, and made the customary profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury *(33)*. The Pope wrote him an answer, and promised to satisfy his request *(34)*. It seems, Thomas and the Chapter of York were in concert to throw off the usual acknowledgment to the See of Canterbury, and set up for an independent province. They conceived the present juncture, if rightly managed, very favourable to their design. For now Anselm was grown old, and not likely to live much longer; and therefore if Thomas could invent any colourable delays, and put off his consecration till after Anselm's death, the point might probably be carried: for it was believed the See of Canterbury would not immediately be filled; and if Thomas was consecrated during the vacancy, the profession of canonical obedience might be slipped, there being no Archbishop of Canterbury to demand it of him. Anselm saw through this design; and therefore, finding himself near his end, he endeavoured to countermince the Elect of York, and secure the rights of his own See to posterity. To this purpose he wrote another letter to Thomas, in which he commands him, in the name of God, not to presume to execute any part of his episcopal office, till he shall have returned to his duty, and made the customary submissions to the See of Canterbury. At the same time he wrote to all the Bishops, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, not to consecrate him themselves, nor communicate with him in case he should be consecrated by any foreign prelate *(35)*. Anselm died before the termination of this affair. After his death, the Bishops unanimously resolving to obey his last directions, and the King concurring in opinion with them, Thomas thought fit to comply; and having made his submission to the See of Canterbury, was consecrated Archbishop of York. This made the clergy say among themselves, that Anselm was now become a kind of Guardian Angel to the Church *(36)*.

[EE] *The first, containing dogmatical tracts, is intituled Monologia.* It is so called, because it is thrown into the form of soliloquy and meditation, and represents a person, who reasons with himself in search of divine truths, and explains them in order as they are discovered. It begins with a treatise concerning the existence of God, of his attributes, and of the holy Trinity. In this division the author treats likewise of the fall of the Devil, of Original Sin, and of the reasons why God created man. He examines likewise the liberty of the will, and shews the consistency of this freedom with the divine Prescience *(37)*.

[FF] A

(kk) Id. ib. p. 89.*(ll)* Id. ib. p. 97.*(mm)* At Paris, 1675. There had been four preceding editions: the 1st at Nuremberg, 1491; the 2d at Cologne, 1573; the 3d at Cologne, 1612; and the 4th at Lyons, 1630. Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. 11. an. 1093.*(32)* Eadmer. ubi supra, p. 97.*(33)* Id. ib. p. 98, 99.*(34)* Id. ib. p. 100.*(35)* Id. ib. p. 102.*(36)* Id. ib. p. 103, 104.*(37)* Du Pin, Hist. Eccles. Cent. ii. p. 93, &c.

I shall give the reader a more particular list of this author's works in the remark [FF], and shall subjoin the learned Mr Du Pin's judgment concerning them [GG]. As to the character of Archbishop Anselm, it may be partly collected from the circumstances of his life above recited. He has been much praised for the resolution he shewed in the disputes he had with William Rufus and Henry I. Where he believed the rights of the Church, and the interest of religion, concerned, no greatness, no menaces of Princes, nor prospect of danger, could discourage him in the pursuit of his point [HH]. Malmfbury tells us (nn), he was a person of great strictness and self-denial: his temper and sedateness were such, that, after he turned Monk, he never was heard to utter the least reproachful word. This Archbishop was the first who restrained the English clergy from marrying [II]. He was canonized in the reign of Henry VII, at the instance of Cardinal Morton, then Archbishop of Canterbury (oo). Johannes Sariburiensis, who wrote the *Life* of Archbishop Anselm, has recorded several miracles said to be wrought by him. Particularly he tells us, that a Flemish nobleman was cured of a Leprosy by drinking the water, in which Anselm had washed his hands in celebrating the Mass: that he extinguished fires, calmed tempests, and healed diseases, only by making the sign of the cross: that he rescued a hare, which had taken refuge under his horse's feet, by commanding the dogs not to pursue her any more: that two soldiers were cured of an ague, by tasting the crumbs of some bread he had been eating: that

(nn) De Gest. Pontif. Angl. inter Archiepisc. Cantuar. A. D. 1109.

(oo) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Archiepisc. Cantuar. A. D. 1109.

[FF] *A more particular list of Anselm's works.* I. Epistoliarum libri iv. i. e. *Four books of letters.* II. Monologium seu Soliloquium. i. e. *A monology or soliloquy.* III. Prologium seu Alloquium. i. e. *A prology or address.* IV. Liber incerti auctoris pro insipiente adversus Anselmi Prologium. i. e. *The book of an uncertain author, for the fool, against Anselm's Prologium.* V. Liber contra insipientem, seu Apologeticum adversus librum precedentem. i. e. *An apology against the fool, in answer to the foregoing book.* VI. Dialogus de veritate. i. e. *A dialogue concerning truth.* VII. Dialogus de libero arbitrio. i. e. *A dialogue concerning free will.* VIII. Dialogus de casu Diaboli. i. e. *A dialogue concerning the fall of the Devil.* IX. Disputatio Dialectica de Grammatica. i. e. *A logical disputation concerning grammar.* X. Tractatus de sacramento Altaris, seu de corpore et sanguine Domini. i. e. *A treatise concerning the sacrament of the altar, or of the body and blood of our Lord.* XI. Liber de Fide, seu de Incarnatione verbi. i. e. *A treatise concerning faith, or of the incarnation of the word.* XII. De Nuptiis conjugum. i. e. *Of the marriages of those who are a-kin by blood.* XIII. Libri ii. contra Gentiles, Cur Deus Homo. i. e. *Two books against the heathens, shewing why God was made man.* XIV. De Processione Spiritus Sancti, contra Græcos. i. e. *Of the procession of the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Greeks.* XV. De conceptu Virginali activo, et peccato originali. i. e. *Of the Virgin's active conception, and of original sin.* XVI. Fragmenta variorum Anselmi Tractatum de conceptu Virginali passivo. i. e. *Fragments of divers treatises written by Anselm, concerning the Virgin's passive conception.* XVII. De tribus Walleranni questionibus ac præsertim de fermento et azymo. i. e. *Of Wallerani's three questions, and especially of leaven and unleaven.* XVIII. De Sacramentorum diversitate. *Of the difference of the sacraments.* XIX. Concordia Præscientiæ, Prædestinationis, et Gratiæ cum Libertate. i. e. *Prescience, predestination, and grace consistent with free will.* XX. Liber de voluntate Dei. i. e. *A treatise concerning the will of God.* XXI. Meditationum libri x. i. e. *Ten books of meditations.* XXII. Liber de Salute Animæ. i. e. *A treatise concerning the salvation of the soul.* XXIII. Meditatio ad forem de beneficiis Dei. i. e. *A meditation on the mercies of God, addressed to his Sister.* XXIV. Meditatio de passione Christi. i. e. *A meditation on the passion of Christ.* XXV. Alloquia cælestia, sive Faculæ piorum Affectuum, &c. i. e. *Heavenly addresses, pious breathings, &c.* XXVI. Mantissa Meditationum et Orationum in quinque partes tributa. i. e. *Additional meditations and Oration, in five parts.* XXVII. Hymni et Psalterium in commemoratione Deiparæ. i. e. *Hymns and a Psalter in commemoration of the Mother of God.* XXVIII. Liber de excellentia gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ. i. e. *A treatise on the excellency of the glorious Virgin Mary* (38). XXIX. Liber de quatuor virtutibus B. Mariæ, e- jusque sublimitate. i. e. *A treatise concerning the four virtues of the blessed Virgin, and her sublimity* (39). XXX. Passio SS. Guigneri sive Fingar, Pialæ, et Sociorum. i. e. *The passion of St Guigner or Fingar, St Piala, and their companions.* XXXI.

(38) Bellarmin denies that this book was written by Anselm; and Father Gerberon ascribes it to Eadmer.

(39) This piece is likewise ascribed by F. Gerberon to Eadmer.

Liber Exhortationum ad contemptum temporalium, et desiderium æternorum. i. e. *A book of exhortations to the contempt of things that are temporal, and a desire after those that are eternal.* XXXII. Admonitio pro moribundo. i. e. *A warning for a sick man.* XXXIII. Parænesis ad Virginem lapsam. i. e. *An exhortation to a lapsed Virgin.* XXXIV. Sermo five Liber de Beatitudine. i. e. *A discourse on happiness.* XXXV. Homilia in illud, Introitit Jesus in quoddam Castellum. i. e. *An homily on Jesus's entering into a certain castle.* XXXVI. Homiliæ in aliquot Evangelia. i. e. *Homilies on some of the Gospels.* XXXVII. Carmen de contemptu mundi, et aliâ Carmina. i. e. *A Poem on the contempt of the world, and other poems.* There are some other pieces ascribed to Anselm in the edition of Cologne, 1612; and in the edition of Lyons, 1630: but they are generally thought to be supposititious (40).

[GG] *M. Du Pin's judgment concerning Anselm's works.* 'We do not find (says that learned critic) any ecclesiastical writers before St Anselm, who wrote after so scholastic a manner, started so many metaphysical questions, or argued with the appearance of so much logic and acuteness as he has done. He is also the first, who composed long prayers in the form of meditations. His letters are written in a less elaborate style, neither are they so correct as his other works. His exhortations are plain Homilies, interspersed with a great many mystical notions, in which there is neither much rhetoric nor morality. He does not seem to have been a great master in Positive Divinity: however he had read St Augustin's works, and borrowed many principles from them, which he makes use of in his reasonings upon subjects of Divinity (41).

[HH] *No prospect of danger could discourage him from pursuing his point.*] This is evident from the whole history of his life, particularly his contest with King William Rufus, about the acknowledging Pope Urban, and with King Henry I, about the right of Investitures. As to the former of these disputes, tho' Fox (42) blames him for his opposition to the King, yet Anselm seems to have had the right side of the question. For if we consider the constitution of the English Church in that age, we shall find, that the Pope had at least a patriarchal power in England; and consequently the English Bishops were obliged to pay him a suitable acknowledgment. This patriarchal power resulting from the privilege of his See, the King had no right to deprive him of it, or to discharge Anselm from acknowledging him under that character of superiority. But tho' the Archbishop was right in the principles upon which he acted in this affair, it is possible he might be too obstinate in other cases of less consequence; as, in his refusing to gratify King William Rufus with the payment of a thousand pounds. Upon the whole, tho' the prejudices of the age he lived in might mislead him in some points, yet he seems to have been a person of great probity and conscience.

[II] *Archbishop Anselm was the first, who restrained the English clergy from marrying.*] This was done in the national Synod held at Westminster,

(40) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. 11. an 1093.

(41) Du Pin, ubi supra.

(42) Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. I. p. 241.

that, by praying to God, he produced a spring of excellent water at the very top of a hill, for the relief of certain villagers; and that a ship, in which he sailed, having a large hole in one of her planks, nevertheless took in no water so long as the holy man was on board. The same author tells us, that this holy Archbishop continued to work miracles after his death: particularly that a Monk of the church of Canterbury was restored to health by paying his devotions at the tomb of St Anselm: that one born blind, deaf, and dumb, received sight, hearing, and speech, by the same means: that a soldier was cured of a dropfy by winding the Saint's girdle about his body; and that the same girdle was successfully applied to the assistance of women in childbirth (pp).

(pp) Johan. Szaribur. de vita Anselmi, passim.

ster, A. D. 1102; the fourth canon of which provides, 'that no Archdeacon, Priest, Deacon, or Canon, should be allowed to marry, or live with his wife already married.' This liberty was not denied the English Priests till this Synod (43). T

(43) Henr. Hunting. Histor. l. xvii. fol. 217.

ANTHONY or ANTONY, (Dr FRANCIS) a very learned Physician and Chemist of the last century. His father was an eminent Goldsmith in the city of London, and had an employment of considerable value in the Jewel-Office under the reign of Queen Elizabeth (a). This son of his was born April 16, 1550; and having been carefully instructed in the first rudiments of learning while at home, was about the year 1569, sent to the university of Cambridge, where he studied with great diligence and success, and some time in the year 1574 took the degree of Master of Arts (b). It appears from his own writings, that he applied himself for many years that he studied in that university, to the theory and practice of Chemistry, with sedulous industry, and made no small progress (c). It is not at all clear from any memoirs that have reached our hands, when he left Cambridge, and came up to London; but it seems highly probable, that it was not before he attained the age of forty. He began soon after his arrival to publish to the world the effects of his chemical studies, and in the year 1598, sent abroad his first treatise, concerning the excellency of a medicine drawn from gold (d); but not having taken the necessary precautions of addressing himself to the College of Physicians, for their licence, he fell under their displeasure, and being some time in the year 1600, summoned before the President and Censors, he confessed that he had practised Physick in London for somewhat more than six months, and had cured twenty persons, or more, of several diseases, to whom he had given purging and vomiting physick, and to others, a diaphoretick medicine, prepared from gold and mercury, as their case required; but withal acknowledged that he had no licence, and being examined in several parts of physick, and found inexpert, he was interdicted practice. About a month after he was committed to the Counter-prison, and fined in the sum of five pounds *propter illicitam Praxin*, that is for prescribing physick against the statutes and privilege of the College, but upon his application to the Lord Chief Justice, he was set at liberty, which gave so great umbrage to the College, that the President and one of the Censors waited on the Chief Justice, to request his favour in defending and preserving the college privileges; upon which Mr Anthony submitted himself, promised to pay his fine, and was forbid practice (e). But not long after he was accused again for practising physick, and upon his own confession was fined five pounds; which fine, on his refusing to pay it, was increased to twenty pounds, and he committed to prison till he paid it, neither were the College satisfied with this, but commenced a suit at law against him in the name of the Queen, as well as of the College, in which they prevailed, and obtained judgment against him; but after some time, were prevailed upon by the intreaties of his wife, to remit their share of the penalty, as appears by their warrant to the keeper of the Prison for his discharge, dated under the college seal, the sixth of August, 1602 (f). After his release, he seems to have met with considerable patrons, who were able to protect him from the authority of the College; and though Dr Goodall tells us, that this learned society thought him weak and ignorant in physick, yet it seems there were other learned bodies of another opinion; since after all these censures, and being tossed about from prison to prison, he became Doctor of Physick in our own universities (g). This did not hinder new complaints being brought against him, by Dr Taylor, and another Physician, who grounded their proceedings chiefly on his giving a certain Nostrum, which he called *Aurum potabile*, or *potable gold*, and which he represented to the world, as an universal medicine. There were at this time also several things written against him, and his manner of practice, insinuating that he was very inaccurate in his method of philosophizing, that the virtues of metals as to physical uses were very uncertain, and that the boasted effects of his medicine were destitute of proof. Dr Anthony, upon this, published a very learned and modest defence of himself and his *Aurum potabile* in Latin, written with great decency, much skill in chemistry, and with an apparent knowledge in the theory and history of physick. This book which he published, in 1610 [A], was printed at the university press of Cambridge, and had a very

(a) Athen. Oxon. fol. 1721, Vol. I. col. 513.

(b) MS. Account of Dr Anthony and his *Aurum Potabile*.

(c) Assertio Potabilis Auri, p. 4-13.

(d) The title of which Treatise was; Fr. Antonii Londinensis Panacea Aurea. Hamburgi, 1598. 8vo.

(e) Goodall's Royal College of Physicians, p. 349, 350.

(f) In the book before-mentioned, p. 357.

(g) Ibid. 349.

[A] Which he published in 1610.] The title of this book at large runs thus, *Medicina Chymica, et veri potabilis Auri assertio, ex Lucubrationibus Fr. Antonii Londinensis, in Medicina Doctoris. Cantabrigiæ, ex Officina Cantrello Legge Celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographi. 4to. id est, A Defence of Chemical Physick*

in the true potable Gold made by Francis Anthony of London, Doctor in Physick. After the Dedication, there follows a very short Preface, wherein the author tells his readers, That after inexpressible labour, watching, and expence, he had, through the blessing of God, attained all he fought for in his enquiries. But now

a very florid dedication to King James prefixed. He likewise annexed such certificates of cures, under the hands of several persons of distinction, and some too of the Faculty, that it very plainly appeared, he did not by any means deserve to be treated as an ignorant emperick, or a mere pretender to Chymistry. His book however was quickly answered, and the controversy about *aurum potable* grew so warm (b), that he was obliged to published another apology in the English language, which however was also translated into Latin, and is still in great esteem abroad (i), yet here at home it was far enough from answering the Doctor's expectation, for it did not at all abate the opposition formed against his practice by the Faculty, or allay that bitterness with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings [B]. But, considered in another light,

(b) See Dr Milward's Circular Letter, p. 33.

(i) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, Vol. III. p. 103.

when he should have reaped the fruits of his labour, he complains that some envious person had sown tares with his wheat, whence he was under a necessity of writing this apologetical discourse, wherein his intention was to prove, that himself was no impostor, and that there were both truth and certainty in that science, which had particularly engrossed his studies. This treatise is but very short, but withal very methodical, and extremely fit to remove those prejudices which his enemies had very industriously infused into the minds of the learned, for chiefly to them this Latin discourse related. It is divided into seven chapters. In the first he enquires *whether there be such a thing as potable gold?* In this chapter he displays his great reading, and perfect acquaintance with the writings of the most eminent Philosophers, Physicians, and Chymists. He cites from their own works their testimonies *pro* and *con* in this matter, and in the end concludes from their concurring sentiments (under certain restrictions), That there are very great virtues in metals, and there may possibly be discovered an *aurum potable*, or potable gold, of excellent use in medicine. In the second chapter he endeavours to prove in the rational way, *that there really are great virtues both for preserving health and curing diseases in the mineral kingdom.* The third chapter explains the superior virtues of gold. In this chapter also he obviates an objection, which he supposes might be raised from the extravagant promises of the Spagyric Philosophers, observing justly, that lyes are not to prejudice the truth, and that tho' many may have failed in their operations on this metal, or may have boasted of more than they could perform; yet this is no proof that others might not arrive at what they sought, or might not make discoveries which these men had no acquaintance with. In the fourth chapter *he treats of the great mystery of dissolving and distilling Gold.* This is the most laboured part of the treatise, and herein the author very fairly and accurately relates the whole process of his *aurum potable*, concealing only the method by which it is dissolved, and in which he assures us, he made use of no corrosive liquors, whence all those mischievous consequences flow, which have justly brought many metalline preparations into disrepute. After all he affirms, that his medicine is a kind of extract or honey of gold, capable of being dissolved in any liquor whatsoever, whence he thinks it may justly be stiled potable. Here again he mentions the common objection, that there is an affinity between the *aurum potable* and the Philosopher's Stone, whence the discovering of either is judged to be impracticable. In answer to this, he does not deny the transmutation of metals, but he shews that there is a real distinction between the operation of which he speaks, and the so much talked of transmuting powder or Philosopher's Stone, and that the possibility or impossibility of finding the one, doth not either infer or conclude the possibility or impossibility of finding the other. The fifth chapter is spent in *offers to his adversaries of shewing the whole operation to proper and unsuspected witnesses.* This he presumes will take away all doubts and jealousies, and silence all suspicions and evil insinuations. In the sixth chapter he labours to prove, *That aurum potable may well be called the Universal Medicine.* He describes it's manner of acting, it's power of preserving health, of cherishing the natural heat, comforting the bowels, invigorating the blood, promoting secretions and evacuations, after which, he shews how it acts in assisting nature to free the human body from diseases. The last chapter enumerates the several distempers which this aurum potable cures. Such as frequent and dangerous vomitings, all sorts of fluxes, stoppages of urine and diabetes, putrid and epidemick fevers; nay, even the plague itself, as he asserts to have been demonstrated by experience in the Plague which depopulated the city of London in the

year 1602. He also insists on it's curing palsies, and assures us, that though it be an anodyne, yet it is without any stupifying quality. He then adds four certificates, the first is signed by Thomas (it should be George) Lewkner, Doctor of Physick (1). It relates to a cure performed on the Doctor's daughter-in-law; by the Bishop of Winchester's recommending the *aurum potable*. She had been long in a declining way, and at the time the *aurum potable* was exhibited in convulsions; yet in the space of half an hour, all these extraordinary symptoms ceased, and she was able to eat flesh, which in the space of a month she had not tasted. The second is dated at Barkhamstead, the 13th of August, 1609, and is subscribed H. Cary. In it we are told, that a new disease had then lately shewed itself in Hertfordshire, which occasioned such pains in the head, stomach, and bones, as threw the patient into a kind of phrensy, but upon giving a small quantity of the *aurum potable*, the symptoms ceased, or if it was given in time, they were prevented. From this letter we learn the price of the medicine, which was five shillings an ounce. The third is subscribed by Walter Hastings, it is dated December 10, 1609, from Kirby. The last is from Lewis Lewkner, whom I take to have been Sir Lewis Lewkner, brother to Dr George Lewkner (2): It is dated January the 7th, the same year with the rest, and contains an account of a wonderful cure performed on the Countess of Dorchester. This our author's book was answered the next year after it was published, by Dr Matthew Gwinne, of the College of Physicians, London. The title of his work ran thus, *Aurum non Aurum, sive Adversaria in assertorem Chymie, sed vere Medicinæ desertorem Franciscum Anthonium.* Lond. 1611. 4to. i. e. *Gold not Gold, or Remarks on the Treatise written by Francis Anthony, a Defender of Chymistry, but a deserter of True Physick* (3). Besides this book of Dr Gwinne's, there were other treatises written by the learned against Dr Anthony's discourse on his *aurum potable*. Amongst the rest Dr John Cotta, of whom we shall make large mention in the next note, wrote a full and direct answer, which, by the persuasion of our author's friends, he was prevailed upon to lay aside, though on the reviving the dispute it was afterwards published (4).

(1) So it is corrected in my MS. account.

(2) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 229.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 513.

(4) See the preface to Dr Cotta's Ant-Apology.

[B] That bitterness with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings.] The English Treatise published by Dr Anthony, was called an *Apology in defence of his Medicine, stiled Aurum Potabile.* Lond. 1616, 4to. In this treatise was involved most of the arguments printed in the Latin discourse, but with great variations, and some additions, particularly in the rational proofs of the universality of this medicine. For instance, he observes that the very best Physicians allow to certain medicines several and separate virtues, whence he would conclude, that it is possible there may be a medicine having still more virtues than any they are acquainted with; nay, which may indeed have them all. He observes farther, That all diseases are no more than so many perturbations of the natural temper of the human frame, and therefore, if any medicine can be contrived of so friendly a nature to the temperament of the human body, as to support it when taken in health, and assist in restoring it if altered by accident, then will this medicine deserve to be stiled *universal*. A third reason he offers, is from the cordial nature of gold, which he supports from the authorities of various eminent writers, and from the known and undeniable qualities of his potable gold. Many other things he says of the same kind, and in the close, adds a much larger collection of certificates of great cures. Amongst these there are two, which seem to bear a little hard on one Dr Cotta, a Physician at Northampton, in as much as they say, That a patient of his, Sir William Samuel, had been cured by *aurum potable*, after he had been

a long

it proved very advantageous to him, for it procured the general good-will of ordinary readers, and contributed exceedingly to support and extend his practice, notwithstanding all the pains taken to decry it. Yet what chiefly contributed to maintain his own reputation, and thereby reflected credit on his medicine, was his unblemished character in private life. For our Dr Anthony was a man of unaffected piety, untainted probity, of easy address, great modesty, and boundless charity; which procured him many friends, and left it not in the power of his enemies to attack any part of his conduct, except that of dispensing a medicine, of which they had no opinion (*k*). It is not either in our inclination, or agreeable to the design of this work, to enter deeply into this controversy, but it may not be amiss to observe, that though much has been said to discredit the use of gold in medicine, yet some very able and ingenious men, have written very plausibly in support of those principles on which Dr Anthony's practice was founded; an instance of which we shall give in the notes, from a deservedly admired, and altogether unsuspected author [C]. It is very natural for the curiosity of the world to be raised by the high pretences of chemical writers, who at the same time affect a very mysterious secrecy, for which reason, it will not be thought improper, since it so happens that we have it in our power, to reveal this boasted medicine, and give the true process of our author's *Aurum potabile*, which is accordingly placed in the notes [D]. The age in which Dr Anthony flourished was very favourable to his notions,

(k) MS. Account of Dr Anthony.

a long time under Dr Cotta's care, and had by his directions taken a great deal of physick. This Doctor being naturally a warm man, and having a ready wit, no sooner saw this Apology attended with these certificates, but he set pen to paper, in order to vindicate himself in his practice. Whoever reads Dr Cotta's writings, will acknowledge the justness of the character here given him, and yet this angry gentleman did not immediately send abroad his performance, as might naturally have been expected from a man of his temper. He finished his treatise in 1616, the same year that Dr Anthony published his Apology. He then shewed it to some Doctors at London, from whence he sent it to Oxford to be printed, with a dedication prefixed, to the gentlemen of the Faculty in that university. But Dr Anthony's friends applying themselves to Dr Cotta, and assuring him, that he should receive full satisfaction for the injury supposed to have been done to his character as a Physician, the work was stayed at the press, and a treaty of accommodation was set on foot. It appears to have lasted about seven years, and then the quarrel broke out afresh. Upon this Dr Cotta published his long considered piece, under the following title, *Cotta contra Antonium, or an Ant-Antony, or an Ant-Apology, manifesting Dr Anthony his Apology for Aurum potabile, in true and equal balance of right reason to be false and counterfeit, by John Cotta, Doctor in Physick. At Oxford, printed by John Liebfeld and James Short, for Henry Cripps, Anno Dom. 1623, 4to.* This work consists of ten chapters, is written in a passionate, wafish stile, embroidered with variety of quotations, and interspersed both with Latin and English verses. Here we find great pains taken to refute Dr Anthony's reasons, to enervate his proofs, and to draw both the credit of the medicine and of the physician into question. As this answer was published in the very year Dr Anthony died, it could not be replied to. However, there is no reason to think that it much prejudiced the reputation of the *Aurum potabile*, the whole being rather a play upon words, and a display of what it's author thought wit, than a clear and intelligible answer to the book which Dr Anthony had published. Besides, Dr Cotta requires what was very unreasonable, a discovery of the dissolving liquor, wherein lay the whole secret, otherwise he said, it would not be plain, that no corrosive ingredient were used; whereas Dr Anthony rightly noted, that this might be easily known from the effects of the medicine. Besides, the pains taken, as Dr Cotta confesses, by some worthy and eminent Doctors of London, and some illustrious and learned Doctors of Oxford, to hinder his treatise from being published, must have flowed, either from a sense of Dr Anthony's being in the right, or from an apprehension that this piece would not prove him in the wrong, either of which destroys the credit of this censure. On the whole, we may rest satisfied, that the grand objection about the dissolving liquor, ought not to have any great weight. The following note will shew, that there really is such a liquor, and that Dr Anthony's might be a useful, nay, and an excellent medicine, notwithstanding all that Cotta and his other adversaries said against it. Tho' on the other hand, it is highly likely,

that the inventor and his party, carried the thing too far; however, between them both, the medicine seems now to be lost, tho' this article will remain a proof, That Dr Anthony first asserted, the possibility of making an *Aurum potabile* in England.

[C] *A deservedly admired and altogether unsuspected author.*] This author is the famous Robert Boyle, Esq; who speaking of certain preparations from gold, that were made by two foreign Physicians, proceeds thus (5), 'Tho' I have been long prejudiced against the pretended *aurum potabile*, and other boasted preparations of gold, for most of which I have still no great esteem; yet I sav such extraordinary and surprising effects from the tincture of gold I speak of, upon persons of great note, with whom I was particularly acquainted, both before they fell desperately sick, and after their strange recovery, that I could not but change my opinion for a very favourable one, as to some preparations of gold. But tho' this simple medicine can only be made in small quantities, and that too not without a great deal of pains and time, I can speak thus circumstantially of it, because by the kindness of the artists, and the pains I had bestowed in working upon the same subject they use for their *menstruum*, I so far knew and partly saw the preparation of it, as to apply what has been said to the present occasion. There is here but a single ingredient associated to the gold, and that comes from above, and is reputed one of the simplest bodies in nature, two or three ounces of which may be taken altogether unprepared without the least inconvenience. Yet the dose of this almost insipid medicine that was given to one old courtier in a violent apoplexy, after other remedies had by skilful men been used in vain, was but six or eight drops. In another very ancient and corpulent person the dose was greater; the tincture being then more unripe and diluted: But the effect was as sudden, tho' the patient were not bled; and tho' there was not in either of these cases any remarkably sensible evacuation made. The two persons thus recovered are yet alive. The same medicine a while after saved the life of another gentleman whom I knew, that having lain above twenty-two days sick of an ill-conditioned fever, was condemned by three Physicians; one whereof told me, That he could not out-live the next morning; yet upon taking a large dose of this tincture he was presently relieved; and from that time found a sensible amendment, and afterwards recovered his health, which he now enjoys, tho' he was then reputed to be fourscore years old. I could relate some other odd effects of this remedy; but the present may suffice to alleviate a prejudice against medicines, made of so fixed and supposed unalterable a metal as gold.'

(5) Boyle's Abridgment by Shaw, Vol. 111, p. 536.

[D] *Accordingly placed in the notes.*] This account of Dr Francis Anthony's method of making his *aurum potabile* was transcribed from his own manuscript, which was once in the possession of a Chemist well known to the author of this life from whom he had it. The secret was long in Dr Anthony's family, and very beneficial to them, but in all probability lost it's credit by being given in too great doses, or by unskilful hands.

notions, since Chemistry was then full as much admired, though perhaps not so well understood as at present. He had therefore a very extensive and beneficial practice, which enabled him to live hospitably at his house in Bartholomew-Close, and to be very liberal in his alms to the poor. He died on the twenty-sixth of May, 1623, in the seventy-fourth year of his age (l), and was buried in the church of St Bartholomew the Great, in the isle which joins to the north side of the chancel, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory, with a very remarkable inscription (m) [E]. Our author was twice married, and by his last wife, whose name was Elizabeth, he had two sons, John and Charles, both Physicians; the former sold his father's *Aurum potable*, and lived by it very handsomely, the latter settled in the town of Bedford, where he attained the character of a learned, honest, and industrious man in his profession (n).

(l) See the inscription on his tomb in note [E].

(m) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. 1. Book iii. p. 236.

(n) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 514.

hands. The reader hath in this note, the whole of Dr Anthony's receipt without the smallest alteration or omission.

There seems to be no reason at all, why we should imagine the mineral kingdom less useful to mankind than the vegetable or animal, and such as have treated our doctrine with contempt, have had a large share of that credulity, which they imputed to others. The sulphurs of metals, if it be possible to extract them, must be very efficacious for medicinal purposes, because we see them frequently produce very deadly and dangerous consequences when roughly treated. The vigour of such preparations when rightly directed, will be proportionate to the force of their poisons when not artificially managed. But we are not only taught this by the light of reason, and the authority of Spargyrick philosophers. Experience has shewn us, that out of lead many profitable medicines are made, more out of iron, and from copper, or vitriol which is but the rust of copper, most of all; I mean most of all that are in common use. If from most or from all other metals medicines are made, why should it appear so strange, that we attempt something of the same kind from gold; or what reason is there to conceit, that all the learned and great men who have written so much, and in such strong terms of the virtues of gold, should be either cheated themselves or intend to cheat others?

According to the ablest writers on these subjects, the great difficulty in making gold useful in medicine, consists in opening it to such a degree, as that it's sulphur may become active, and work upon the humours in the human body. To open it there are required a liquor and a salt which together compose the *menstruum*. Both these may be prepared after the following manner.

The Philosophick Vinegar.

Take 6 gallons of the strongest red wine vinegar, and set as many Stills at work at a time as your Balneum will hold. Throw away the first pint that comes over, wash and wipe the Still, and then put in that which was distilled, putting away always the first pint for 5 times, so out of a gallon you shall have 3 pints, and out of the whole 6 gallons 10 quarts of spirit of vinegar, which keep in glass bottles well corked with a leather over it.

The Philosophick Salt.

Take an iron pan, like a dripping pan, and having made it red hot, put into it as much as you will of block-tin, and stir it continually, until it turns to a kind of ashes or calx, and keep the fire up to a good height all the time, which may be half a day or fifteen hours, some of these ashes will look red, which is a sign the operation is well performed. These ashes thus obtained keep in a glass close covered.

The Process for dissolving Gold.

Take 4 ounces of these ashes, and of the spirit of vinegar 3 pints, put them in a glass like an urinal, and let the ashes be put in first. Lute the vessel, set it in a hot bath for 10 days, then take it out and set it to cool, shaking it every 2 hours, and in three days all the dregs will fall to the bottom. Let that which is clear be drawn off into a glass bason by 2 or 3 woollen threads, then distill it; to this distilled water put 4 ounces of fresh

ashes, put also a quart of spirit of vinegar on the first ashes; lute the glass as before, set it in a hot bath, and let it digest 10 days, filtre this and distil as before; thirdly, put on that ashes a pint of spirit of vinegar, set it in the hot bath 10 days filtre and distil it, after the third infusion throw away the ashes. Take this distilled water, pour it on fresh ashes, keeping the weight and order in infusions, filterings, and distillations 7 times, then the spirit will be well impregnated with the salt and you have the *menstruum* sought.

Take an ounce of pure gold in the ingot, file it into small dust, put it into a crucible with as much white salt as will near fill the pot, and let it stand in a moderate heat 4 hours, then take it out and grind it on a Painter's stone, return it from thence to the crucible, calcine and grind it again 4 or 5 times till it looks red and blue, and then it is fit for use. Put it next into a glass bason, pour upon it scalding hot water, stir and decant it, till the water when settled has no taste of salt, which will take 2 or 3 days. By this operation you will have 16 or 17 grains of a very fine white calx, which will swim on the top of the water, and may be easily blown over into another bason, and the water being evaporated by a gentle heat, it will remain a white powder. By repeating the calcination and grinding, the whole ounce of gold may be reduced into such a calx.

Take an ounce of this calx, put it in a urinal, pour upon it half a pint of the *menstruum*, lute it close and set it in a hot bath six days, shaking it often every day, let it cool 3 days and then pour it gently off. Take this liquor, put it into a glass Still, and with a gentle fire, evaporate it, till it becomes of the consistency of honey, then remove the fire, take out the contents, put them into a glass bason, and with the bottom of another round glass, grind them to powder. Put this powder into a urinal containing about a pint, and add somewhat more than half a pint of rectified spirit of wine; set it in a cold place for 10 days, shaking it often for the first 7 days, but afterwards let it stand without shaking and the tincture will appear of a fine red. By putting a bare half pint of rectified spirit of wine on the dregs, a second tincture may be drawn, and if this be very high coloured you may draw a third. Put all these coloured liquors together, distil them, and there will be left behind a clammy substance of the consistence of honey, one ounce of which put into a quart of pure canary wine, is my *Aurum potable*.

[E] *A very remarkable inscription.* This inscription runs thus (6).

Sacred to the Memory of the worthy and learned Francis Anthony, Doctor in Physick.

There needs no Verse to beautify thy Praise,
Or keep in memory thy spotless Name,
Religion, Virtue, and thy Skill did raise
A threefold Pillar to thy lasting Fame.
Though pois'nous Envy ever fought to blame,
Or hide the Fruits of thy Intention;
Yet shall all they commend that high design
Of purest Gold to make a Medicine,
That feel thy Help by that thy rare Invention.

He died the 26 May 1623; his Age 74, his loving Son John Anthony, Doctor in Physick, left this Remembrance of his Sorrow. E

(6) Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. 1. B. iii. p. 236.

ARABELLA (STUART), commonly called the Lady Arabella, so often talked of for a Queen, that custom seems to have given her a right to an article in this manner under her Christian name, as that by which our historians distinguish her. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who was younger brother to Henry Lord Darnley, father to King James VI of Scotland, and first of England; by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, Knt (a). She was born as near as can be computed, in the year 1577, and educated at London, under the eye of the old Countess of Lenox, her grand-mother. She was far from being either beautiful in her person, or from being distinguished by any extraordinary qualities of mind (b), and yet she met with many admirers, on account of her royal descent, and near relation to the Crown of England [A]. Her father dying in the year 1579, and leaving her thereby sole heirs, as some understood of the House of Lenox, several matches were thought of for her at home and abroad (c). Her cousin, King James inclined to have married her to Lord Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom before his marriage, he considered as his heir, but this match was prevented by Queen Elizabeth, though it was certainly a very fit one in all respects (d) [B]. As the English succession was at this time very problematical, the great Powers on the Continent formed many designs about it, and thought of many husbands for the Lady Arabella, such as the Duke of Savoy, a Prince of the house of Farnese, and others (e). In the mean time this Lady had some thoughts of marrying herself at home, as a celebrated writer informs us, to a son of the Earl of Northumberland's (f), but it is not credible that this took effect, though he says it did privately [C]. The very attempt procured her Queen Elizabeth's displeasure, who confined her for it. In the mean time her title to the crown, such as it was, became the subject, amongst many others, of Father Persons's famous book, wherein are all the arguments for and against her, and which served to divulge her name and descent all over Europe (g), and yet this book was not very favourable to her interest [D]. On the death of the Queen some malecontents framed

(a) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 201.

(b) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(c) Lettres de Cardinal D'Offat, Amsterdam, 1732, 12mo. Vol. V. p. 44.

(d) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(e) Lettres de Cardinal D'Offat, ubi supra.

(f) Thuan. Hist. sui Temp. edit. 1620, fol. Tom. V. p. 1056.

(g) A Conference about the next succession to the crown of England, published under the name of R. Dolman, p. 98, of the second part.

[A] Royal descent and near relation to the Crown of England.] In this note we shall inform the reader, how this Lady stood allied to both the Royal Families. In the first place it must be observed, that the Earls of Lenox, of the name of Stuart, were descended from Walter, the second of that name, High-Steward of Scotland, ancestor also to the Royal Family. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, in the reign of King James V, of Scotland, distinguished himself in the French service in Italy, where he gained great reputation. Coming into Scotland after that King's death, he, through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, came to be embarrassed with those who had the administration of affairs at home, and was also upon such bad terms with the house of Guise, who governed all in France, that he found himself obliged to retire into England in the year 1543, and to put himself under the protection of King Henry VIII, who afforded him a most kind and gracious reception, and some time afterwards married him to his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Queen of Scotland, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, her second husband. By this Lady Margaret Douglas, Matthew Earl of Lenox had two sons, Henry, Lord Darnley, father to James VI, King of Scotland, who was murdered in the said Earl's life-time, and Charles, who, on the death of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, in 1571, succeeded him in his title, and who dying in 1576, in the 21st year of his age, left behind him this Lady Arabella, or rather Arbella his only child (1). Thus it appears, that by her father's side she was first cousin to King James VI, and nearly allied to Queen Elizabeth, as being descended in the fourth degree from Henry VII, grandfather to the said Queen.

[B] A very fit one in all respects.] The person proposed by King James for the husband of this young Lady, was her cousin, being the son of John, Lord Aubigny (2), brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, grandfather to the Lady Arabella. It is true, the title of Lenox, belonged of right to Lord Robert Stuart, the uncle of this nobleman, and his father's elder brother, but he willingly resigning his claim, King James VI created Esme, Lord Aubigny, Duke of Lenox (3), and looking upon him as the heir male of his family, he would willingly have married him to this Lady Arabella, his nearest relation. But Queen Elizabeth, who did not care to see her heirs multiplied in her life-time, refused to consent to this marriage, under pretence that the Duke of Lenox was a Papist, which however was false, and this refusal of her's, gave King James very great distaste (4).

[C] Though he says it did, privately.] The account Thuanus gives us of this matter, runs thus, Angli

quidam Proceres, &c. 'Some English Lords, and other persons, on whom Elizabeth had conferred honours, either out of favour, or as a reward for their services, seeing a new King and a foreigner, coming from Scotland, and fearing that by this change, they should be deprived of those dignities, which they expected, resolved among themselves to kill the King, after which Arbella, who, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been secretly married to the son of the Earl of Northumberland, and was for that reason put into prison, and had been since set at liberty, and was present at the Queen's funeral, was to be made Queen, and to be married to the Duke of Savoy with the consent of Philip III, i. e. King of Spain (5).

[D] Was not very favourable to her interest.] The book referred to in the text, states at large the arguments for and against Lady Arabella's claim to the English succession. First her descent is set down, which having been cleared in a former note, need not be repeated here. Secondly, saith that author, it is alledged in her behalf, That she is an English woman, born in England, and of parents who at the time of their birth were of English allegiance, wherein she goeth before the King of Scots, as hath been seen; as also in this other principal point, that by her admission no such inconvenience can be feared of bringing in strangers, or causing troubles or sedition within the realm, as in the pretence of the Scottish King hath been considered: And this, in effect, is all that I have heard alledged for her. But against her, by other competitors and their friends, I have heard diverse arguments of no small importance and consideration produced; whereof the first is, that which before hath been alledged against the King of Scotland, to wit, That neither of them is properly of the house of Lancaster. The second impediment against the Lady Arbella, is the famous testament of King Henry VIII, and the two acts of parliament for authorizing the same; by all which it is pretended, that the house of Suffolk is preferred before this other of Scotland. A third argument is, For that there is yet living one of the house of Suffolk, that is nearer by a degree to the stem, to wit, Henry VII, (to whom, after the decease of her Majesty that now is, we must return) than is the Lady Arabella, or the King of Scots, and that is the Lady Margaret, Countess of Derby, mother to the present Earl of Derby, who was daughter to Lady Eleanor, daughter of Queen Mary of France, that was second daughter of King Henry VII; so as this Lady Margaret, Countess of Derby, is but in the third degree from the said Henry, whereas both the King of Scotland and Arbella, in the fourth; and consequently, she is next in proximity

(1) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 260, 261. See also Rymer's Fœdera, Hollinhead, Stowe, &c.

(2) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(3) Crawford, ubi supra, p. 262.

(4) Winwood, ubi supra. Crawford, ubi supra.

(5) Hist. sui Temp. Tom. V. p. 1056.

framed an odd design of disturbing the publick peace, and amongst other branches of their dark scheme, one was to seize the Lady Arabella, and to cover their proceedings by the function of her title, intending also to have married her to some English Nobleman, the more to increase their interest, and the better to please the people (b). But this conspiracy was fatal to none but it's authors, and those who conversed with them; being speedily defeated, many taken and some executed. As for the Lady Arabella, it does not appear that she had any knowledge of this engagement in her behalf (i), whatever it was, for domestick writers are perplexed, and foreign historians run into absurdities when they endeavour to explain it [E]. She continued at liberty, and in some kind of favour at court, though her circumstances were narrow till the latter end of the year

1608,

pinquity of blood, and how greatly this propinquity hath been favoured in such cases, though they were of the younger Line, might be proved from many examples. Fourthly, lastly, and most strongly of all, they do argue against the title of the Lady Arabella, affirming, that the descent is not free from bastardy, which they prove first, for that Queen Margaret, soon after the death of her first husband, King James IV, married secretly one Stuart, Lord of Annandale; which Stuart was alive long after her marriage with Douglas; and consequently, this second marriage with Douglas (Stuart being alive) could not be lawful; which they do prove also another way, for that they say, it is most certain, and to be made evident, that the said Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, had another wife also alive, when he married the said Queen: which points they say were so publick, as they came to King Henry's ears; whereupon, he sent into Scotland, the Lord William Howard, brother to the old Duke of Norfolk, and father to the present Lord Admiral of England, to enquire of these points, and the said Lord Howard found them to be true, and so he reported, not only to the King, but also afterwards many times to others, and namely, to Queen Mary, to whom he was Lord Chamberlain, and to diverse others, of whom many, be yet living, which can and will testify the same, upon the relation they heard from the said Lord William's own mouth; whereupon, King Henry was greatly offended, and would have hindered the marriage between his said sister and Douglas, but that they were married in secret, and had consummated their marriage before this was known, or that the thing could be prevented, which is thought was one especial cause and motive also to the King afterward, to put back the issue of his said sister of Scotland, as by his forenamed testament is pretended; and this touching Arabella's title by propinquity of birth (6). — In another part of his book, speaking of the interest of the several competitors, he delivers himself thus. 'I do not know to whom the Protestant party is particularly devoted at this day, more than to the rest, though the house of Hartford was wont to be much favoured by them; but of later years, little speech hath been thereof, but rather of Arabella for whom the Lord Treasurer is said especially to be at this present, though for himself, it be held somewhat doubtful, whether he be more fast to the Protestant, or to the Puritan; but if the Protestant party should be divided, then their forces will be the less (7)'. At the close of his book, he delivers the following judgment of her pretensions. — 'As for Arabella, in that she is a young Lady, she is thereby fit to procure good wills and affections, and in that she is unmarried, she may perhaps by her marriage join some other title with her own, and thereby also friends. But of herself, she is nothing at all allied with the nobility of England; and except it be the Earl of Shrewsbury, in respect of friendship to his old mother-in-law, that is, grandmother to the Lady, I see not what Nobleman in England hath any band of kindred, or alliance, to follow her. And as for her title, it seemeth as doubtful as the rest, if not more, as by that which hath been said before, hath appeared. And for her religion, I know it not, but probably it can be no great motive, either against her, or for her, for that, by all likelihood, it may be supposed to be as tender, green, and flexible yet, as is her age and sex, and to be wrought hereafter, and settled according to future events and times (8)'. — The reader must observe, that this book was published in the year 1594, the dedication to the Earl of Essex, being dated the last day of the preceding year.

[E] When they endeavour to explain it.] The

great Cardinal D'Ofat, in a letter of his to King Henry IV, of France, dated from Rome, October 26, 1601, gives a long and distinct account of several schemes then on foot, for disposing of the English succession to any body, rather than King James VI, of Scotland. He observes, that the Pope first thought of the Duke of Parma, as being of his own family, and fought to advance him, under colour of his descent, from a bastard of King Edward IV. In case, however, this was found impracticable, his Holiness was content to join his interest, with that of the Lady Arabella; but inasmuch as the Duke of Parma was married, he was for permitting his brother Cardinal Farnese, to espouse the Lady, and, in her right, to become King of England. He then speaks of Father Persons's book, and sets it in its true light; but seems to give a little too much into that wild notion, that a rebellion might be raised in England, in support of the Cardinal's pretended title (9). — I cannot help taking notice, that the celebrated M. Amelot, in a note of his on this letter, makes a great mistake, though he was a learned and judicious writer. He tells us, 'That in the Lady Arbella's party, were all those English Lords, who had been the judges of Queen Mary, and who, fearing lest the King of Scotland her son, should revenge her death upon them, if ever he succeeded to the Crown of England, intended to marry Arbella with the Earl of Hertford, to exclude King James from the succession (10)'. — The authors of the General Dictionary, having cited this passage, say, *This is probable enough, though Amelot quotes no authority for it (11)*. But with their leave, the fact is absolutely false, none of Queen Mary's judges were of Arabella's party, but on the contrary, many amongst the Papists were the Lady Arabella's friends. The truth of the matter was this, Sir Walter Raleigh, on King James's coming to the crown, drew up a memorial, wherein he charged Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High-Treasurer of England, with having, in conjunction with his father, a deep concern in the murder of the Queen of Scots. By this step, he hoped to establish his own, and to destroy Cecil's credit. But he was mistaken, the King continued to confide in his rival, and forbid Raleigh's attendance (12). This threw him into that conspiracy, which was fatal to him, and according to the charge of the Attorney-General, against Raleigh at his trial, it seems the plot was to seize the person of the King, to set up the Lady Arabella, with the title of Queen, and to govern the kingdom in her name, by assistance from Spain. Raleigh denied all this, and with respect to him, there was no sort of proof, or even colour of proof. At this trial, Lord Cecil delivered himself thus in court. *Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech, she is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King. Then the Earl of Nottingham, who stood by the Lady Arabella, said, The Lady doth here protest upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she willed me to tell the court. This was further confirmed by Lord Cecil, who, when the Earl of Nottingham had done speaking, proceeded thus. The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella, to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to disgrace her. She doubted it was but a trick. But Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith, that my Lord moved him to procure Arabella to write to the King of Spain, but he affirms, that he never did move her, as his brother devised (13)*.

(9) *Lettres de Cardinal D'Ofat*, Vol. V. p. 44.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 46.

(11) See the article ARBELLA in their second Volume.

(12) Arthur Wilson's Life of King James I, in Kennet's complete Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 663.

(b) *Annals of the reign of King James I*, p. 27.

(i) *State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 183.

(6) Conference about the next succession to the crown of England, Part II. p. 97.

(7) *Ibid.* Part II. p. 185.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 191.

(13) *State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 103, Lond. 1719.

1608, when some way or other she drew upon her King James's displeasure (*k*). However, at Christmas, when there was much mirth and good-humour at court, she was again taken into favour, had a service of plate presented to her of the value of two hundred pounds, a thousand marks given her to pay her debts, and some addition made to her annual income (*l*). This seems to have been done, in order to have gained her to the interest of the court, and to put the notions of marriage she had entertained out of her head, all which however proved ineffectual; for in the beginning of the month of February 1609, she was detected in an intrigue with Mr William Seymour, son to the Lord Beauchamp, and grandson to the Earl of Hertford, to whom, notwithstanding, she was privately married, some time afterwards (*m*). Upon this discovery, they were both carried before the Council, and severely reprimanded, and then dismissed. In the summer of the year 1610, the marriage broke out, whereupon the Lady was sent into close custody, at the house of Sir Thomas Parry, in Lambeth; and Mr Seymour was committed to the Tower for his contempt, in marrying a Lady of the Royal Family, without the King's leave (*n*). It does not appear that this confinement was attended with any great severity to either, for the Lady was allowed the use of Sir Thomas Parry's house and gardens, and the like gentleness, in regard to his high quality, was shewn to Mr Seymour [*F*]. Some intercourse they had by letters, which after a time was discovered, and a resolution taken thereupon to send the Lady to Durham, a resolution which threw her into deep affliction. Upon this, by the interposition of friends, she and her husband concerted a scheme for their escape, which was successfully executed in the beginning, though it ended unluckily (*o*). The Lady, under the care of Sir James Crofts, was at the house of Mr Conyers, at Highgate, from whence she was to have gone the next day to Durham, on which she put a fair countenance now, notwithstanding the trouble she had before shewn. This made her keepers the more easy, and gave her an opportunity of disguising herself, which she did on Monday the third of June, 1611, by drawing over her pettycoats a pair of large French-fashioned hose, putting on a man's doublet, a peruke which covered her hair, a hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side. Thus equipped, she walked out between three and four with Mr Markham. They went a mile and half to a little inn, where a person attended with their horses. The lady by that time she came thither, was so weak and faint, that the hostler, who held the stirrup when she mounted, said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. Riding however so raised her spirits, that by the time she came to Blackwall, she was pretty well recovered; there they found waiting for them two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, in which they hastened from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far, they bid the watermen row on to Gravesend; there, the poor fellows were desirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Lee, yet being almost tired by the way, they were forced to lie still at Tilbury, whilst the rowers went on shore to refresh themselves; then they proceeded to Lee, and by that time the day appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor expecting Mr Seymour; but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted sail and put to sea. In the mean time Mr Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth suit, walked alone without suspicion, from his lodging out at the great west door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower-wharf, by the Warders of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where one Rodney was ready with a pair of oars to receive him. When they came to Lee, and found that the French ship was gone, the billows rising high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings, to put them on board a certain ship, that they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be it they looked for, so they made forwards to the next under sail, which was a ship from Newcastle. This with much ado they hired for forty pounds, to carry them to Calais, and

(k) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 17.

(l) *Ibidem*, ubi supra.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(o) Arthur Wilson's Life of King James, p. 702.

[*F*] In regard to his high quality was shewn to Mr Seymour.] This gentleman was the second son of the Lord Beauchamp, eldest son and heir to the Earl of Hertford, by the lady Catharine, who was the eldest surviving daughter of the Lady Frances Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France and younger daughter to King Henry VII. Thus this gentleman was very nearly allied to the Royal Family, and a sort of title of his Grandfather's to the crown, is mentioned in Persons's Book before taken notice of (14). But that ever there was a design of marrying the Lady Arabella to the old Earl of Hertford, as Mr Amelot asserts is scarce credible, but is very likely this was mistaken, for the very match which took effect, since the plain design of it was to unite the claims of the Lady Arabella, with those of the house of Hertford, and very probably, the relation this had to Lord Cobham's scheme mentioned in the last note, might alarm the court, and this will still appear the more likely, if we consider what is said, in a subsequent proclamation

on the commitment of these noble persons. At the coming of Mr Seymour to the Tower, Mr Melvin, a Minister, a prisoner there for Nonconformity, saluted him in this elegant distich.

Communis tecum mihi Causa est Carceris, Arabella tibi Causa est, Araque Sacra mihi (15).

The wit consists in the allusion, grounded on the Lady's name, signifying in Latin, a fair Altar, and Melvin being committed for the cause of God's Altar, at least in his own opinion. This renders it almost impossible to translate these lines into English, without injuring either the sense or the spirit, which is the best excuse that can be made for the following attempt.

From the same Cause, my Woe proceeds and thine,
Your A L T A R lovely is, and sacred mine.

[G] Which

(15) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 201.

(14) Conference touching the succession of the crown, P. ii. p. 102.

(p) Letter from Mr John More, to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the third Volume of his Letters, p. 279, 280.

(q) Annals of King James's reign, p. 29.

(r) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 230.

(s) Memoirs of the Cavendish family, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(t) Letter from the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, to Mr Trumbull, dated 11 June, 1611, in a MS. collection belonging to the rev. Dr Knipe.

(x) Ibid. The reader must observe, that Mr Trumbull was then Resident at Brussels.

(w) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 429.

(y) Annals of King James's reign, p. 31.

and the Master performed his bargain, whereby Mr Seymour escaped, and continued in Flanders. On Tuesday in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertized that the Lady Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to set strict guard over Mr Seymour, which he, says my author, promised, after his *yaere manner, he would thoroughly do, that he would (p)*; but coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before. A pinnac being dispatched from the Downs into Calais road, seized the French bark, and brought back the Lady and those with her (q), but before this was known, the proclamation issued, which the reader will find in the notes [G]. As soon as she was brought to town, she was, after examination, committed to the Tower, declaring that she was not so sorry for her own restraint, as she should be glad if Mr Seymour escaped, for whose welfare, she affirmed she was more concerned than for her own (r). Her aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, was likewise committed, on suspicion of having prompted the Lady Arabella, not only to her escape, but to other things, it being known, that she had amassed upwards of twenty thousand pounds in ready money (s). The Earl of Shrewsbury was confined to his house, and the old Earl of Hertford sent for from his feat (t). By degrees things grew cooler, and though it was known that Mr Seymour continued in the Netherlands, yet the court made no farther applications to the Arch-Duke about him (u). In the beginning of the year 1612, a new storm began to break out, for the Lady Arabella, either pressed at an examination, or of her own free will, made some extraordinary discoveries, upon which some quick steps would have been taken, had it not shortly after appeared, that her misfortunes had turned her head, and that, consequently, no use could be made of the evidence of a person out of her senses (w). However, the Countess of Shrewsbury, who before had leave to attend her husband in his sickness, was very closely shut up, and the court was amused with abundance of strange stories, which wore out by degrees, and the poor Lady Arabella languished in her confinement till the twenty-seventh of September, 1615, when her life and sorrows ended together (x), as is well observed in an elegant epitaph, written by a right reverend author [H]. Even in her grave this poor lady was not at peace, a report being spread that she was poisoned, because she happened to die within two years of Sir Thomas Overbury (y). A writer of great reputation has put this circumstance in much too strong a light, for it was a suspicion at most, and never had the support of the least colour of proof (z) [I]. As for her husband, Sir William Seymour, he

(y) Wilson's Life of King James, p. 702, 703. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 392. Rapin Hist. D'Angleterre Tom. VII. p. 102.

(z) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

[G] Which the reader will find in the notes.]

Whereas we are given to understand, that the Lady Arabella and William Seymour, second son to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great and heinous offences, committed the one to the Tower of London, and the other to a special guard, have found means by the wicked practices of diverse lewd persons, as namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, and others, to break prison, and make escape on Monday the third of June, with an intent to transport themselves into foreign parts. We doe hereby straightly charge and command all persons whatsoever, upon their allegiance and duty, not only to forbear to receive, harbor, or assist them in their passage any way, as they will answer for their perilles, but upon the like charge and pain, to use the best means they can for their apprehension and keeping them in safe custody, which we will take as an acceptable service. Given at Greenwich, the fowerth daie of June. *Per ipsum Regem* (16).

(16) Pat. 9 Jac. I, p. 10. dorf. apud Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 710, edit 2d, 1711.

[H] In an elegant Epitaph, written by a Right Rev. author.] The prelate hinted at, was Dr Richard Corbet, Lord Bishop of Norwich. His verses are supposed to be spoken by herself, and the last line alludes to her being buried in Westminster-Abbey.

On the Lady Arabella.

How do I thank thee, death, and blest thy power,
That I have past the guard, and escap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my Epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath;
For at thy charge, both soul and body were
Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear.
That amongst Saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim, my death hath
paid (17).

(17) Poems by the right rev. Dr R. Corbet, &c. Lond. 1672, 12mo, p. 128.

[I] Had not the support of the least colour of proof.] The author here meant, is the celebrated Sir Bulstrode Whitlock, whose Memorials of English Affairs, from the supposed expedition of Brute, to the end of the reign

of King James I, were published by the famous William Pen, with a commendatory preface by Dr Wellwood. He having under the year 1616, given a long account of the poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and the suspicion there was, that Sir Thomas had a hand in poisoning Prince Henry, immediately adds, 'The Lady Arabella, Daughter to Charles Stuart, younger brother to the King's father, having married Sir William Seymour, Son of the Lord Beauchamp, and grandchild to the Earl of Hertford, both allied to the crown, and committed to the Tower, designed an escape by disguises. But the poor Lady fearful, and staying beyond the hour at which they were to meet; her husband went to sea without her, leaving notice for her to follow; but she was apprehended, and brought back to the Tower where she died; which set mens tongues and fears on work, that she went the same way (18).' It is plain all these facts are assembled under a wrong year, viz. The year after the Lady was dead, and that no notice is taken of the distance of time in which they happened, though there was no less than four years between her imprisonment and her death. What is still more remarkable, and which indeed shews this to be an unfounded calumny, is the consideration of the time of her death, which was after the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was discovered, and consequently at a time, when practices of that sort in the Tower were least likely to be undertaken, and that she had been well treated before, appears from the Earl of Somerset's Trial, wherein he alledged, Sir William Wade was removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower, for allowing her a key, by which she might have made her escape (19).

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

This report was at first in all probability, occasioned by the precaution usually taken by the Court in cases of this nature; for it appears, that as soon as the death of this Lady was known, the Secretary of State directed his warrant to this effect.

(19) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 347.

To my very loving friend the President of the College of Physicians in the City of LONDON.

AFTER my hearty commendations: whereas the Lady Arabella is lately deceased in the Tower,

soon after her decease, procured leave to return, distinguished himself by loyally adhering to the King during the civil wars, and, surviving to the time of the Restoration, was restored to his great grandfather's title of Duke of Somerset, by an Act of Parliament, which entirely cancelled his attainder; and on the giving his royal assent to this act, King Charles II, was pleased to say in full Parliament, what perhaps was as honourable for the family, as the title to which they are restored. His words were these, *As this is an Act of an extraordinary nature, so it is in favour of a person of no ordinary merit, he has deserved of my father, and of myself, as much as any subject possibly could do; and I hope this will stir no man's envy, because in doing it, I do no more than what a good master should do for such a servant* (a). By his lady Arabella, this noble person had no issue, but that he still preserved a warm affection for her memory, appears from hence, that he called one of his daughters by his second wife, Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, Arabella (b) Seymour.

(a) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 49.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

' Tower, and that it is his Majesty's pleasure, according to former custom, upon like occasions, when persons of great quality do die in that place, her body should be viewed by persons of skill and trust, and thereupon certificate to be made of what disease she died, as to their judgment it shall appear: these are therefore to will and require you, to appoint some three Physicians of your Society, of good reputation, as well for their learning as otherwise, who, together with the the Physicians of the said Lady Arabella, shall presently repair unto the Tower, and there view and search the corps of the said Lady, and to return jointly their opinion unto me, of the nature of the disease whereof she died, that we may acquaint his Majesty therewithall. And so I bid you heartily

' farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, this 27th of September, 1615.'

Your loving friend,
RALPH WINWOOD.

According to the King's command, some Physicians of the College met at the Tower, and upon a diligent inspection of the Body of the Lady Arabella, were of an opinion, that the cause of this noble Lady's death, was a long chronical sickness; that the species of her disease was a Cachexie, which daily increasing (partly by her own neglect, and partly by her aversion to medicine) did at length bring her into a confirmed indisposition of her liver and extream leanness, from which causes death must needs ensue. This testimony was signed by the President, Register, and four Fellows of the College (20).

(20) Dr Goodall's Proceedings against Empericks, p. 381.

ARBUTHNOT, a noble family in Scotland. This name was formerly spelt otherwise than at present, for we find that Duncan de Aberbothenoth, was witness to a grant of King Alexander II, to the abbey of Aberbroth, in 1242 (a). His direct descendant Sir Robert Arberthnat, was, on the sixteenth of November 1641 (b), created Viscount of Arbuthnat, which honour is enjoyed by his descendant to this day (c); the present Viscount of Arbuthnat, who is less distinguished by his rank than by his virtues, being especially remarkable for unaffected piety, and unblemished probity.

(a) Register of Aberbroth. MS.

(b) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 29.

(c) *Ibid.*

ARBUTHNOT (ALEXANDER) Principal of the university of Aberdeen. He was the son of the Baron of Arbuthnat, and was born in the year 1538 (a). He studied in the university of Aberdeen, and having perfected himself in humanity and philosophy, his relations sent him to study the Civil Law in France, where he was five years under the care of the famous Cujacius. Having taken the degree of Licentiate, he returned home in the year 1563, and appeared very warmly in support of the Reformed Religion (b). At this time Queen Mary was resident in her kingdom, but the Earl of Murray having the supreme direction of all things, the Reformed Church of Scotland was in a very flourishing condition (c). The friends of Mr Arbuthnot prevailed upon him to take orders, and whether he received them from a Bishop or from Presbyters is uncertain. In 1658, he assisted as a member of the General Assembly, which was held in the month of July at Edinburgh (d). By this Assembly he was intrusted with the care of revising a book which had given offence, and directed to report his opinion of it [A]. A little after, he was appointed Minister of Arbuthnat and Logy-Buchan (e). The year following, viz. 1569, on a visitation of the King's-college at Aberdeen, Mr Alexander Anderson, Principal; Mr Andrew Galloway, Sub-principal; and three Regents were deprived. Their sentence was published on the third of July, and immediately thereupon Mr Arbuthnot was made Principal of that college (f). He was a member also of the General Assembly which sat at St Andrews in the year 1572 (g). At this time there was great stir about a certain scheme of Church government, which was called the Book of Policy. It was, in short, an invention of some statesmen, to restore the old titles in the Church, but with a purpose to retain all the temporalities formerly annexed to them, amongst themselves (h). The Assembly being apprized of this, appointed the Archbishop of St Andrews, and nineteen other Commissioners, of whom Mr Arbuthnot was one, to confer with the Regent in his council, but these conferences either

(a) Spotswood's History of Scotland, Book vi. p. 335.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, p. 44.

(d) Petrie's Compensious Hist. of the Catholic Church, P. iii. cent. xvi. p. 359.

(e) Spotswood's History, p. 335.

(f) Calderwood's History, p. 45. Petrie's History, p. 369.

(g) Calderwood, p. 56.

(h) Spotswood's Hist. p. 335. Petrie's History, p. 375.

[A] Directed to report his opinion of it.] This book was entituled *The Fall of the Roman Church*. It was printed by one Thomas Bassenden, printer in Edinburgh. The exception taken at it, was, that the King had the stile of the supreme head of the Church; at the same time there was another complaint against this Bassenden, for printing a lewd song at the end of the Psalm book. On these matters an order was made, forbidding the printer to

vend any more of his books till the offensive title was delated, and the lewd song castrated. The Assembly also made an order, that no book should be published for the future, till licensed by commissioners of their appointment (1). Hence it appears, that the clergy in all countries have the like appetite for power, and that they are naturally desirous of dictating in all points of literature.

(1) Petrie's Hist. p. 359.

(i) Calderwood's
Hist., p. 63.

(k) Petrie's Hist.
P. 379.

(l) Calderwood,
p. 63.

(m) Petrie's Hist.
p. 382.
Calderwood, p.
64.

(n) Petrie's Hist.
p. 382.

(o) Calderwood,
ubi supra.

(p) Petrie's Hist.
P. 390.

(q) Calderwood's
Hist. p. 76.

(r) Ibid. p. 78.

(s) Spotswood's
Hist. p. 289.
Petrie's History,
P. 394.

(t) Mackenzie's
Lives of Scots
Writers, Vol. III.
p. 192.

(u) Id. ibid.

(w) Spotswood's
Hist. p. 335.

either came to nothing, or, which is more probable, were never held (i). In the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh the sixth of August, 1573, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was chosen Moderator (k). It was a very busy meeting, and the Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner (l) [B]. In the next Assembly, which met at Edinburgh the sixth of March 1574, there was a charge brought against George Bishop of Murray, for committing fornication with the Lady Ardsrofs (m). He desired three or four days to prepare his defence, but not appearing at the end of this space, a commission was granted to Mr Arbuthnot, and other Members, to cite before them the Chapter of Murray, in order to question them for their certificate of life and manners, given to George Douglas their Bishop beforementioned (n). In the same Assembly, Arbuthnot was named one of the commissioners for settling the jurisdiction of the Church, which seems to be no more than had been before done about the book of policy (o). This thorny business required much time and pains, but at last however some progress was made therein, and a plan of jurisdiction was struck out. In the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh the first of April 1577, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was again chosen Moderator. At this time the Assembly were persuaded, upon some specious pretences, to appoint a certain number of their members to confer in the morning with their Moderator, in order to prepare business (p). This Committee had the name of the Congregation, and in a short time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Assembly had little to do but to approve their resolutions (q). At the close of this Assembly Mr Arbuthnot with other Commissioners was appointed to confer with the Regent, on the plan of Church policy before mentioned (r). In the General Assembly held at Edinburgh the twenty-fifth of October 1578, he was again appointed of the Committee for the same purpose, and in the latter end of the year, actually conferred with several Noblemen, and other Lay-Commissioners, on that important business (s). In 1582 Mr Arbuthnot published Buchanan's History of Scotland, in which though he acted only as an Editor, yet it procured him a great deal of ill-will, and in all probability gave his Majesty King James VI, an ill impression of him (t). The practice of managing things in Congregation still subsisting, the King forbid Mr Arbuthnot to leave his college at Aberdeen, that he might not be present in the Assembly, or direct as he was wont to do those Congregations which directed that great body (u). This offended the ministers very much, and they did not fail to remonstrate thereupon to the King; however he remained firm, and they were forced to be content, what impression this might make upon his mind, being a very meek and humble man, assisting others at their request, and not through any ambition of his own is uncertain, but a little after he began to decline in his health, and on the twentieth of October 1583, departed this life in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the college church of Aberdeen (w). His private character was very amiable, he was learned without pedantry, and a great encourager of learning in youth, easy and pleasant in conversation, had a good taste in poetry, was well versed in philosophy and the mathematicks, eminent as a lawyer, no less eminent as a Divine, neither wanted he considerable skill in Physick. In his publick character he was equally remarkable for his moderation

[B] *The Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner.* This was esteemed the 25th General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; there were present many Earls and others of the nobility, some Bishops, Superintendents, &c. John Douglas Bishop of St Andrew's had a long charge brought against him, consisting of various heads, as, That he had admitted a Popish Priest into the ministry, to whom the Superintendent of Lothian had prescribed certain injunctions, which he had not obeyed. That he, the Bishop, had not visited or preached for half a year; that he had collated a person suspected of Popery to a benefice; that he had suffered Exercise (the same thing which in England was called prophesying) to decay through his neglect; that he had admitted into the Church, many who were incapable, and not properly examined. To this accusation he answered, That he had not admitted the Priest mentioned in the charge, till he had publicly abjured Popery. The Assembly however ordered the Priest to satisfy the injunctions prescribed in Lothian, and in the mean time not to exercise his function. As to his visiting and preaching, the Bishop alledged he had done both while he was able; and as to the other heads of complaint, he pleaded either ignorance or inability. James Patoun was accused of having accepted the Episcopal Office, and yet declining to execute it. He was accused of being guilty of simony, in respect to his practices with the Earl of Argyle, and even of perjury, since contrary to his oath he gave receipts, where the Earl received the money. Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, was charged with exciting the subjects in the city of Edinburgh to rebellion, and with refusing

to pray for the King. That being forbidden by the General Assembly, to meddle with the parish of Holyrood-house, he had nevertheless compelled the people to receive the sacrament from him. That notwithstanding he had sworn to obey the King and his Regent, yet nevertheless he had owned another authority, and persuaded the people so to do, and had given thanks in the pulpit, for the barbarous murder of Matthew Earl of Lenox the late Regent; he pleaded that all this was pardoned by the late act of pacification: to which the Assembly replied, The States had not absolved him who was a Bishop from the censure of the Church in *Talibus*, so he was ordained, under the pain of excommunication, to make publick repentance three several sundays, one in the Church of Edinburgh, another in Holyrood-house, and the third in the Queen's College church. Robert Poul was accused, That being commissioner to visit Murray, he resided not there, nor hath visited churches these two years, except the chief four he hath visited once. He alledged want of leisure, because he was ordained to attend the College of Justice; whereupon the Superintendent of Lothian moveth the question, Whether it be lawful by the word of God, that the administration of the word and sacraments, and the administration of criminal and civil Justice be so confounded, that one man may occupy both the charges? it was answered, it is neither agreeable with the word of God, nor practice of the primitive Church. These are some of the extraordinary things done in that Assembly; as for the rest, they may be found in the ecclesiastical historians mentioned in the margin (2).

(2) Spotswood's
Hist. p. 273.
Petrie's History,
p. 379.
Calderwood's
Hist. p. 63.

[C] *Some*

deration and abilities, which gained him such a reputation, as drew upon him so many calls for advice, as made him at last very uneasy. As Principal of the College of Aberdeen, he did great service to the Church in particular, and to his country in general, by bringing over many to the former, and reviving that spirit of Literature which was much decayed in the later (*). These employments took up so much of his time, that we have nothing of his writing, save a single book of which some account will be given in the notes [C]. His countryman and contemporary Andrew Melvil (y) wrote an elegant epitaph on this worthy person, which alone would have been sufficient to have preserved his memory, as it certainly gives a just idea of his character.

(*) Id. *ibid.*
(y) *Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 122.*

[C] *Some account will be given in the notes.* It was printed at Edinburgh in 4to A. D. 1572. under this title, *Orationes de Origine & Dignitate Juris. i. e. Orations on the origin and dignity of the law.*

It was esteemed a very learned and elegant performance, as appears by a fine copy of Latin verses (3) on it's publication, by Mr Thomas Maitland, who was equally admired as a poet and a critic. E

(3) *Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 153.*

A R D E N (E D W A R D) descended of a most ancient and honourable family; seated at Parkhall, in Warwickshire (a) [A]. He was born in the year 1532, and his father dying when he was an infant of two years old, before he inherited the estate of the family, he became the ward of Sir George Throkorton, of Coughton, whose daughter Mary he afterwards married (b). In all probability, it was his engagements with this family, and being bred therein, that made him so stiff a Papist as he was (c). However that be, succeeding his grandfather Thomas Arden, Esq; in 1562, in the family estate, he married Mary (Throkorton) and settled in the country (d), his religion impeding his preferment, and his temper inclining him to a retired life. His being a near neighbour to the great Earl of Leicester, occasioned his having some jars with him, who affected to rule all things in that county (e). Some persons therein, tho' of good families, and possessed of considerable estates, thought it no discredit to wear that nobleman's livery (f), which Mr Arden disdained. In the course of this fatal quarrel, excessive insolence on one side, produced some warm expressions on the other; infomuch, that Mr Arden openly taxed the Earl with his conversing criminally with the Countess of Essex, in that Earl's life-time; and also inveighed against his pride as a thing the more inexcusable in a nobleman newly created (g). These taunts having exasperated that Minister, he projected, or at least forwarded, his destruction [B]. Mr Arden had married one of his daughters to John Somerville, Esq; a young gentleman of an old family, and good fortune, in the same county (h) [C]. This Mr Somerville was a man

(a) *The Antiquities of Warwickshire by Sir William Dugdale, edit. 1730. Vol. II. p. 924. col. 2. Leicester's Commonwealth, 4to 1641. p. 149. Johnson's Britan. lib. iii. p. 91. seq.*

(b) *Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 926.*

(c) *See Note [B].*

(d) *Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 926.*

(e) *Gulielm. Camden. An. Rer. Brit. Reg. Eliz. Edit. Hearne, 1717. Vol. II. p. 405.*

(f) *Leicester's Ghost, 4to. 1641. p. 7.*

(g) *Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.*

(h) *Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 829.*

[A] *Seated at Parkhall in Warwickshire.* This family may well be styled ancient, since it was seated hereabouts before the Conquest. Turchillus in the reign of William Rufus, assumed, in imitation of the Normans, the surname of the family, de Arden, because his estate lay in the wood lands (1). Mr Camden, and many of our authors after him, write this name Arden (2), and it is true, that some branches of this family wrote it so (3). However, Mr Dugdale, who was best acquainted with these things, always writes it Arden, and so this gentleman himself wrote (4). Parkhall had been for three hundred years the seat of the Ardens, and they had attained all the honours, which really give lustre to any English line. In the twelfth of Henry II, Henry de Arden was certified to hold five knights fees of the Earl of Warwick, and his brother Hugh as many (5). In the forty-eighth of Henry III, Thomas Arden had summons to attend the King in a Welsh expedition, which he did, but siding afterwards with the rebellious barons, was undone (6). However, in the third of Edward III, Sir Robert de Arden was allowed to fortify his house, and died possessed of a large estate (7). In the forty-eighth of Edward III, Henry de Arden of Parkhall, was constituted conservator of the peace, knighted the next year, and was knight of the shire in the first of Richard II (8). Robert de Arden, in the sixteenth of Henry VI, was sheriff of this county and Leicestershire (9). But in the thirtieth of Henry VI, he was attainted for siding with the house of York (10). His son Walter, married the daughter of John Hampden, Esq; of Hampden in Buckinghamshire (11). His son John Arden, married Alice daughter of Richard Bracebrigg, Esq; of Kingsbury, in Warwickshire, and was squire of the body to Henry VII (12). His son Thomas, married the daughter of Thomas Andrews, Esq; by whom he had many children (13). Of these the eldest, William, married Elizabeth the daughter of Edward Conway, Esq; by whom he had our Edward, his only son (14). This Edward, though his grandfather was living at his father's decease, became the ward of Sir George Throkorton (15), whose daughter he married, and not Sir Robert's as it stands in the pedigree drawn by Dugdale.

(1) *E Regia. de Abend. in Biblioth. Cotton. f. 122. b. 7.*

(2) *Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.*

(3) *Dugd. Vol. II. p. 7.*

(4) *Diarium rerum gestarum. in Turri Londinensi.*

(5) *Libr. Rub. f. 104. a.*

(6) *Clauf. 48. H. 3. in d. in ced.*

(7) *Cart. 2 Ed. 3. a. 32.*

(8) *Cl. 1 R. 2. in d. m. 22.*

(9) *Rot. F. 16. H. 6. m. 20.*

(10) *Efc. 32. H. 6.*

(11) *Ex Auto-graph. penes R. Arden, Ar.*

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 926.*

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) *E MS. pen. R. Knipe, A. M.*

[B] *Forwarded his destruction.* The warm expressions of Mr Arden mentioned by Camden, are proofs of his aversion, but they give us no light into the causes of his extraordinary hatred against the Earl of Leicester. In all probability, it was owing to his love for his wife's family, who were grievously persecuted by that haughty Peer. Her brother, Sir Nicholas Throkorton, was, in the opinion of the generality of the world, poisoned at this Earl's house, in 1571 (16). Another brother, Sir John Throkorton, Chief Justice of Chester, he persecuted till he broke his heart; and pursued not only all such as were related to, but also such as had a friendship for, this family, with implacable vengeance (17). Probably this drew some marks of his displeasure on Mr Arden, for we shall see hereafter, the whole family was caught in one net, and all brought to ruin together (18). It seems clear from the stories of those times, that the Throkortons were a stirring family; infomuch, that Camden remarks on the death of Sir Nicholas, after mentioning the common fame of his being poisoned, that however he died, he certainly died in a critical season, for himself being engaged in dangerous undertakings (19). Add to this, that Mrs Arden, who was a Throkorton, was made a deep sharer in her husband's sufferings.

(16) *Life of Robert Earl of Leicester, p. 30.*

(17) *Leicester's Commonwealths p. 149.*

(18) *See Note [E].*

(19) *Annal. p. 221.*

[C] *Of an old family in the same county.* The Somervilles are a Norman family, and came over with the Conqueror (20). The Somervilles of Edfton, in Warwickshire, are a branch of the Gloucestershire family of the same name, who have flourished several hundred years at Aston Somerville, in the said county (21). This John Somerville came to his estate in 1576, and about the same time, married Margaret Arden, being then in his eighteenth year (22). He was of a warm fiery disposition, as all writers agree, and Dugdale's account of the matter, is, that his priest, Hall, wrought upon his zeal for religion, and his hot temper, till he fell into this humour, which he did not deny. He came up to town in a passion, acted like a man distracted, and owned a design to kill the Queen, as soon as pressed thereto, after his apprehension (23). But the best account duly weighed, is that of Lord Burleigh, which runs thus (24). To this number, they may, if they seek number, also add a furious

(20) *Crawford's Pezage of Scotland, p. 445.*

(21) *Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 830.*

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) *Camden, Hollinghead, Stowe, &c.*

(24) *Execution for Treason, not for Religion, p. 22.*

of a hot rash temper, and by many thought a little crazy. He was drawn in a strange manner to plot (if it may be so called) against the Queen's life; and thus the treason is alledged to have been transacted. In the Whitsun-Holydays, 1583, he with his wife was at Mr Arden's, where Hugh Hall, his father-in-law's priest, persuaded him that Queen Elizabeth being an incorrigible heretick, and growing daily from bad to worse, it would be doing God and his country good service to take her life away. When the holidays were over, he returned to his own house with his wife, where he grew melancholy, and irresolute. Upon this, his wife writes to Hall, her father's priest, to come and strengthen the man. Hall excuses his coming, but writes at large, to encourage Somerville to prosecute what he had undertaken. This letter had it's effects, Somerville set out for London, but got no farther than Warwick, where, drawing his sword and wounding some Protestants, he was instantly seized. While he was going to Warwick, his wife went over to her father's and shewed him and her mother Hall's treasonable letter, which her father threw into the fire; so that only the hearsay of this letter, could be alledged against him and his wife, by Hall who wrote it, who was tried and condemned with them (i). But to return to Somerville. On his apprehension, he said somewhat of his father and mother-in-law, and immediately orders were sent into Warwickshire for their being seized, and imprisoned (k). October 30, 1583, Mr Somerville was committed to the Tower for high-treason. November 4, Hall the priest was committed also; and on the seventh of the same month, Mr Arden (l). On the sixteenth, Mary the wife of Mr Arden, Margaret their daughter, wife to Mr Somerville, and Elizabeth, the sister of Mr Somerville, were committed (m). On the twenty-third Mr Arden was racked in the Tower, and the next day Hugh Hall the Priest was tortured likewise (*) [D]. By these methods some kind of evidence being brought out, on the sixteenth of December Edward Arden, Esq; and Mary his wife; John Somerville, Esq; and Hugh Hall the Priest, were tried and convicted of high-treason at Guildhall, London (n), chiefly on Hall's confession, who yet received sentence with the rest. On the nineteenth of December, Mr Arden and his son-in-law Somerville, were removed from the Tower to Newgate, for a night's time only (o). In this space, Somerville was strangled by his own hands, it was given out, but, as the world believed, by such as desired to get him silently out of theirs (p). The next day, being December 20, 1583, Edward Arden was executed at Smithfield with the general pity of all spectators. He died with the same high spirit he had shewn throughout his life. After professing his innocence, he owned himself a Papist, and one who died for his religion, and want of flexibility, though under colour of conspiring against the State. He strenuously insisted, that Somerville was murdered, to prevent his shaming his prosecutors, and having thus extenuated things to such as heard him, he patiently submitted to an ignominious death (q). His execution was according to the rigour of the law, his head being set (as Somerville's also was) upon London Bridge; and his quarters upon the city gates, but the body of his son-in-law was interred in Moor-fields (r). As for Mrs Arden, she was pardoned, but the Queen gave the estate which fell to her, by her's, and her husband's attainer, to Mr Darcy. As for Hugh Hall, the Priest, he was pardoned too, but Leicester doubting his secrecy, would have engaged Chancellor Hatton to have sent him abroad; which he refusing, new rumours, little to that proud Earl's honour, flew about (s). Hollingshead, Stowe, and such writers, treat Mr Arden as a Traitor fairly convicted, and so have others who knew much better (t); but Camden was too honest to write thus, and there is good authority to incline our belief, that he died for being a stout Englishman, rather than a bad subject (u) [E]. His son and heir Robert Arden, Esq; being

(i) From a MS. once Sir Simon d'Ewe's, but the substance is also in Speed's Chronicle, p. 1175. col. 1.

(k) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Dugd. Warwick. Vol. II. p. 829. Hollingshead's Chron. A. D. 1583.

(l) Diarium rerum gestarum in Turri Londinensi. ad calc. Hist. Schifmat. Angl. edit. Colon. Acrip. 1628. in 12mo.

(m) Stowe's Annals, 1631. p. 698.

(*) Diarium rerum gestarum. Turri Lond. ibid. Dec. 4to.

(n) Stowe, p. 698. Hollingshead, ut supra.

(o) Stowe, p. 698.

(p) Diarium rerum gest. T. L. Decemb. 1583.

(q) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 421. Diarium rerum gest. T. L. ubi supra.

(r) Hollingshead, ubi supra.

(s) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(t) Execution for Treason and not for Religion, 4to, p. 22. Important Considerations, &c. 4to, p. 45.

(u) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 149. Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 930, 931. Life of Robert Earl of Leicester, 8vo, 1727, p. 112.

furious young man of Warwickshire, to increase the Kalendar of the Pope's martyrs, who of late was discovered, and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her Majesty.

[D] Was tortured likewise.] I take this from a Diary of what passed in the Tower of London, from the 15th of June, 1580, to the 21st of June, 1585, written in Latin, added to Sanders's book *De Origine & Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*. In the preface there is a succinct account of the instruments of torture, which were these, 1. The dungeon, which was without any light, twenty feet under ground. 2. A narrow room, in which a prisoner could scarce stand upright, called thence Little-cave. 3. The rack, an engine with pulleys, whereby men were disjointed. 4. Scavenger's daughter, so called, it is supposed, from the inventor, it was a circle of iron, whereby the patient's Head, Hands, and Feet, were grievously stretched. 5. Hand-screws. 6. Irons for the Arms. 7. Irons for the Legs. And in the Diary, the days are set down, on which the several prisoners mentioned therein, are said to have been racked, &c. The Papists made loud complaints of their treatment, to all the Christian world; attesting that 1. They were persecuted purely for conscience sake. 2. That they were driven to confess, by grievous tortures. In answer to these books, the Treasurer Burleigh, caused

to be written what Mr Strype calls a State Book, cited above, which treats the first point; and soon after came forth a second piece intitled, *A Declaration of the favourable dealing of Her Majesties Commissioners, &c.* (25): wherein it is said, 'That none of them had been put to the rack, or torture, no not for treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first known, or evidently probable, by former detections, confessions, or otherwise, that the party so racked or tortured was guilty, and did know and could deliver the truth of the things wherewith he was charged.' Which the Reverend Mr Strype, seems to think a full justification of the practice. Indubitably it shews there was such a practice. Nay, we are farther told by Whitlock, in his Memorials, that Queen Elizabeth, disliking the thing, or fearing it might be abused, forbid the putting men to the torture, on any pretence whatsoever (26). Yet we know that Mary Queen of Scots, objected to the evidence made use of against her, because it was extorted by these methods, which have been, God be praised, long out of date.

[E] *A stout Englishman, rather than a bad subject.*] In this note, I shall fairly state the evidence in favour of this judgment, and against it. The annalists, and publick writers in those times, treat Mr Arden as a notorious traitor, they could do no otherwise. Lord Burleigh's

(25) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 206.

(26) Memorials of English affairs, Lond. 1703, p. 254.

being bred in one of the Inns of Court, proved a very wife and fortunate person, in-
 much, that by various suits he wrung from Edward Darcy, Esq; the grantee (x), most
 of his father's estates (y), and by marrying Elizabeth daughter of Reginald Corbet, Esq;
 one of the Justices of the King's Bench, he restored the credit and splendor of this
 ancient family, and was so happy to see Henry Arden, Esq; his eldest son knighted
 by King James, and married to Dorothy the daughter of Basil Feilding, of Newn-
 ham, Esq; whose son became Earl of Denbigh. The drawing this embarrassed ac-
 count out of obscurity, cannot but be grateful to our curious readers, and will answer
 one great end of this work, the elucidating dark passages in English history, by a
 comparison of lights, a thing not to be expected in general collections, or even in the
 accounts of particular reigns.

(x) Anderfon's Reports, p. 2.
 (y) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 931.

Burleigh's pamphlet, Apology, or State Book, charges him also (27). Immediately after the account of Somerville, he proceeds: *The attempt not denied by the traitor himself, but confessed, and that he was moved thereto in his wicked spirit, by incitements from certain seditious and traitorous persons, his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading sundry seditious vile books, lately published against Her Majesty.* There is yet something stronger than this, viz. A confession of the Papists themselves, in a book called, *Important Considerations*: written and published by the secular Priests. Therein we read ' Mr Arden, and Mr Somerville, were convicted by the laws of the land, to have purposed and contrived how they might have laid violent hands upon Her Majesties sacred person. Mr Somerville's confession therein, was so notorious, as it may not be either qualified or denied (28). Yet, immediately after their death, all unprejudiced people doubted this business. Father Persons's *Green-coat*, instantly interposed thus (29). ' What say you, to the device he had of late to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, in the matter of Hall, his Priest, whom he would have had Sir Christopher to send away, and hide, being touched, and detected in the case of Arden; therefore to have drawn in Sir Christopher himself, as Sir Charles Candish can well declare, being accessory to this plot, to overthrow Sir Christopher.' In the copy I have, there is a marginal note in MS. in an old hand, referring to Dugdale and Camden. It appears from Strype, that the mouths of the people were open on this subject (30). Camden modestly, and plainly says (31), ' That the head of Somerville was turned by certain Popish libels to such a degree, that breathing nothing but slaughter, he came up to town to kill the Queen, and, like a mad man, fell to cutting and hacking all he met. Being apprehended, he owned the design he had to kill the Queen. Upon this, himself, and, in consequence of his confession, Edward Arden, his Father-in-law, a gentleman of ancient family in Warwickshire, Mrs Arden, the wife of Mr Somerville, and Hall, a Priest, were convicted as accomplices. Three days after, Mr Somerville was found strangled in prison, the next day, Mr Arden was hanged and quartered, the Woman and Priest were spared. Such was the fate of this gentleman, who was generally thought to have fallen a victim to Leicester's resentment; being circumvented by a Priest, whose evidence destroyed him. Certain it is, Leicester hated him not without cause, because he opposed him all he could, openly inveighing against him as an adulterer, and an upstart.' Dugdale says, the inhabitants of Warwickshire who lived in those days, thought him mur-

dered by Leicester (32); and the author of that nobleman's life, does not deny it was so (33). The authors who mention this fact, are, State Writers, Papists, or impartial Historians. The first were bound to defend it, whatever they thought of it; yet they own Somerville to have been crazy. The secular Priests flattered the government, and write on this head very artfully. Arden protested his innocence, as all the Popish writers attest. The moderate impartial Historians own without scruple, he died unjustly, and therefore we may well suppose it true. However, to clear this matter up as much as possible, let us consider a little, first, what appears as to the fact itself, and next, what credit is due to such as affirm Mr Arden to have died justly. It is suggested, that Leicester prompted the Priest, Hall, he inspired Mr Somerville with seditious notions, and thus the whole family were involved. Now all agree, that Hall was the author and mover of this treason, that he confessed and was pardoned; and Somerville, who was touched in the head, made a free confession, and was in all respects more worthy of a pardon, was destined to a shameful death, and was perhaps cruelly murdered. This has a bad aspect, and does not look like a free course of justice. Somerville was apprehended as he came, this looks as if they watched for him: But what seems to put the matter out of all doubt, is the timing of this business, just when the two Throkmortons were apprehended for conspiring to set the Queen of Scots at liberty. So that here were a gentleman and his wife, their daughter, their son-in-law, and two nephews, with Mr Somerville's maiden sister, all clapped into the Tower at once, and Mrs Arden saw her husband, and nephew, Francis Throkmorton, tortured in one day, executed within a few weeks of each other, and her husband's estate given to my Lord Leicester's creature. Does not this look like revenge on the Throkmortons whom that Earl openly persecuted? Now as to the writers. In the common chronicles we look not for the springs of action, but bare acts; we read there that Lord Robert Dudley was made an Earl, Master of the Horse, Knight of the Garter; but not a word of his murdering his wife, or Mr Arden, that would not suit the book. As to Lord Burleigh, he admits Somerville was mad. And Camden, who wrote by his directions, thought Arden a sacrifice; and, all things considered, so may we. It is one thing to write, or publish an apology, or, as Strype bluntly calls it, a State Book, as Lord Burleigh's was, and another to frame an impartial history like Camden's. That wife Nobleman did what was fit for the times in the first, and suffered what was fit for the knowledge of posterity, to be recorded in the second. E

(32) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 830.
 (33) Life of Robert Earl of Leicester, 8vo, A. D. 1727, p. 114.

ARGALL (JOHN), author of two tracts, the one intitled *De vera penitentia* (a), the other *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam* (b) [A], was the third son of Thomas Argall by Margaret his wife, daughter of John Talkarne of the county of Cornwall. He was born in London, and entered a student in Christ-church in Oxford towards the latter end of Queen Mary's reign. He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1565, and was *Senior of the Art* celebrated the eighteenth of February the same year. Afterwards he applied himself to the study of divinity, and, having taken holy orders, obtained the living of Haleworth in Suffolk. Being at a feast at Cheston, a mile distant from that

(a) Printed at London, 1604, 8vo.
 (b) Printed at London, 1605, 8vo.

[A] *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam.* In this book, which Mr Wood calls *very facete and pleasant* (1), the author says of himself, that ' whereas God had raised many of his companions and contemporaries to high dignities in the Church, as Dr Thomas Bilson to the See of Winchester, Dr Martin Heton to that of Ely, Dr Henry Robinson

to that of Carlisle, Dr Tobias Mathews to that of Durham, &c. yet he, an unworthy and poor old man, was still detained in the chains of poverty for his great and innumerable sins, that he might repent with the prodigal son, and at length by God's favour obtain salvation (2).

(2) Argall, *Introduct.* in *Post-prædicam. under Simul tempore.*

(27) Cited in note [C].

(28) Page 45, edit. 1688.

(29) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(30) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 421.

(31) Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

that town, he died suddenly at the table. His body was carried to Halefworth, and buried there, October 8, 1606. During his stay at the university, he was a noted disputant, and a great actor of plays at Christ-church, particularly when the Queen was entertained there in 1566. He was esteemed a very good scholar, and was so much devoted to his studies, that he lived and died like a Philosopher, with a thorough

(c) Wood's Arth. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

(d) Id. ibid.

contempt for the things of this world (c). We likewise meet with one RICHARD ARGALL, a celebrated poet in the reign of King James I [B]; but we have no particulars of his life (d).

[B] RICHARD ARGALL, a celebrated poet in the reign of King James I.] He wrote and published, I. *The Song of Songs, which was Solomon's, metaphorized in English Heroics, by way of Dialogue.* London, 1621. in 4to. dedicated to Henry King, Archdeacon of Colchester, son to the Bishop of London. II. *The Bride's Ornament; Poetical Essays upon a divine subject,* in two books. London, 1621, in 4to; the first dedicated to John Argall, Esq; the other to Philip brother to Henry King. III. *Fune-ral Elegy consecrated to the memory of his ever ho-*

noured Lord John King late Bishop of London, &c. 1621. He wrote also a book of *Meditations of Knowledge, Zeal, Temperance, Bounty, and Joy.* And another containing *Meditations of Prudence, Obedience, Meekness, God's Word, and Prayer.* The author intended these two books for the press at the same time with his poetical works: but the death of his patron, the Bishop of London, who had greatly encouraged his studies, deferred the publication of them; and whether they were afterwards published, is uncertain (3). T

(3) Wood, ubi supra.

(a) Les Chroniques & excellentes faitz des ducs, &c. de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi. Bromt. apud decem scriptor. p. 910.

(b) Apud decem scriptor. p. 2318.

(c) W. Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, apud Britan. &c. Script. a Gul. Cambdeno edit. p. 656.

(d) Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France, par I. du Tillet, p. 137.

(e) Id. p. 138.

(f) W. Gemeticensis, ubi supra.

(g) Du Tillet, p. 137.

(h) Chroniques &c. de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(i) Ubi supra, p. 920.

(k) Ubi supra, p. 2319.

(l) Chroniques de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(m) G. Malmf-burien, p. 95. Knyghton, p. 2318.

(n) Bromton, p. 910.

(o) Malmf-b. p. 95.

(p) Chroniques de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

A R L O T T A, mother to William furnished the Conqueror. In ancient historians we find her called by very different names; Abbot Bromton calls her Arlet, and so does the ancient chronicle of Normandy (a); Knyghton, Arlec (b); another ancient writer Herleva (c), which one would think was her true name, most of the French historians, especially moderns, calling her Herleve. But writers are better agreed as to her family; for they say, in general, that she was a Tanner's daughter. A French author of great integrity however, reports the matter differently in all respects. He says her name was Helena, and that she was not the daughter of a Tanner, but of one Foubert, valet de chambre to the Duke of Normandy, which Foubert was the son of a Tanner (d). That she was within one descent at least of a person of that trade, appears clearly, from an insult offered to her son, when he was besieging the city of Alençon (e). Two and thirty of the inhabitants, when he came first before the place, brought certain raw hides, and tanned, or made a shew of tanning, them on the wall in his presence, as well in contempt of his power, as in derision of his birth (f). Afterwards when he became master of the place, he caused the hands and feet of those men to be cut off (g), which shews how much he was touched by this outrage. If this lady was really the daughter of the Duke's valet de chambre, yet she was bred with her grandfather the Tanner, at Falaise, an ancient, strong, and pleasant town, in the Lower Normandy. There the Dukes of that country had a palace, to which they resorted in times of peace for pleasure; and were wont to make it their constant residence in time of war, on account of it's strength. At this castle Duke Robert was in the year 1022, and being a prince of a very debonnaire disposition, was present at a place where the young maidens of the town were dancing, and there he saw the fair Arlotta, and being charmed either with her beauty or behaviour, fell desperately in love with her (h). She was brought to his bed that night, and our gravest historians, such as Bromton (i), and Knyghton (k), tell us, that when she had undrest herself, she tore her shift from the bosom down to the bottom, for which she gave this reason, *That it was neither decent nor fit, that what had touched her legs, should come near the mouth of her lord (l).* From this intercourse she became with child, and during her pregnancy, had a very extraordinary dream. Malmesbury, Knyghton, and other authors say, that she fancied her bowels dilated themselves over all Normandy and England (m). But Bromton and others tell us, that she saw in her sleep a tree come forth from her womb, the branches of which over-shaded Normandy (n). At the birth of the child there happened a very odd circumstance; through haste or carelessness, he was suffered to fall upon the ground, whence he took up, some say, a handful of straw (o), others of dust, which occasioned the midwife to predict, that he would be a King (p). Certain it is, that the Duke was so much taken with her company, that he kept her about him as if she had been his wife (q) [A]; till the year 1030, when he took a resolution of going to Jerusalem: a thing not infrequent in those days, in which it passed for a kind of penance. But authors seem to have a high opinion of this Prince's piety, when they gravely write, that it was to expiate his criminal conversation with Arlotta, which induced him to take so fatiguing a journey (r). Others think they have found a more probable cause, viz. regret for his brother Richard's death, whom he is said to have poisoned. However it was, at his departure, he caused his nobility to swear fealty to his son William, then a child about seven

(g) Malmf-b. Bromton, ubi supra.

(r) Daniel's History of England in Kennet's collection, p. 100.

[A] *As if she had been his wife.* As for this Duke of Normandy, who is usually called Robert II, the founder of the sovereignty, being styled by the French writers Robert I, though his name be commonly written Rollo, he is, by ancient authors, called Rodbert, and was very remarkable for his facetious humour, as well while he continued Duke of Normandy, as in his journey to the Holy Land, which,

if the account most writers give us of his manner of living on the road be true, might with as great propriety be styled a ramble for pleasure as a pilgrimage (1). In the text we have followed the generality of Historians, and those who are most in esteem, yet there want not some authors, who tell us; the Duke took his Herleva, not from her father nor grandfather, but from the arms of a gentleman, who had

(1) Chroniques de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi. ---- lxxxv.

seven years old (s); and having appointed the Earl of Brittany to be his guardian (notwithstanding he had set up a title to the duchy) and recommended him to the protection of the King of France, he set out on that expedition, from which he never returned, dying at Nice in Bythynia (t). His son William, on account of his birth, was surnamed the Bastard; which he was so far from esteeming a reflection, that he sometimes used it himself. As for Arlotta, she married, some say in the Duke's life-time, but most writers, after his decease, a Norman gentleman whose name was Herlaine, who had but a very small estate (u). Her son paid her always a great deal of respect, and took especial care of her children by her husband, which were three (w). 1. Eudo, or Odo, who, while a very young man, was made bishop of Bayeux, and, after his brother became King of England, Earl of Kent (x). 2. Robert Earl of Mortagne, or as is generally written by our English authors, Moreton, made by his brother Earl of Cornwall (y). 3. Emma, who married the Count D'Aumale, though some of our English authors call him Earl of Avranches, but this I conceive to have been rather his surname: by which nobleman she had a son, Hugo de Abrincis, whom the Conqueror made Earl of Chester (z).

(s) Chroniques de la Duché de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(t) Bromton, Knyghton, Malmsb. ubi supra.

(u) Du Tillet, p. 138.

(w) Daniel, ubi supra.

(x) See EUDO.

(y) See R O - B E R T.

(z) See HUGO.

had made choice of her for his mistress (z). Whether this be, or be not true, is not easily determined; nor indeed do we think it very necessary to determine. But as to her marriage, if that really happened before the Duke left Normandy, then we cannot but conclude

that it was with his consent; and that Arlotta behaved well towards her husband, and maintained a tolerably fair character, we may deduce from the respect paid her by her son, and the great care he took of the rest of her children. E

ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) who suffered for rebellion in the time of King Charles II. He was descended of an ancient and loyal family, and his father being in the King's service abroad, he was born at Nimeguen in Holland (a), but the time cannot be certainly discovered. As he grew up, he discovered a vigorous, martial disposition, which recommended him to the acquaintance and esteem of many persons of quality, who looked upon him as a man of a warm heart, and a good head. He was a very stirring and active Royalist during the exile of King Charles II, which exposed him to the malice of the Protector, Cromwell, who caused him to be confined a year in Lambeth-house, which in those times was a prison (b). He suffered greatly in this imprisonment, for the Royalists were at that time so exhausted, that how warm soever their charity might be in their hearts, it's effects were but cold, and therefore Mr Armstrong was very near sinking under this misfortune, when by some accident or other, he recovered his liberty (c). This usage, hard and cruel as it was, could neither break his spirits, nor abate his loyalty, which induced the principal friends the King had in his dominions, to make choice of him to go to his Majesty, then at Brussels, with bills of exchange of great value, and other papers of still greater importance, which commission he executed with such diligence and discretion, that he not only put the bills and papers safely into the King's hands, but brought home and delivered as safely the answers with which he was entrusted. But the Protector had so good intelligence, that within a week after he came back, he was seized and sent to the Gatehouse, where he suffered another sharp imprisonment, and was in great danger of losing his life (d). This service was so acceptable to the King when performed, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and yet the remembrance of it was so far from being of any service to him in his troubles, that notwithstanding the merciful disposition of the King his master, it was thought one principal reason for taking away his life [A]. After this he was again imprisoned in the Tower, and obtained his liberty only by the death of the Protector, and on his obtaining it, returned to the service of his master, and was one of those distinguished Royalists, that signed that excellent address to the Lord General Monk, that operated so strongly in favour of the Restoration (e) [B]. On the King's return

(a) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 577.

(b) See Clarendon's History, Heath's Chronicle, and the Life of Dr John Barwick.

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(d) See his dying speech in note [H].

(e) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 120, 121.

[A] *The principal reason for taking away his life.* At first sight this must appear extremely odd and strange to the reader, but it is no very difficult matter to clear it up. It is well enough known, that the Protector had abundance of spies, and that his Secretary, Thurloe, was esteemed the greatest master of intelligence that ever filled that office. But the greatest feats done in that way, were by corrupting Royalists, whom their necessities made dishonest. One Manning, who was about the King's court, was detected and shot in the Duke of Newburg's country for his treachery, and was actually caught in the fact of writing a letter to England (1). Sir Richard Willis was another loyalist, who acted the same part, and was always imprisoned by Cromwell, to hide their intelligence on the discovery of the plots in which he was engaged (2). The Duke of Buckingham was deeply suspected of behaving in this manner (3), and the great Chancellor Clarendon, openly charged with it by some persons of tolerable credit (4). We need not wonder therefore, if the King, upon some suggestion of that sort, might be brought to suspect Sir Thomas Armstrong, and on his being detected in the conspiracy for which he suffered, allow himself to believe his old suspicions were just,

though they might have been stifled and forgot before that unhappy affair re-called them to his memory. Bishop Burnet tells us this story in very strong terms, and therefore it will be requisite to give it in his own words. Speaking of the severity with which Sir Thomas was treated, he says (5), 'The King had published a story all about the court, and had told it to the foreign ministers, as the reason of this extreme severity against Armstrong. He said that he was sent over by Cromwell to murder him beyond sea, and that he was warned of it, and challenged him on it, and that upon his confessing it, he had promised never to speak of it any more as long as he lived: So the King counting him now dead in law, thought he was free from that promise.' We shall hereafter have occasion to mention this subject again, when we come to speak of Sir Thomas Armstrong's dying speech; and we shall then shew, that the Bishop's story is inconsistent with that speech, notwithstanding he appeals to it.

[B] *That operated so very strongly in favour of the Restoration.* Upon General Monk's coming to London, it was found requisite, in order to accomplish his great design of settling the nation without effusion

(5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

(1) Hist. de Guillaume le Conquer. p. 13.

(1) Clarendon's Hist. fol. 1732. p. 669, 670, 671.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(3) See his article in this Work.

(4) Lord Landdown's Vindication of General Monk and Sir John Greenville.

(f) Burnet, ubi supra. p. 373.

(g) Echard's Hist. of England, fol. 1720. p. 3027.

(b) See the article of SCOT Duke of Monmouth.

(i) See this clearly in note [C].

return he was taken into great favour, was employed in many services of importance, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in one of the troops of horse-guards, and was Gentleman of the Horse to his Majesty (f). The heat and vehemence of his temper, betrayed him however into some excesses, and particularly into one which was extremely fatal to his reputation, and, but for the King's favour, might have been fatal also to his life. This was the killing one Mr Scroop in a play-house quarrel (g), which misfortune rendered it necessary, or at least expedient, for him to leave the kingdom, but he did it in an honourable way, and as an attendant upon the King's natural son, Mr James Crofts, afterwards so well known to the world, by the title of Duke of Monmouth. He served with him in Flanders with great reputation, and there acquired such a degree of military skill, as made him considered as an active and accomplished officer, which made him the more dear to those noblemen of a martial disposition, who attached themselves to that Duke (b). After the war was over he returned to England, and stood in all appearance in as high favour, and as great credit with the King, as ever. But this did not continue long, for the times growing troublesome, and factions arising both in the Court and Country, he had the misfortune to fall into such measures as disoblged his master, drew upon him at first his coldness and displeasure, and ended at last, in removing him from all his places, and in his total dismissal from Court. The long intercourse of friendship he had had with, and his great dependance on, the Duke of Monmouth, proved the first cause of his troubles, and in the end that of his ruin; he was naturally warm and zealous in whatever cause he engaged, and when the Court pushed the Duke extremely, in order to detach him from the party he had embraced, Sir Thomas Armstrong was indefatigable in his services and shewed so much vigour and constancy in his attachment to that unhappy Duke, as made him considered as one of his principal advisers (i) [C]. In the conferences that afterwards happened between that Duke, the

Earl

effusion of blood, that all parties should make publick declarations that this was their desire; that they were truly sensible, as well as heartily weary of the mutations in government to which they had been exposed, and that there was nothing they so ardently desired, as the meeting of a free and constitutional Parliament. The Royalists among the rest, declared their sentiments in the paper here referred to, and which, as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert (6).

(6) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121.

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London.

AFTER the miseries of a civil war, and the many and fruitless attempts towards settlement upon several interests, and imaginary forms of government. It having pleased Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give these nations a probable hope of being restored to those laws and privileges, which have been transmitted to them from their ancestors; we do declare, that we think ourselves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this gracious work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who as he had the courage to assert the publick liberty, and the prudence to carry it on against so many difficulties, has also had the happiness to lead us thus far through the wilderness of confusion, without passing the red sea of blood; and because the enemies of the publick peace have endeavoured to represent those of the King's party, as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the common good to their own private passions: we do sincerely profess, that we do reflect upon our past sufferings from the hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations, to have been any way instrumental in them. And if the indiscretion of any spirited persons, transports them to expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them; and desire that the imputation may extend no farther than the folly of the offenders. And we farther declare, that we intend by our quiet and peaceable behaviour, to testify our submission to the present power, as it now resides in the council of state, in expectation of the future Parliament, upon whose wisdom and determinations, we trust God will give such a blessing, as may produce a perfect settlement both in Church and State.

And as his Excellency hath not chosen the fandy foundations of self-government, but the firm rock of national interest, whereon to frame a settlement: it is our hope and prayer, that when the building comes to be raised, it may not, like Rome, have the beginning

in the blood of brethren; nor like Babel to be interrupted by the confusion of tongues; but that we may all speak in one language, and be of one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animosities may be thrown in and buried like rubbish under the foundation.

This declaration was subscribed by the Marquis of Dorchester, and about seventy more of the nobility and gentry, that had been in the King's service; and therefore it is a very clear testimony in favour of Sir Thomas Armstrong, who subscribed among the rest, that he was at this time considered as a very hearty friend to the constitution, and as a very loyal servant to the King his master.

[C] As one of his principal advisers.] The Duke of Monmouth, by the arts of the Earl of Shaftesbury and some other men of the same stamp, had been drawn not only to differ with the court, and to give his father, King Charles II, a great deal of uneasiness and disturbance, but had also had recourse to a abundance of popular artifices, in order to ingratiate himself with the people. At the time of the Oxford Parliament, there was an attempt made by the Earl of Shaftesbury, to have procured an alteration in the succession, in the Duke's favour. This, tho' a thing of great consequence, and in a great measure the basis of all his subsequent proceedings, is very little known, and therefore it will contribute not a little to the clearing up the Duke's, and Sir Thomas Armstrong's designs to set this matter in a full light. On March 24, 1680-1, the Earl of Shaftesbury demanded an audience of the King, then at Oxford, on pretence of a letter he had received, containing an expedient for settling the nation, and supplying the exclusion bill, to which his Majesty had shewn himself excessively averse (7). The Earl was accordingly introduced to his Majesty, and his expedient proposed, which was to settle the crown on the Duke of Monmouth. The King surprized, told the Earl he wondered, that after so many declarations to the contrary, he should press him upon that subject. That if either with conscience, or justice, or nature, he could do such a thing, he would have done it before. It being reasonable that, if he ever had a child of his own legitimate, he would much rather have him reign than his brother, or any of his brother's children. That his Majesty was none of those that grew more timorous with age; but that rather he grew more resolute, the nearer he was to his grave. At that word, the loyal Earl was mightily concerned, and cried out, that it chilled his blood to hear of such an expression; telling the King, how earnest the whole nation was for his preservation, that in him were comprized all their safeties, lives, liberties, and religion, and their all. Yes, answered his Majesty, and yet my Lord, I am the

(7) Extract from a pamphlet intitled, The Lord Shaftesbury's Expedient for settling the Nation, discoursed with his Majesty at Oxford, &c.

only

Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Howard, Lord Grey, and others, Sir Thomas Armstrong was very busy and assiduous, as appears by all the trials in reference to what was then called a plot, and was in reality a design against the government, which was in agitation for several months, but whether it was or was not to be attempted by force, is not extremely clear (k). The share which Sir Thomas Armstrong was supposed to have in it, was chiefly with respect to the guards, which as he had commanded, he was thought to be best acquainted with, and therefore, whenever the design of surprizing them came upon the carpet, he was principally consulted. It was said by the Attorney-General, at the trial of my Lord Ruffel, that Sir Thomas Armstrong was one of the Council of Six (l), but there was no proof of it. The matter of fact which bore hardest upon him, and which induced the government to pursue him with so much eagerness as they did, was the positive proof of his being present at the fatal meeting at Mr Sheppard's, in the latter end of October, 1682, at which meeting, a design of rising in Dorsetshire was talked of, in which Mr Trenchard had promised to assist, but then declined it, to which it seems Sir Thomas Armstrong was no stranger (m). He likewise was said to have seen a declaration, or representation of grievances, that was produced and read at this meeting, and those who discovered this plot affirmed, that he proposed the attacking the guards, and, in company with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, went to view them at the Savoy and the Meuse, and on their return reported, that the guards were very remiss in their places, and not like soldiers, and the thing was feasible if they had strength to do it (n). The Lord Ruffel himself afterwards owned, that there was some such discourse as this, but that it was a supposition only, a bare enquiry, whether the thing was possible, and not any formed or settled design [D]. But the Court had no sooner received informations of this nature against Sir Thomas, than they took all imaginable

(k) See Sprat's Hist. of the Rye-house plot, and compare it with Ld Ruffel's Trial in the third volume of State Trials.

(l) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 712, 713.

(m) See Mr Sheppard's evidence in the course of that Trial.

(n) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 714.

only arbitrary man in the kingdom. But assure yourselves, I intend to take a greater care of my own preservation, and that of my people, than any of you all, that pretend to so much concern for the security of my person: and yet as careful as I am of my own preservation, I would much sooner lose this life, of which you pretend to be such watchful preservers, than ever part with any of my prerogatives, or betray this place, the laws, or the religion, or alter the true succession of the crown; it being repugnant both to conscience and law. For that matter, replied the Earl, let us alone, we will make a law for it. But the King told him, My Lord, if this is your conscience, it is far from being mine, for this cannot be done without overthrowing all religion and law. And in fine, assure yourselves that, as I love my life so well as to take all the care in the world to keep it with honour, so I do not think it of so great value, after fifty, to be preserved with the forfeiture of my honour, conscience, and the laws of the land. But this flat declaration did not either satisfy the Duke or discourage the Earl who prompted him. On the contrary, they prosecuted their intrigues with greater eagerness and openness than ever. The Duke for that purpose, thought it necessary to make a tour through several parts of England, under colour of horse-races and other diversions, which alarmed the court exceedingly. An eminent historian prefaces his account of what happened in 1683, by saying (8), 'The Duke of Monmouth had been the last summer diverting himself in the country, with Sir Thomas Armstrong in his company: In his return toward London, he was taken into custody of a Serjeant at Arms at Stafford. The Duke received the message with great presence of mind, and went along with the Serjeant to London; and offered himself to Mr Secretary Jenkins to be examined, provided there were others of the council present; but the Secretary refusing to let any of the Lords attend, the Duke would not be questioned by him; so the Secretary ordered a second warrant to be drawn, for the Messenger's keeping him in longer custody, which he did from Saturday till Monday, and then the Duke was bailed before Judge Raymond: His bail were the Earl of Clare, the Lord Grey, the Lord Ruffel, William Levifon Gower, Esq; and John Offley, Esq; The first day of the term he made his appearance at the King's Bench Bar, according to his recognizance, and cleared his bail.' In all this troublesome affair, and in all the transactions the Duke of Monmouth was engaged in with his party, Sir Thomas Armstrong was constantly concerned, and carried most of his orders and messages.

[D] The thing was possible, and not any formed design.] It is necessary upon this occasion, to give a succinct account of this contrivance, against King Charles II's government, in which this gentleman was unluckily involved, the rather, because most of our

historians make themselves parties in their relations, and either wholly justify the court, or else declare the whole story of this design a forgery (9). Of these neither is to be done, because neither can be done with truth. But in regard we have not much room to spare, and as we shall be obliged to touch this subject again under various articles, we shall be very short here. The views of those who were involved in this unhappy plot, appear to have regarded three different objects; by blending and confounding these, the court lawyers endeavoured to represent all as equally guilty, of which, as they fell short in proof, it afforded room to suggest that none were guilty at all. In the first design, which was for a sort of general insurrection, in order to obtain a redress of grievances, all the Lords, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, were concerned. The second project, was the killing the King and Duke, in their passage from Newmarket London, from a malt-house that stood upon the road, and from it's being called the Rye-house, gave name to the plot. The third design was in consequence of this, for a fire happening at Newmarket, which obliged the King to leave that place suddenly and go to Cambridge, upon this, those desperate people who were in the Rye-house design, were for proceeding still, and for attacking the King and Duke in their passage to London. It is necessary to observe, that there is some confusion in the accounts we have, about the design of attacking the guards, for amongst the Lords and other persons of distinction, it had been talked of, but among the second sort of people who were engaged in the Rye-house scheme, it had been really agreed on. Bishop Burnet who certainly knew this matter as well as any man, and very probably had all he says about it, from the mouth of Lord Ruffel, gives the following account of the conversation at Sheppard's, which was fatal to that Lord, and to Sir Thomas Armstrong (10). 'The Duke of Monmouth, says he, gave an appointment to Lord Shaftesbury, or some of his friends, to meet him, and some others that he should bring along with him, at Sheppard's, a wine merchant in whom they had an entire confidence. The night before this appointment, Lord Ruffel came to town on account of his uncle's illness. The Duke of Monmouth went to him, and told him of the appointment, and desired he would go thither with him: he consented the rather, because he intended to taste some of that merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong. When they came, they found none there, but Rumfey and Ferguson, two of Lord Shaftesbury's tools that he employed: Upon which they seeing no better company, resolved immediately to go back. But Lord Ruffel called for a taste of the wines, and while they were bringing it him up, Rumfey and Armstrong fell into a discourse of surprizing the guards. Rumfey fancied it might be easily done: Armstrong, that had commanded

(9) See the Complete Hist. of England before cited.

The Examen of that History by Roger North, Esq; and Bishop Sprat's Hist. of the Rye-house plot.

(10) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 537, 538.

(8) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 409.

imaginable pains to get him into their hands, but he having timely notice of the discoveries made against him, made his escape, and concealed himself for some time in England, during which he was so uneasy, that Mr Hampden, who visited him, was of opinion, he would then have discovered any thing to save his life, but either Mr Hampden was mistaken, or Sir Thomas changed his sentiments afterwards, and that in a very great degree, since he shewed infinitely more courage when in custody, and even to his last breath, than any who were engaged with him in that weak and rash design (o). After some time spent, with as much secrecy as possible in England, he withdrew into Holland, and passed by the name of Mr Henry Lawrence, and there thought himself safe, but Mr Chudleigh, King Charles's Minister there, obtaining a warrant from the States, for apprehending such of the conspirators as had fled from England; he was seized at Leyden by the Schout of that place, an officer not unlike our Sheriff, who delivered him up to the King's Minister for a present of five thousand guilders, which is about five hundred pounds of our money (p), and he was then put on board the King's yacht called the Catharine, Captain Davies, Commander, in order to be sent to England. He must have been in great confusion, otherwise he might certainly have preserved his life; since, as he was a native of Holland, the States, if they had been informed of it in time, would undoubtedly have protected him (q); but he was hurried on board by the great industry of the Minister, who was very desirous of making his court at home, by giving so strong a proof of his zeal and diligence, as he knew the seizing of Sir Thomas Armstrong would be accounted. While this unfortunate gentleman was in Holland, an indictment was preferred against him in London, for high-treason, upon which he was outlawed, and upon his being brought home, it was resolved to proceed against him upon this outlawry, without allowing him the benefit of a trial (r). It was with this view, that immediately on his arrival in England, a warrant was granted for his commitment to Newgate, by Sidney Godolphin, Esq; Secretary of State (afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treasurer of England). This warrant was dated 10 June, 1684 (s), and upon the fourteenth of the same month, he was carried up to the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, where Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney-General, moved the court for an award of execution upon the outlawry. The Lord Chief Justice Jefferies on his motion ordered Sir Thomas Armstrong to be arraigned on the outlawry, and demanded of him what he had to say, Why execution should not be awarded: he pleaded the statute of 6 Ed. VI, by which it was provided, that if a person outlawed, who was beyond the seas, rendered himself to the Chief Justice of England within one year, he might traverse the indictment, or appeal, and have the benefit of a trial, which he claimed, by rendering himself there at the bar within the year. The Lord Chief Justice however, being of opinion that his case was not within the statute, because he did not yield himself voluntarily, but was brought to the bar in custody, was for awarding execution. Sir Thomas demanded council upon the point of law, which was refused him. He then observed, that the King had been pleased to offer Holloway the benefit of a trial, if he desired it, who was exactly in the same case with himself. To this the Lord Chief Justice answered, that what was done for Holloway, was purely through the grace and mercy of the King, who might extend the same favour to him if he thought fit, but that this was not the business of a court of law (t). The Attorney-General interposed, and said, that the prisoner deserved no indulgence or mercy from the King, because it had appeared by the evidence given on the late conspiracy, that after the fire at Newmarket had disappointed the Rye-house scheme of killing the King, this gentleman was one of the persons, that actually engaged to go, upon the King's hasty coming to town, and to destroy him by the way (u). The Lord Chief Justice interrupted the Attorney upon this, and told him, that they could not consider evidence but the outlawry, upon which he awarded execution on the Friday following. There were many circumstances of apparent hardship in Sir Thomas's case. At the time he was taken he was stripped of his money, so that when the Privy-Council offered to hear Lawyers on his behalf, he could not procure Council, having no money to fee them (w). He was in a manner hurried out of his life, for on the tenth of June, 1684, he was committed to Newgate; on the twelfth he was brought before the Council: this proceeding at the King's-Bench-Bar, was on the fourteenth, and the day fixed for his execution was the twentieth. He was loaded with irons in Newgate, where he was closely confined, and ill treated, the jaylor striking his daughter, Mrs Catharine Armstrong, while on her knees asking him blessing (x). His other daughter, Mrs Matthews, was committed by the Lord Chief Justice in court, for expressing some impatience at her father's usage, but she was afterwards discharged without paying fees (y). The worst of all was, the brutal manner in which the Chief Justice himself behaved, for, upon upon Sir Thomas's saying that he ought to have the benefit of the law, and that he demanded no more, Jefferies, with great great indecency, answered, *That you shall have, by the grace of God. See that execution be done on Friday next, according to law. You shall have the full benefit of the law* (z). Yet the point on which the prisoner depended, and

(o) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 577.

(p) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 577.

(q) Id. ubi supra, p. 577, 578.

(r) See the proceedings in the third volume of the State Trials, p. 983.

(s) Ibid.]

(t) State Trials, Vol. 111. p. 984.

(u) Ibid. p. 985.

(w) Ibid. p. 985.

(x) Ibid. p. 459.

(y) Ibid. p. 985.

(z) Ibid.

commanded them, shewed him his mistakes. This Ruffel spoke nothing upon the subject: but as soon as he had tasted his wines, they went away.
 but only about what might have been done; Lord

and which was clearly set forth, in a paper tendered to the Chief Justice and Attorney-General [E], was certainly in his favour, and the court of King's-bench have declared as much since, in cases of the like nature, where prisoners have been admitted to a trial (a) [F]. The chief reason why the King suffered this gentleman to be so hardly treated, was expressed by the Attorney-General, as has been before shewn; but there were besides some other reasons, with which we shall not leave the reader unacquainted [G]. On Friday the twentieth

(a) See the remarks in note [F].

[E] *Paper tendered to the Chief Justice, and Attorney-General.* This paper was presented by the Lady Armstrong, on the behalf of her husband, to the Lord Keeper North, the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries, and Sir Robert Sawyer; and ran in the following terms (11), viz. 'My Lord, I am informed, that, by the common law of England, any man that was out-lawed in felony or treason, might bring a Writ of Error, to reverse his outlawry; which was to be granted, *ex Debito Justitiæ*. Tho' it may be the manner of suing for such a Writ of Error to the King, might be by way of petition, (as in a petition, or *Remonstrance de Droit*, for lands, &c.) and so it was resolved, in Ninian Melvin's Case, Co. 4. Inf. 215.

'Next, by the common law, if any man were in England, at the time of the Exigent awarded, and went out of the realm after that, and before the outlawry pronounced, he could never assign that for error, that he was beyond-sea at the time of the pronouncing the outlawry; and the reason is, because he was here at the time of the awarding of the Exigent, and might reasonably have notice of it.

'On the other side, if any were out of England, during the whole process and pronouncing of the outlawry, it was never yet a doubt, but that was an error, and might be assigned for error, either by the party, or his heir, at the common law, and so continues to this day; and was not long since adjudged in O'Kerney's case, the Irishman, who came in about two years after the outlawry.

'Then comes the Statute of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. Cap. ii. and enlarges the law for the benefit of the outlawed person, and gives him liberty to assign for error, That he was beyond-sea, at the time of the outlawry pronounced; which he could not do by common law before the statute: and so continues.

'Then comes the proviso, and says, That he must come in within a year, and render himself to be entitled to the benefit of that Act; which was, to assign for error, that he was beyond-sea at the time of the outlawry pronounced.

'So that, my Lord, upon this short state of the law, and my husband's case, he being beyond-sea all the time of the process, and at the time of the outlawry pronounced; it is conceived, he is well entitled to assign this for error at the common law, without any aid of the statute, though the proviso in that statute should be ruled against him: which (with submission) is the opinion of many learned persons in the law, That he is within the intent and meaning of that proviso, for many reasons, too long to trouble your Lordship with now.

'Therefore, I do hope, that this case of my husband, being the first case that any man was executed upon an outlawry, (that did not desire it) (12), may have that weight with your Lordship, that it deserves; and do hope, that your Lordship will fo advise the King, in matter of law, (whose Council you are) that my husband may have a Writ of Error granted him, and Council assigned him to argue these points, as the law has allowed to criminals in capital cases, with whatsoever else shall appear upon the record of outlawry produced, which as yet my husband, or any for him, never saw!

[F] *Where prisoners have been admitted to trial.* The statute of which this gentleman claimed the benefit, was as clear and express as any thing could be, as may appear by the following clauses read at his trial (13). 'All process of outlawry hereafter, to be made and had within this Realm, against any offenders in treason, being resistant or inhabitant out of the limits of this realm, or in any the parts beyond the sea, at the time of the outlawry produced against them, shall be as good and effectual in the law to all intents and purposes; as

'if any such offenders had been resident and dwelling within this realm, at the time of such process awarded, and outlawry pronounced.

'Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the party so hereafter be outlawed, shall within one year next after the said outlawry pronounced, or judgment given upon the said outlawry, yield himself unto the Chief Justice of England, for the time being, and offer to traverse the indictment or appeal, whereupon the said outlawry shall be pronounced as is aforesaid: That then he shall be received to the said traverse, and being thereupon found not guilty, by the verdict of twelve men, he shall be clearly acquitted and discharged of the said outlawry, and of all penalties and forfeitures by reason of the same, in as large and ample manner and form, as though no such outlawry had been made? any thing herein contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.'

Yet it does not appear, that ever this point was fully and clearly settled till very lately, and that in the following case (14). King and Johnson, Mich. 2 Geo. II. B. R. the prisoner, was allowed to be within the benefit of the proviso; and though he had escaped out of prison, and was re-taken in England, was admitted to prove himself beyond-sea, at the time of the outlawry; and, upon proving that he was then at Middleburgh in Zealand, his outlawry was reversed, and he admitted to a trial and acquitted: and on this occasion Armstrong's case was declared a precedent not fit to be followed.

[G] *We shall not leave the reader unacquainted.* There are three causes assigned for the King's severity, towards the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armstrong. I. That he had been employed by Cromwell, to assassinate him while abroad, which it seems had come to Sir Thomas Armstrong's ear; but as we shall see in the next note, it is far from being certain, either that the King actually believed this, or that Sir Thomas thought he believed it. II. The reason assigned by the Attorney-General, which was, that he was deep in the design against his person; and of this, the Lord Howard gave the following account upon oath. 'Upon reflection, I am apt to think, that from this time (October 1683) and not before, the design of way-laying the King, in his return to London, was first meditated, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, from the consideration of the behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Lord Grey, who seemed to be very big of expectation, of some great thing to be attempted upon the day of the King's coming from Newmarket; upon which day Sir Thomas Armstrong was not to be found, till the King's coaches were come into town, and I do verily believe, he was to have headed the party.' Col. Rumsley, as soon as he heard of Armstrong's being taken, made oath in these words: 'Sir Thomas Armstrong did come to me the Sunday night after the fire at Newmarket, and told me that he just came from Ferguson; and notwithstanding the King and Duke were to return fo soon, yet Ferguson did not doubt by that time to have men ready to do the business, and desired me to go with him to Ferguson's lodgings in his coach, which I did. When I came there, Ferguson told me the same, but that they wanted money. Upon which Sir Thomas desired me to lend some, and he would see me repaid; and added, that if he had been in stock, he would have done it himself.' Bishop Sprat, who by order of the King wrote the History of this Conspiracy, having mentioned these facts, proceeds thus very probably by his Majesty's direction (15). 'After this, the King could not think himself in the least bound to go out of the way of the law, for shewing any distinguishing act of grace to Sir Thomas Armstrong, especially when it is manifest there was scarce a man living, who had more personal obligations to his Majesty, than he had, and

(11) State Trials, Vol. VIII, p. 454.

(14) State Trials, Vol. III, p. 934.

(12) This refers to the Case of Holloway concerned in the same Treason, who was offered a trial, refused it, and was executed on the Outlawry.

(13) 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. ii. § 3 and 4.

(15) Sprat's Hist. of the Rye house plot, p. 143, 144.

twentieth of June, about nine in the morning, the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex came to Newgate, and demanded their prisoner, who was immediately put into a sledge, and drawn to the place of execution, attended by a numerous guard. He employed the time he was drawing to Tyburn, in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within sight of the gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted-up hands and eyes, addressed himself to Heaven, till he came beneath the tree, where he remained about a quarter of an hour in the sledge; before he ascended the cart that stood ready for him, he desired the Sheriff to admit Dr Tenison to come to him, and having delivered a paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneeled down with the prisoner, and prayed with him about a quarter of an hour, during all which time, the prisoner preserved a becoming and heroic countenance, little daunted with the terror of that fate he was in view of; but rising from his devotions, he pulled off his cravat and hat, which he gave to his servant who attended him, and had followed him by the sledge side, when kneeling down himself, he prayed for a short time with fervency and devotion, begging pardon of his God for those manifold and crying sins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a resignation of himself to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whose judgment-seat he was forthwith to appear, desiring that the whole world would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in peace and charity. Having thus ended these devotions, he again stood up, and putting off his perriwig, he had a white cap delivered to him, which he put on; and being soon after tied up, the chief of his discourse was addressed to a gentleman who stood by him; and after a short space, holding up his hands, he again renewed his prayers; his visage little changing all the time, till the very moment the cart drew away; the executioner having pulled the cap over his eyes, he continued his prayers all the time, and even whilst he hung, as long as life was in him, and he had the command of his lips: after he had hung about half an hour, and the executioner had divested him of his apparel, he was cut down according to his sentence, his privy members burnt, his head cut off and shewed to the people as that of a traitor, his heart and bowels taken out, and committed to the flames, and his body quartered into four parts, which, with his head, were conveyed back to Newgate, to be disposed of according to his Majesty's pleasure; and were afterwards publicly exposed (*b*), his head being set upon Westminster-Hall, between those of Cromwell and Bradshaw, one of his quarters upon Temple-Bar, two others at Aldersgate and Aldgate, and the fourth was sent down to Stafford, for which town he had served in Parliament (*c*). The paper he delivered to the Sheriffs, contains in it several curious particulars worthy of notice, and as it has been very imperfectly printed elsewhere, we have preserved it in the notes (*d*) [*H*].

We

(*b*) Western Martyrology: or the Bloody Affairs, p. 71, 72, 73.

(*c*) Echard's History of England, p. 1043.

(*d*) It differs from that in State Trials, Vol. III. p. 396, and which is taken from the Western Martyrology, p. 73.

and yet no man had made more ungrateful returns for them than he had done. Nor could his Majesty forget how many other persons, and some very near his Majesty, Sir Thomas Armstrong had been the chief instrument of perverting, upon which account, his Majesty had reason to look on him as the author of many more treasons besides his own. This seems to be clear and satisfactory, and is most like to have been the true ground of the King's proceeding. III. But Bishop Burnet, gives quite another turn to this; he says (16), *The Court had a mind to proceed in a summary way with him, that he should, by the hurry of it, be driven to say any thing that could save him.* This is visibly that Prelate's own conjecture, and the reader, will not think it very probable; if he considers, that Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was the last person executed for this conspiracy, could therefore say very little that was not known before; and that he never appears to have had the least offer of mercy made him.

(16) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 572.

[*H*] We have preserved it in the notes]

A Copy of the Paper delivered by Sir Thomas Armstrong to the Sheriff (17).

(17) From a MS. belonging to the late Mr Grainger of the India House.

I THANK Almighty God, though I have had but a short time allowed me, I find myself prepared for death, and my thoughts set on another world; and I trust in God's mercy, I am well weaned from setting my heart on this: Yet I cannot but give so much of my little time to set down in writing, my answers to some calumnies raised since my close imprisonment, as well as what Mr Attorney accused me of at the bar. I was told a very great person said, I was a spy of Cromwell's. I was sent from England by the best and considerablest friends the King had then, with bills of exchange, and letters of very great importance, to his Majesty at Brussels; I appeal to his Majesty if I delivered them not safe, and his answer to them, when I returned; which I had not been above six days, but I was clapped up a close Prisoner in the Gatehouse, and in extreme danger of my life, for that journey. Before

this, I had been a year in Lambeth house a prisoner; and after a prisoner in the Tower, when the Usurper died, and near starving in every one of them: very ill treatment for a spy and a pensioner! My Lord of Oxford, and many others of quality, will, I think, testify my innocence in this point. I protest before God, I was never a spy or pensioner to Cromwell or any other man. On Saturday last, I was brought down to the King's-Bench-Bar, on an outlawry for high-treason: I was asked what I had to say for myself, that judgment of death should not pass? I answered, that I was beyond sea when the outlawry came out; I thought the law allowed a writ of error to reverse it: I prayed I might be allowed a trial for my life according to the laws of the land; I urged the statute of Edward VI, which was express for it; but it signified nothing: I was condemned and made a precedent, though Mr Holloway a little before had offered him. I cannot but think all the world will conclude my case very different: And why was it refused me? Mr Attorney accused me there, for being one of those that were to kill the King, as soon as he came back from Newmarket after the fire. I take God to witness, I never was in any design to take away the King's life: neither had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me: neither was I ever in any design to alter the government of England. What I am accused of, I know no otherwise than by reports and prints: which I take to be uncertain, so that it cannot be expected I should make particular answers to them. If I had been tried, I could have proved my Lord Howard's base reflections upon me, to be a notorious falsehood: for there are at least ten gentlemen, besides all the servants in the house, can prove I dined there that day.

I have lived and now die of the reformed religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the Church of England. I have found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through my Blessed Redeemer, in whom I only trust; and I do verily hope, I am going to partake of that fulness of joy, which I believe is in his presence; the hopes whereof do infinitely please me. I thank

God,

We are informed by Bishop Burnet, that he prepared another paper (e), but thought fit to lay it aside, for reasons with which that Prelate seems to have been well acquainted; and which are likewise of such a nature, as that they deserve to be considered [I]. The characters given of him are very different, and yet it is very hard to say, whether his friends or enemies have used him worst, which shews how dangerous a thing it is, to rely on such writers as are entirely governed by party, and are influenced in what they relate, not by facts but notions. It is however requisite that the readers should see these characters, that he may be able to judge for himself, as to the truth of this observation [K]. After the Revolution, all the proceedings on the Rye-house conspiracy were

(e) History of his own Times, Vols. I. p. 579.

‘ God, I have no repining at my heart for the condition my sins have most deservedly brought me to: I have deserved much worse at the hands of God: so that I cheerfully submit to this punishment, as being taken off, but a small time sooner. I do freely forgive all the world, even those concerned in taking away my life. As for the sentence of death passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one; being denied the law of the land as I think. To conclude, as I never had any design against the King’s life, or the life of any man; so I was never in any design to alter the government. I die in charity with all the world; and therefore, I heartily pray God to bless the Church of Christ every where, these poor nations, and the King’s Majesty; and I heartily commend my soul to God’s infinite mercy, thro’ my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.’

[I] *They deserve to be considered.* In the first place, it is very evident from the drift of Sir Thomas’s speech, which is very serious, solemn, and well suited to the occasion, that he does by no means come up to what Bishop Burnet asserts was his meaning. For after the story transcribed from him in a former note (18), as to what the King should say of his being employed by Cromwell to murder him, that relate proceeds thus, (19) Armstrong took this heavily, and in one paper which I saw written in his own hand, the resentments upon it were sharper than I thought became a dying penitent. So when that was represented to him he changed it: and in the paper he gave the Sheriffs he had softened it much. But yet he shewed the falsehood of that report. One cannot but stand amazed at this, when one considers the speech itself, in which, as the reader sees, there is not one word about his being charged with a design of killing the King when he went to him at Brussels, or any thing like it. All that it appears from his speech Sir Thomas Armstrong had heard, was his being charged with acting as a spy for Cromwell, which was (as he says) reported of him by a very great person, but plainly not the King, for it is to the King he appeals for his justification in this very point. As to another observation of the Bishop’s, that it was this passage in Armstrong’s speech, that hindered the court from ordering observations to be made on it, as had been made on other speeches; it is a very unnatural conjecture, since if the King had told such a story, he would certainly have justified, or else have directed Bishop Sprat to have mentioned it in that part of his history of the conspiracy, in which he particularly mentions the case of Armstrong. As to the real cause of the court’s publishing no reflections on this speech, I really conceive it to have been the modesty, plainness, and loyalty of the discourse, that hindered it’s being animadverted upon. Sir Thomas Armstrong disavows the knowledge of any design against the King’s life, but says nothing of the discourse about the guards. He thought, like Lord Russell, that attacking the guards, because not established by act of Parliament, was neither levying war, or compassing his death in the eye of the law. He likewise affirms, that he was in no conspiracy for subverting the government. One would suppose therefore, the Duke of Monmouth was in no such schemes either, and that this was what provoked the Earl of Shaftesbury to withdraw to Holland, as finding his friends differing from each other’s opinion, and pursuing various ends, which he knew must issue in disappointing them all. It should seem therefore on the whole, if we give entire credit to Sir Thomas’s speech (as indeed we ought) I say it should seem as if the Duke of Monmouth and his friends, had formed some such design as proved fatal to Robert, Earl of Essex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and this justifies the distinction we made before, of the stages and several schemes of those who were involved in this unlucky contrivance. But with respect to Sir Thomas’s complaint as to his hard treatment, take it in any light

and it must be allowed to be well founded: The offering Holloway his trial in the same condition, makes the case still harder, and if the Attorney-General’s proofs were so clear, that made it no less hard; as on the other hand, if Sir Thomas could have falsified Lord Howard’s evidence, that made it hardest of all. But what shews there was some particular rancour against Armstrong, was the indicting Mr Joseph Hayes (20) for remitting him one hundred and fifty pounds when in Holland though outlawed, and trying him for high-treason, in which, however the proof failed, Mr Hayes was acquitted.

[K] *As to the truth of this observation.* It was a point of great consequence to the government, to convince the nation of the truth of this conspiracy, and therefore the King not only published a very solemn declaration, in which he set forth most of the particulars, and ordered it to be read in churches, that the people in all parts of his dominions might be thoroughly informed of what it was desired they should know, but afterwards desired Dr Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, to write the history of it, which he did with so much accuracy and elegance, that, except it be that of Cataline, there is not perhaps a more finished piece of this kind extant. His Lordship is particularly nice in his characters, and that which he has given to Sir Thomas Armstrong is conceived in the following words. ‘ Sir Thomas Armstrong a debauched atheistical bravo, one of those, who, with an hypocrisy peculiar to this age, would have passed for the most forward reformers in Church and State, whilst they themselves, both in their practice and opinions, were the greatest corrupters of virtue and all good manners (21).’ Throughout the whole of that history, his Lordship represents him as the most steady, and the most daring of all who were concerned in this design; and at the very last, when all their schemes were broken, insisting, that if but a thousand men could be got together, with the Duke of Monmouth at their head, there might still be something done, adding, that at the worst it was better to die like men, than to be hanged like dogs (22). —

There is plainly in this character, a mixture of great as well as bad qualities, and if we consider the view with which the Bishop wrote, and his being immediately under the influence of the King, for his history was finished in the reign of Charles II, tho’ published in that of King James; I say, if we consider this, we cannot but allow, that whoever reads this character, will have no mean or despicable opinion of the gentleman on whom it is bestowed. But let us now see what Bishop Burnet says of him, who professed a perfect acquaintance with all who were concerned in this affair, which he treats more at large, and with apparently greater labour than any other transaction mentioned in his first volume. ‘ Sir Thomas Armstrong, says he, was trusted in every thing by the Duke of Monmouth, and he having led a very vicious life, the court hoped, that he not being able to bear the thoughts of dying, would have discovered every thing. He shewed such a dejection of mind while he was concealing himself, before he escaped out of England, that Hampden, who saw him at that time, told me, he believed he would certainly do any thing that would save his life. Yet all were disappointed in him, for when he was examined before the council, he said he knew of no plot but the Popish plot, he desired he might have a fair trial for his life, which was all he asked (23). — His carriage during his imprisonment and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined, he turned himself wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another state, and was praying continually. He rejoiced that he was brought to die in such a manner, he said it was scarce possible for him to have been awakened into a due sense of his sins, by any other method. His pride, and his resentments, were then

(20) State Trials, Vol. III. p. 1067.

(21) Hist of the Rye-house plot, p. 22.

(22) Ibid. p. 573. 68.

(23) Burnet’s History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 577, 578.

were taken up with great warmth, and an enquiry was set on foot, to discover who were the promoters of the deaths of Lord Ruffel, Colonel Sidney, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, which, without regard to the form of law that attended them, were in those days stiled murders. Dame Catharine Armstrong, who was the Earl of Clarendon's niece (f), shewed a great deal of zeal in prosecuting such as had been concerned in bringing her husband to an ignominious end, and for that purpose, presented on the twelfth of November, 1689, a petition to the House of Commons, in the name of herself and her daughters; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine the matter, and to make their report to the House (g). They came also the same day to a resolution, that it should be an instruction to the same Committee, that they should enquire, who were the Judges that gave the sentence against Sir Thomas Armstrong, who were the prosecutors of him, and who had his estate, and how the petitioners may have reparation; and also to examine, what proceedings were in order to a Writ of Error by him desired, and how it came to be denied, and by whom. This affair being taken up with so much heat, and the committee being particularly directed to make their report with all convenient speed, one might naturally expect this inquiry would have been attended with consequences of an extraordinary nature. The report indeed, which was made on the nineteenth of November, promised as much. It was made by Mr Christy, who informed the House, that upon a full enquiry, the Committee had come to the resolutions mentioned in the notes [L]. There was about the same time an inquiry set on foot in the House of Lords, to inspect who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders of Lord Ruffel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, and others, before whom several persons were examined, and amongst them Dame Catharine Armstrong, widow of Sir Thomas, Mrs Jane Matthews, and Mrs Catharine Armstrong, his daughter, but they proved no more, than the refusing the writ of error, and the bad usage Sir Thomas had met with, so that it was not looked upon as sufficient evidence to ground any parliamentary proceeding upon, in regard to Sir Thomas, though the other attainders were reversed (b). On the twentieth of January, 1689, Mr Christy reported from the Committee to whom the bill for reversing the attainder of Sir Thomas Armstrong was committed, that they had made some amendments to the bill, had discovered who were his prosecutors, and what losses were sustained by his family, upon which Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Francis Wythins, the executors of the late Lord Jefferies, the executors of the late Mr Justice Walcot, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were ordered to attend the House, and Mrs Matthews being called in and examined, charged Sir Robert Sawyer, who at the time of the prosecution was Attorney-General, and then a member of the House, with being one of the prosecutors of her father, upon which, after she was withdrawn, he was heard in his place, as to what he was able to offer in his own defence, and then withdrew (i). The House upon a debate resolved, that his name should be added to the rest of the prosecutors of Sir Thomas Armstrong, and at the same time expelled him the House. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, Sir Francis Wythins, Sir Richard Holloway, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were examined, and the executors of the late Lord Jefferies were likewise called in, and asked what they had to say, Why reparation should not be made out of the estate of the late Lord Jefferies to the family of Sir Thomas Armstrong, for the losses they had sustained by his attainder. No persons appearing as executors to the late Mr Justice Walcot, the House was acquainted that he died intestate, and that he had not left an estate sufficient to pay his debts (k). After all these persons had been heard and withdrawn, Mr Blaney was called in, who gave the House a large account of the proceedings in the court of King's-Bench, on the awarding execution against Sir Thomas Armstrong upon the outlawry. The House then proceeded upon the amendments made by the Committee to the bill, and after inserting the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, Knt. as a prosecutor, they resolved, that the sum of five thousand pounds should be paid by the Judges and prosecutors of Sir Thomas Armstrong to his widow and children, as a recompence for the losses they had sustained, by reason of his attainder, and upon a debate, the bill was recommitted to the same Committee (l). But notwithstanding all these vigorous resolutions, there followed nothing from them, for the session of Parliament soon after ended (m); and so the bill was lost; and a new Parliament being called in the succeeding year, in which there was nothing done in matters of this nature; so that the attainder remained in full force, and the family of Sir

(f) O'Amixion's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 687.

(g) See the Journals of the House of Commons, Die Martis 12^o, Novembris, 1689. and of the subsequent dates.

(b) State Trials, Vol. VIII. p. 462, 463, 517, 518, 519.

(i) See the Journals of the House of Commons, Jan. 20, 1689. The Division on his Expulsion was, Yea's 131. No's 74.

(k) See the Journals of the House of Commons, Jan. 25, 1689.

(l) Ibid. ubi supra.

(m) Chandler's Debates, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(24) Ibid. p. 675.

' so entirely conquered, that one who saw him, said to me, that it was not easy to think it was the same person whom he had known formerly; he received the sacrament, and died in so good a temper, and with so much quiet in his mind, and in so serene a deportment, that we have scarce known in our time a more eminent instance of the grace and mercy of God (24).' It is I think hard to decide, which of the two Prelates used him worst.

[L] The resolutions mentioned in the note. The resolutions to which the Committee came, were these that follow, viz.

' I. That Sir Thomas Armstrong's plea ought to have been admitted according to the statute of

Edw. VI. and that the execution of him, upon the attainder by outlawry, was illegal and a murder, by pretence of justice.

' II. That the executors and heirs of Sir Thomas Armstrong, ought to have a reparation of their losses, out of the estates of those that were his judges and prosecutors.

' III. That a Writ of Error for the reversal of a judgment in felony or treason, is the right of the subject, and ought to be granted at his desire, and is not an Act of Grace or Favour, which may be denied or granted at pleasure.'

To all which Resolves the House agreed.

Sir Thomas Armstrong under all the difficulties brought upon them by it, till in the sixth of William and Mary, it was reversed upon a writ of error (*n*) in the King's-Bench, in which the error assigned was, that the record of the outlawry did not mention where the court of Hustings was held, in which he was outlawed, the words *pro civitate London*; being omitted. Of this error Sir Thomas himself might have taken advantage, if he could have obtained such a writ, but the doctrine in law then was, that a writ of error was a writ of grace, and therefore the Lord Keeper North said, it was not in him, but in the King to grant it; so that the subject gained this advantage, by the parliamentary enquiry beforementioned, *viz.* that the House of Commons by their resolution established the contrary doctrine, That a writ of error is a writ of right, and not of favour, which may be granted or denied at pleasure (*o*).

(n) 4 Modern Rep. p. 366.

(o) See the third Resolution in note [L].

The House being at the same time acquainted, that the Committee had received an account, that at the time of his decease, Sir Thomas Armstrong stood possessed of 300*l.* per annum real estate, bonds and securities for 4800*l.* and an annuity of 500*l.*

Ordered,

‘ That leave be given to bring in a bill to re-

verse the attainder of the said Sir Thomas Armstrong, and to make reparation to his widow and children, out of the estates of the judges and profecutors, and that the Bill do pass without fees (25).’

(25) See the Journals of the House of Commons, *Die Martis* 16^o Novem. 1689.

ARNULPH or EARNULPH or ERNULPH, Bishop of Rochester in the reign of King Henry I, was a Frenchman by birth, and for some time a Monk of St Lucian de Beauvais. Observing some irregularities among his brethren, which he could neither remedy nor endure, he resolved to quit the monastery; but first he took the advice of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he had studied in the abbey of Bec (*a*). That Prelate, who was well acquainted with his merit, invited him over into England, and placed him in the monastery of Canterbury, where he lived till Lanfranc's death. Afterwards, when Anselm came into that See, Arnulph was made Prior of the monastery of Canterbury [A], and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough (*b*) [B]. In 1115, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in the room of Radulphus or Ralph, removed to the See of Canterbury [C]. He sat nine years and a few days, and died in March 1124, aged eighty-four (*c*). This Prelate wrote a book concerning the foundation, endowment, charters, laws, and other things relating to the church of Rochester [D]. There are extant besides, Tomellus, five Epistola Ernulfi

(a) Archbishop Lanfranc had been Prior of that monastery. See his article.

(b) W. Malmfb. de gest. pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(c) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Rossens. an. 1115.

[A] He was made Prior of the monastery of Canterbury.] Part of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc, being fallen to the ground, Arnulph re-built it, and beautified it with fine glass windows, a pavement of marble, and a painted roof; insomuch, that it exceeded all the churches in England in magnificence. This we learn from William of Malmfbury. *Cantiae dejectam priorem partem ecclesie, quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo splendide erexit, ut nihil tale possit in Anglia videri, in vitrearum fenestrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore, in diversicoloribus picturis, quæ mirantes oculos trahunt ad fastigia lacunarum* (1).

[B] — and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough.] Malmfbury tells us, he increased the number of monks in that monastery, and regulated their behaviour: he likewise cleared away the rubbish of the old convent, which was fallen into ruins, and had almost built a new one; but a sudden fire destroyed all he had done, and, before he could repair the damage, he was removed to the See of Rochester. *In Burgo Monachorum numerus auctus, religio bonis moribus confuta; Ædium veterum ruderibus deturbatis, nova fundamenta jacta, culmina erecta. Eaque omnia cum vorax ignis absumpsisset, meditantî reficere, bonos pontificalis impetratus* (2).

[C] He was consecrated Bishop of Rochester.] On the day of his election, he related to the monks of Rochester a vision he had had a few days before, acquainting him with his approaching election into that See. The story is told us by a contemporary writer as follows. ‘ Qui omni favore a suis acceptus, ipso die electionis sue dixit nobis: “ Sciebam, inquit, Fratres, ante paucos dies me licet indignum ad celsitudinem hujus ordinis in proximo promovendum. Apparuit enim mihi dormienti, cum adhuc essem in loco meo, pater Gundulfus annulum magni ponderis mihi offerens. Cumque ad gravitatem ipsius imbecillitas mea non sufficere videretur, me ad onus ejus stupidum et accipere renuente, in crepavit, et post increpationem annulum me recipere coegit; deinde non apparuit.” Hæc ille, Nos autem qui præsentibus ab eo hæc audivimus, intelleximus postea non fantasticam esse illusionem, quam vir sanctus in somnis viderat; quia postmodum factus Rossensis Episcopus, eundem annulum. re-

cepit, quem Gundulfus Episcopus vivens Radulfo ad huc abbati sed futuro Episcopo dederat (3). — Arnulph being received by the Monks with all marks of respect, said to us on the very day of his election: “ Brethren, I had assurance given me a few days ago, that, unworthy as I am, I should soon be raised to the dignity now conferred upon me. For as I slept one night, Gundulfus (*) appeared to me, offering me a ring of great weight; which being too heavy for me, I refused to accept it: but he, chiding me for my stupidity in rejecting his present, obliged me to receive it, and then disappeared.” This he related to us; and we were convinced it was no fantastical illusion, which the holy man had seen in his sleep, since, being made Bishop of Rochester, he received that very ring, which Bishop Gundulfus, when alive, had given to Ralph, then an Abbot, but afterwards Bishop.’ Malmfbury tells us, that, tho' the long life of Gundulfus, and the care he took of his church, had scarce left any thing for his successors to do, yet that Arnulph made daily improvements in his Sec. *Ibi quavis omnia jam facta viderentur (prævenerat enim vivacitas Gundulphi omnium successorum diligentiam) tamen semper aliquid comminisci, ubi virtus enitescere posset; firmare antiqua, moliri recentia* (4).

(3) Monachus Rossens. de Vita Gundulfi Episc. Rossens. Pars iii. in fine.

(*) Bishop of Rochester, who died in 1107, and was succeeded by Ralph, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Arnulph's immediate predecessor.

(4) Malmfb. ubi supra.

[D] He wrote an history of the church of Rochester.] It is generally known by the name of *Textus Rossensis*, and is preserved in the archives of the cathedral church of Rochester. Mr Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra* (5), has published an extract of this history, under the title of *Ernulphi Episcopi Rossensis Collectanea de Rebus Ecclesie Rossensis, a Prima Sedis Fundatione ad sua Tempora. Ex Textu Rossensi, quem composuit Ernulphus. i. e.* ‘ Collections of Ernulfus Bishop of Rochester, concerning the church of Rochester, from the first foundation of the See to his own time. Taken out of the *Textus Rossensis*, composed by Ernulfus.’ This extract consists of the following particulars, I. *Nomina Episcoporum Rossensium, i. e.* ‘ The names of the Bishops of Rochester,’ from Justus who died in 1624; to Ernulfus inclusive. II. *Donationes Ecclesie Rossens. factæ. i. e.* ‘ Benefactions to the church of Rochester.’ III. *De Placito apud Pinandem inter Lanfrancum Archiepiscopum et Odonem Baiocensem Episcopum. i. e.* ‘ Of the agree-

(5) Pars prima, p. 329.

(1) Malmfb. de Pontif. Angl. l. ii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(2) Malmfb. ubi supra.

Ernulfi ex Monacho Benedictino Episcopi Roffensis de Incestis Conjugiis [E]. i. e. *A Little Treatise, or an Epistle of Ernulf a Benedictin Monk, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, concerning incestuous Marriages*: also, *Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens ad varias Lamberti abbatis Bertiniani quaestiones, praecipue de Corpore et Sanguine Domini* [F]. i. e. *An Epistle containing some answers to divers questions of Lambert, Abbot of Munster, especially concerning the body and blood of our Lord* (d). Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, and with Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter [G].

(d) Darhrius, p. 420, 421.
H. p. 420, 421.

ment made between Archbishop Lanfranc, and Odo ' Bishop of Bayeux.' IV. *Quomodo Lanfrancus terras extractas Ecclesiae S. Andreae, et alias acquisitas Monachis contradidit, et de Gundulfo Episcopo.* i. e. ' How Lanfranc restored to the Monks the lands of the church of St Andrew, and others, which had been alienated from them.' V. *Quomodo Willelmus Rex filius Willelmi Regis rogatu Lanfranci Archiepiscopi concessit et confirmavit Roffensi Ecclesiae S. Andreae Apostoli ad vicium Monachorum Manerium nomine Helenham; quare Gundulfus Episcopus Castrum Roffense lapideum totum de suo proprio Regi construxit.* i. e. ' How King William the Son of King William did, at the request of Archbishop Lanfranc, grant unto the church of St Andrew the Apostle, at Rochester, the Manour called Hedenham, for the maintenance of the Monks; and why Bishop Gundulfus built for the King the stone castle of Rochester at his own expence.' VI. *Concessio Willelmi magni Regis.* i. e. ' A grant of the Great King William.' VII. *De Contentione inter Gundulfum et Pichot.* i. e. ' Of the dispute between Gundulfus and Pichot.' VIII. *Donationes.* i. e. ' Benefactions' to the church of Rochester. It must not be dissembled, that Oudin (6) is of opinion, our Arnulph had no hand in this collection.

(6) Comment. de Script. et Script. Eccl. T. II. col. 1066. edit. Lips. 1722.

[E] *Tomellus, sive Epistola, &c.*] This letter was written in answer to a question proposed to Arnulph by Walkelin, in a conversation which they had at Canterbury upon this subject; *Whether a woman, who had committed adultery with her husband's son by a former wife, ought to be separated from her husband.* Arnulph maintained the affirmative, and Walkelin the negative. In this letter Arnulph endeavours to shew, that all the passages of Scripture, in which divorce is prohibited, are to be understood of a voluntary separation between persons not guilty of adultery. And in confirmation of his own opinion, he alleges farther, that it was the practice of the ancient Church to prohibit the use of marriage for ever to adulterers. He asserts, that there is no injustice in separating a man from his wife for a crime, in which he himself is no way concerned (7).

(7) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccl. Centur. XII.

[F] *Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens, &c.*] This Letter is an answer to five questions proposed by Lambert. The first is, ' Why the Eucharist was then given in a manner different, and almost contrary to that which Christ practised; it being the custom at that time to administer the Host dipt in wine, whereas our Saviour gave the bread and wine separately?' Arnulph replies, that our Saviour prescribed to mankind, what was necessary for the obtaining salvation, without mentioning the particular manner and circumstances of his injunctions: and that this is the reason why several practices, which were in use in the Primitive Church, had been a long time discontinued. The second question is, ' Why a third part of the Host is put into the chalice?' He answers, that this custom was introduced, that the Bishop, or Priest, who celebrated, might communicate of that part, which he put into the chalice, and distribute the two others to the Deacon and Subdeacon, who were present. He adds a mystical reason for this practice; namely, that the body of Jesus Christ, which is offered upon the altar, is the

sacrament or figure of the mystical body of Christ, which is composed of three orders, Superiors, Virgins, and Married Persons; or because it represents the mystery of the Trinity; or the three estates of our Saviour, his mortality, his death, and his resurrection. The third question is, ' Why the blood of Christ is received separately from his body, and why it is administered without the body?' The answer is, that those who receive the Sacrament in both kinds separately, do it in imitation of our Saviour; and that tho' the body of Christ is received entire under each species, yet each species is received separately; because our Saviour has distinguished these two things, in order to represent to us, by the bread, his body such as it appeared, solid and entire; and, by the wine, his blood which was shed upon the cross. The fourth question is, ' Whether Jesus Christ is received, in the Eucharist, without a soul or animated?' Arnulph answers, that such kind of questions are usually proposed by persons, who affect to appear learned, and endeavour to lay snares for the faith of the simple and unlearned, who believe with humility all that the Holy Ghost has taught them: that it is folly to pretend to dive into the incomprehensible mysteries of our religion; and that it is certain, that the substance of bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ, tho' it appears to the sense to be only bread and wine, and has all the qualities of those substances. The fifth and last question is concerning the sense of those words of the Prophet Joel, ch. ii. ver. 14. *Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, &c.?* Arnulph answers, that the change of God's determination consists in the remission of sin, which he grants to those who repent; and that the meaning of the words, *leave a blessing behind him*, is, that he will bless those who follow him (8).

(8) Du Pin, ubi supra.

[G] *Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter.*] That author tells us, that Arnulphus went to Rome, where, inveighing strongly against the vices of the Bishops, particularly their lewdness, grandeur, and worldly-mindedness, he fell a sacrifice to the rage and resentment of the Roman Clergy, who caused him to be privately assassinated. *Quod cum fecisset tandem Romae, Christianae religionis propugnator egregius, in ejus necem Scribarum & Pharisaeorum Clerus conspirabat. Praetatorum enim vitia insectabatur acerbè: in eorum impudicitias atque libidines perfortiter invehebat: histronicas illorum pompas arguebat, & in corradendis divitiis immoderata improbabat studia. Illorum igitur insidiis tandem atrociter maclabatur* (9). But this is confounding him with Arnulphus the Presbyter, who, as Platina tells us, was destroyed by the treachery of the Roman Clergy, in the time of Pope Honorius II, for remonstrating with great severity against the corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor could this possibly be true of our Arnulph, in the time of that Pope: for this Bishop of Rochester died before Honorius II was raised to the Pontificate. As to the works ascribed by Bale to Arnulphus, such as *De Operibus sex dierum*, &c. they were written either by Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, or by Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval. T

(9) Baleus, de Script. Britan. Centur. II. c. 70.

ARNWAY (JOHN) was descended of a very good family in the county of Salop, from which he inherited a considerable estate (a). He was born in 1601, educated in Grammatical learning in his own country, and in 1618 became a Commoner of St Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, where he remained till he had taken his degrees in arts, and had also received holy orders (b). He then went down again into Shropshire, where, in process of time, he obtained the Rectories of Hodnet and Ightfield, which he enjoyed to the breaking out of the civil war (c). He was a man of much learning and very extensive charity, so that though his income was very considerable, yet he laid up very little. It was his custom to cloath annually twelve poor people according to their station, and every Sunday he entertained as many at his table, not only plentifully,

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Walker's Suff. Clergy, P. II. p. 40.

plentifully, but with intimacy and respect (*d*). His loyalty to his Prince, being as warm as his charity towards his neighbours, he raised and clothed eight troopers for his service, and besides preached warmly against rebellion (*e*). The Parliament having a garrison in the town of Wem, a detachment was sent from thence to plunder him, which they did most successfully leaving him nothing, and besides terrifying him with the cruellest insults (*f*). In 1640 he repaired to Oxford, to serve the King in person, having no longer any estate to serve him with. There he was created Doctor in Divinity, and had also the Archdeaconry of Coventry given him, on the promotion of Dr Brownrigg to the bishoprick of Exeter (*g*). His former misfortunes did not hinder Dr Arnway from being as active afterwards in the King's service, which subjected him to a new train of misfortunes, his estate being sequestred, and himself imprisoned (*h*). At length after the King's murder he obtained his liberty, and like many other loyalists was compelled by the laws then in being to quit his native country, and retire to Holland. There he continued some time at the Hague, where in 1650 he published two little pieces (*i*). The first entitled, *The Tablet: or, the Moderation of Charles I, the Martyr*. In which he wipes off all the aspersions that were thrown on that Prince's memory by Milton and his associates. The second is called *An Alarm to the Subjects of England*, in which he certainly did his utmost to picture the oppressions of the new government, in their true colours; and in this work he tells us some very remarkable things of himself [*A*]. His supplies from England failing, and his hopes in that country being also frustrated, he was compelled to accept an offer that was made him of going to Virginia, where, oppressed with grief and cares, he yielded to fate in 1653, leaving behind him the character of a pious, upright, and truly constant man (*k*).

(*d*) Letter of Mr Vaughan concerning the suffering Clergy, in the Western Counties.

(*e*) Walker, ubi supra.

(*f*) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 20.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals by Browne Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 410.

(*h*) Walker, ubi supra.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(*k*) Walker, ubi supra.

[*A*] He tells us some very remarkable things of himself.] Both these books were reprinted in England, in an octavo volume, *A. D.* 1661, by the care of William Rider, of Merton College, who married a relation of our author's. But notwithstanding this they are grown exceeding scarce, and therefore, I think it necessary to transcribe such passages as relate to his own affairs. In his preface to the reader, before his Alarm to the Subjects of England, he says, 'He quitted a large fortune, of which he did not repent in his extremest penury, to serve that good Prince King Charles I, and was as ready to hazard himself to enthroned his son.' In another place he writes thus (1), 'Tho' I was urged with drawn swords and bloody halberds, to serve the idol (meaning the Covenant) I yet infinitely more blest God for the deliverance of my soul from the idolatry thereof, than of my body from the peril of imprisonment, navigation, sickness, and the desert wherein I sojourn; the three first of which I escaped very narrowly. They offered me restitution of 400 *l. per annum*, sweetened with the commendation of my abilities, to bow to it, in

'swallowing the oath and covenant; but Christ's rejection of *hec omnia dabo*, teaching me not to sell myself to work wickedness, but to abhor presentations upon simoniacal contracts; I replied, I had rather cast my stuff and tackling all overboard, to save my passenger and pinnacle (soul and body), than sink my passenger and pinnacle to preserve my stuff and tackling.' And again (2), 'Not to speak of their other hard usage, granting me not a Bible of my library to comfort me, not a sheaf of my means to nourish me, not a fuit of my cloaths to cover me, nor use of common air to refresh me; but banishing me the country because I would not be perjured with them; they haled me out of prison in the dead of the night, to tax me of Papistry, the undeserved livery they gave to all true subjects and good Christians, who, had their minds been unsettled in religion, haply might have thought the furthest remove from them, the nearest approach to God; and so have been sooner turned by their oppression than by the arguments of Bellarmine.'

(2) *Id.* p. 117.

E

ARTHINGTON (HENRY), a gentleman of a good family in Yorkshire, who, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, engaged in some seditious practices against the government (*a*). He was a man of moderate sense and learning, zealously addicted to the Geneva discipline, and was engaged for several years, in distributing books in defence of a farther reformation, and containing severe reflections on the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges, and other Magistrates. In the prosecution of his designs, he became acquainted with Mr Edmund Coppinger, a younger brother of a good family, and sworn servant to Queen Elizabeth, who was as far gone as himself in Fanatical opinions, and who was continually representing to him the necessity of a thorough reformation in Church and State (*b*). This acquaintance of theirs lasted several years, till by frequent conversations, hearing warm sermons, and praying together, they had greatly heated their imaginations, in consequence of which, they began to believe themselves very extraordinary persons. About the latter end of the year 1590, Coppinger informed Mr Arthington, and Mr Lancaster, a School-master, that he had a desire to marry a certain widow, entreating them to fast and pray with him to obtain success in this design; which they did. A little after Coppinger came to them again, and told them, that God had shewed him a secret mystery, and that he knew a way to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cause all her Counsellors and Nobles to do the like immediately, otherwise he should prove them traitors that refused. Mr Arthington disliked this discourse, told him the thing was impossible, for that all motions of the heart depended on God alone. This however did not cure him, for in January 1590-91, he came again to Mr Lancaster's house in Shoe-lane, where Mr Arthington lodged, and there discoursed of his extraordinary calling, and of the means of trying whether such calls came from God or not. Arthington and Lancaster told him that they were but ordinary men, no fit counsellors for him on such occasions, and therefore desired he would apply himself to some godly ministers, and not trouble them with his secrets. But by degrees, Arthington was brought to have a better opinion of these manifestations, by means of a letter he received from one Mr Penry, a non-conformist

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Vol. III. p. 631, edit. Hearne. Stowe's Annals, p. 761. Collier's Eccl. History, Vol. II. p. 267.

(*b*) Conspiracy for pretended Discipline, p. 1, 2.

(1) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 88.

(c) *Ibid.*, p. 2—20. conformist minister, who was afterwards executed (c). He was at that time in Scotland, where seditious books were privately printed, and sent thence to be distributed in England, and in an epistle to Arthington, his correspondent, he signified that reformation must shortly be introduced in England. Arthington taking Penry for a prophet, believed this, and perceiving Coppinger's pretended revelation tended the same way, he suffered him to talk more freely of his calling, but declined being informed of the particular means which was to be used, for bringing this great design about. Some time in Easter term 1591, Coppinger became acquainted with Hacket, and soon after introduced Arthington also to his acquaintance. They dined together at one Lawfon's house near Paul's Gate, where Arthington was well pleased with the conversation; however he went down again into Yorkshire, and did not return to London till the beginning of Trinity term (d). Then Coppinger came to him to his lodgings, and magnified Hacket as the holiest man that had ever lived except Christ; which Arthington heard with dislike. At last however he was prevailed on to visit him, and to hear his long prayers, which appeared to him so divine, sweet, and heavenly, that he was thereby drawn to have great admiration for him, as he expressed himself. But that which struck him most, was Hacket's beseeching God to confound him, if he did not seek his honour and glory, in all things he did, and he seeing that notwithstanding this Hacket remained sound and well, he concluded he must be a most holy man. Coppinger farther informed Mr Arthington, that Hacket was grievously tormented by forcerers and devils, insomuch, that he endured as cruel tortures, as if he were in Hell, which being also affirmed by Hacket with prodigious oaths, Arthington at last believed. He also caught by infection, his master's method of cursing and making horrid imprecations against himself, believing that he felt within him motions of the spirit, which he conceived were to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of damnation (e). In consequence of these notions, he wrote a letter to the Queen, wherein he accused a great Counsellor of treason, offering to prove him a traitor in her presence, by a new sort of tryal, as appears by part of his own letter cited in the note [A]. He was now in a manner wholly at Hacket's devotion, who wrought upon his mind very cunningly, and drew him from one thing to another, without his knowing on what grounds he acted, or what his real intention was. On Sunday the eleventh of July, 1591, Arthington made a long prayer in the presence of Hacket, wherein he besought God to preserve the Queen; upon this Hacket turned away his face, and did not look upon him again, until he prayed for other things. After prayers were over, Hacket cast his arms about Arthington, told him that he loved the Queen, as well as he, or Coppinger, desiring him not to be offended at this behaviour, which he said God had commanded. Coppinger also told him, that the Queen might be prayed for, but not as a Sovereign, for that she was not to reign but this man Hacket, and yet she should live better than ever she did, though governed by another (f). On Thursday the fourteenth, Arthington penned his Prophecy of Judgments against England, the matter of which the reader will meet with in the notes [B]. Coppinger also drew up

(e) *Ibid.* See also *Camd. Annal.* p. 632.

(f) Conspiracy for Discipline, p. 36, 37.

[A] Cited in the note.] These new prophets, by virtue of that extraordinary power which they fancied to be committed to themselves, deprived all such of her Majesty's Counsellors as were disagreeable to them, that is to say, deprived them in the opinion of their hair-brained disciples, calling them thenceforward, the Late Lord Chancellor, the Late Lord Treasurer. This last was the famous William Lord Burleigh, particularly hated by these Enthusiasts, and indeed by all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. It was of this great Counsellor that Arthington complained to her by a letter, in which he charged him to be the most dangerous enemy that was discovered since her Highness's reign, adding, *If your Majesty cannot judge him to be so bad as I report him, yet give me leave in your sacred presence to fight the combat of prayer with him, wherein if it please him, I will first begin to pray against myself, that if he be not as deeply guilty as I have charged him, then that God's vengeance may presently consume me both soul and body into Hell for ever, which if it come to pass the victory shall be his, and he return an innocent: But if he see me leap up for joy, as one that hath discovered him to be a traitor, then if he dare fall down in like sort, and make the same prayer, That the like vengeance may fall upon himself, if he be deeply guilty as I have charged him, and if God's vengeance fall not upon him before he depart out of her presence, let me be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for labouring to impeach a Counsellor's credit; but if he dare not thus enter the lists with me before her Majesty, let him be holden guilty (1).*

It is entitled, A PROPHECY OF JUDGMENTS against England. In this prophecy he first setteth down the third commandment, inferring what plagues shall light on himself if he offend therein. Then cometh he to his nine several assertions, adding to every one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* That if he think not himself to be the vilest sinful wretch living: If he take not himself to be the most ignorant in God's Book, of any man that hath professed the gospel so long: If he acknowledge not himself most unfit, and unworthy of all men to serve the Lord Jesus: If nevertheless, he be not extraordinarily called to do the message of God more faithfully than any preacher in England hath hitherto done: If the scripture do not justify extraordinary callings before the end of the world: If he know not two persons within the city of London, that have greater extraordinary callings than himself, *viz.* Edmund Coppinger, and William Hacket: If the former be not a prophet raised up of the Lord, to bring a message of great mercy to the land, if all the people truly repent of their sins: If the latter be not the holiest man, and of the greatest power, to bring fearful judgments upon the whole earth that ever was born, Christ Jesus excepted: If the said Hacket (as the messenger of God's vengeance, where mercy is refused) do not bring such plagues upon this realm of England, the like whereof was never seen: In these, and in every of these several cases he prayeth, The Lord to confound him.

Whereupon he inferreth, that having thus denounced to many fearful woes against his own soul, as would sink it into the bottomless pit of Hell, if he were guilty in any one of them. Then thereupon, with cheerfulness, he cometh to declare his message to England, accusing it to be the most rebellious, though it have been most blessed, of all nations. Then

(1) Conspiracy for pretended Discipline, p. 35.

[B] The reader will meet with in the notes.] We have one extract of this prophecy drawn by order of the Privy Council, which contains all the matter of it, and only wants some of the blasphemous expressions.

up a life of Hacket, which Arthington wrote over again fair, fitting up for that purpose all night; and annexed it to his prophecy; the same day they penned a joint letter to Mr Thomas Lancaster, a school-master [C], signed by Coppinger as the Messenger of Peace, and by Arthington as the Prophet of God's Judgments, though it seems Arthington did not well know, why he stiled himself so. For on Friday the fifteenth of July, Coppinger having sent for Arthington out of his bed, declared to him, that he had had a revelation, which assured him that he was Prophet of Mercy, and Arthington Prophet of Judgment; that Hacket was King of Europe, and that they were to go before him, and separate the sheep from the goats. Arthington the more readily credited this, because he found a mighty burning in himself, which he interpreted a commencement of the angelick nature (g). Their first exploit was to go together to the house of a gentleman in the city, between six and seven in the morning, to appoint him chief governor under her Majesty, but he would have nothing to do with them, nor would he suffer them to pray. Then they went to Woodstreet-Compter to Mr Wigginton, a Minister, with whom they had a long conference; then they left him and went to Hacket's chamber, at the house of one Walker, at Broken Wharf. By this time

(g) Ibid. p. 35
—48.

he affirmeth the city of London, and the courts of justice at Westminster, and the counterfeit worship of God with crosses and surplices, to be worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, or the purple Whore of Rome, or else desireth to be confounded. Nay, he preferreth Rome before London; because at Rome they sin only of ignorance. Of her Majesty he saith, she is at least guilty of the common sins, but most abused (of any Prince that ever was) by those whom she hath most advanced.

Then he speaks to three great Counsellors (2) C. C. T. daring them to proteit for their innocencies against themselves, as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not swallowed up quick, he is contented to be hanged up in chains at Paul's Cross. Then he threatneth them, That they three shall be otherwise detected e'er long, and all those that are then partakers, when her Majesty shall reign and live to see better days, if God give her true repentance. Then he saith, he will leave all other of the clergy (as sufficiently detected already) save such as pretend to seek reformation, (who he saith) are as guilty (in two points) as any of the other. The first point, for not crying out continually against Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and others, as wicked usurpers in the house of God. The second, for not crying out against the magistrats of this land, because they keep out the Eldership out of the Church, and maintain in their room officers and offices of Antichrist: Hereupon gathering thus: How can God spare this land any longer, wherein both the magistrats and messengers of God have dealt so unfaithfully in the Lord's service? Adding, That the fearful judgments of God shall be sure to fall on the reprobate: being already prepared and put into the hands of the mighty messenger of God, William Hackett, to be poured out upon this great city of London, and upon all places where repentance followeth not this publication. Then he goeth about to prove all such preachers to be idolaters, or consenting to idolatry, which practise or consent, and suffer others to use surplices and crosses, because (he saith) they are marks of Antichrist, preferring herein the Papiests afore them as sinning herein only through ignorance, seeking also to aggravate their faults in this behalf, for that they are all hypocritical idolaters, in that (nevertheless) they profess reformation: Whereunto he addeth (he saith) a secret: That this their halting and hypocrisy hath so hardened God's heart against their requests, for bringing in the discipline, that for this unfaithful and unsingle walking in their function, he hath hitherto denied it. Neither shall any of them, or all of them together, have that honour given, to bring in reformation: For (saith he) I tell you truly, The Almighty God hath put his cup of vengeance into his trusty and faithful servant's hand William Hackett, to pour it down shortly, upon every wilful and obdinate sinner that doth not repent upon the notice hereof, or else the Lord confound me. Lastly, he giveth charge to have this prophecy, together with the incredible (but most certain) history of the holiest servant of God, William Hackett, that ever hath been, is, or shall be born, (Christ Jesus only excepted) with all speed possible, printed and published together, as in substance true (saith he) or else the Lord confound me: This wise prophecy is thus subscribed: By your most unworthy servant, but yet a faithful prophet of

(2) These initials signify, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (Hatton), and the Lord Treasurer (Cecil).

the Almighty Jesus, or else his wrath confound me't Henrie Arthington (3).

[C] Mr Thomas Lancaster, Schoolmaster.] This whole affair relating to Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, hath made so much noise abroad as well as at home, and is so imperfectly treated by most of the authors who have touched thereupon, for want of seeing the original and authentick account published by Queen Elizabeth's order, that it is become necessary to preserve with all imaginable care the original papers, which manifest the real spirit and true design of these dangerous impostors. For this cause we give our readers this Letter to Mr Lancaster, as the fullest testimony of the characters of these new prophets.

(4) Conspiracy for pretended Discipline, P. 32—41.

If this letter be not indited by the HOLY GHOST, who hath appeared (in a far greater measure) to sinful wretches, in the end of the world, even to us, whose names are here underwritten, and to a third person, in calling above all callings whatsoever (the Lord Jesus excepted), The Lord confound us two with vengeance from Heaven, and carry us (with all violence) into the bottomless pit.

If we have not taken the name of God in vain, it standeth you upon, to read this letter with fear and trembling, with joy and gladness; with fear, that the Lord shall wooe you to do him service; with joy, that he offereth you honour if you accept it. We two are messengers from Heaven, who have a good captain to guide us; who have received immediate callings from God, to call the whole world to repentance, and amendment of life: Otherwise they are to fear, that Christ Jesus his second coming in glory, will be to them as a thief in the night. If I Edmund Coppinger do not prefer you before any one man in the land whatsoever, for your wise, holy, loving, and righteous course, both in the general calling of a Christian, and in your particular calling, The Lord confound me body and soul. The reason why I chuse you first, is, because in your house, in your presence, and under God, (partly by your means) I had my first extraordinary calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glory be the Lord's. And of the same mind is my brother Arthington. In token of our extraordinary love to you, we deal as we neither have, or will do with any other; for we command in the name of the Lord, all creatures upon the earth, and they must obey. But with you we will dispense thus far, that it shall be your choice to come and take a new calling (for a time, wherein we would use you) or refuse it. So wishing to commend us and yourself to God, before you answer us, which we expect in word and not in writing, &c.

The Messenger of Mercy to the world if they accept me.

Edm. Coppinger.

I avouch whatsoever my brother hath written to be most true; and further I protest, That you are a more holy man than any preacher in London, or throughout the whole land, or else the Lord confound me. If it please you to come and see me joyful, you may hope this is true.

The Prophet of Judgment to the whole World, where mercy is rejected.

Hen. Arthington (4). (4) Ibid. p. 41,
[D] Threatning 42,

time it was eight o'clock, however Hacket was a-bed, which did not hinder Coppinger from kneeling down at the bed's feet, and making a long prayer. Arthington joined with them, Hacket came twice out of his bed in his shirt, and prayed likewise, which done, he went to bed again. Coppinger began to pray again, but Arthington interrupted him, and commanded him to arise and anoint the King with the Holy-Ghost. Coppinger presently rose, kissed the boards thrice where Hacket's feet had stood, and then reverently approaching him in bed, was going to lay his hand upon him, but Hacket said, *You shall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in Heaven by the Holy Ghost.* Then they both demanded what his pleasure was to have done, upon which he said, *Go your way and tell them in the city, that CHRIST JESUS is come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth, and if any man ask you where he is, tell him he lies at Walker's house, by Broken Wharf; and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me if they can, for as truly as CHRIST JESUS is in Heaven, so truly is he come to judge the world (b).* Coppinger upon this ran down stairs, and made proclamation before Arthington could get to him, afterwards they went together towards Cheapside, by Watling-street, and the Old Change, crying out, *Christ is come &c.* To this Arthington added, *Repent England, repent;* threatening also strange judgments against the city of London [D]. When they came near the cross, which then stood in Cheapside, the croud was so great they could not move along; so they got up into an empty cart, wherein they declared out of a paper the office and calling of Hacket, how he represented Christ by taking a part of his glorified body, by his principal spirit, and by the office of severing the good from the bad, with his fan in his hand, and of establishing the Gospel in Europe, that they were two prophets, one of Mercy, the other of Judgments, called to assist him in this great work, wishing confusion and damnation to themselves, if all they spake was not true, much more to this purpose they said, and at the same time spake with great heat and violence against two Lords of the Queen's Council, doing all they could to inflame the people, and raise a rebellion. This was between ten and eleven in the morning, and they hoped before noon to have gone through the whole city, but the great croud in the streets rendered it impossible. A gentleman who had some acquaintance with Coppinger, made him get out of the cart, and go into the Mermaid Tavern, in Cheapside, into which Arthington followed him. Then they went by back lanes to Coppinger's lodgings, Arthington proclaiming as he went along, *Repent England, &c.* they found the doors shut against them, whereupon Arthington went to Hacket's lodgings. He was abroad when Arthington came, but soon after returned, and as soon as Arthington saw him, he said, *there cometh the king of the whole earth,* for which Hacket reproved him, telling him he was too outrageous. A paper was taken out of Arthington's sleeve, which he said he was glad of, for it was an epistle to the Queen, which she would not receive, and therefore she was no longer Queen, but deprived of her dignity. About one o'clock they were apprehended and conducted to the Lord Mayor's, where several Privy Counsellors were met, to whom Arthington refused to shew the least respect, but when Hacket came into the room, he fell down on the ground, and grovelled at his feet. He was so far from perceiving his error, or believing that he was deceived, that he continued to assert the truth of Hacket's mission, and of the revelations made to Coppinger and himself. He was also thoroughly persuaded Hacket would shortly be released, and that he and his fellow-prophet, should go abroad with him, in order to take possession of his kingdoms, and to perform their offices. As often as any of his friends conferred with him, and sought to shew him the folly of his discourse, he would answer with a smile, *You think that we have incurred the danger of the laws herein, and that we therefore shall be put to death, but as sure as God is in Heaven, the sword shall not come near to hurt us, neither shall any man be able to touch the least hair of our heads (i).* He did not recede in the least from these strange notions, even after he had heard that Hacket was tried and condemned, but in the afternoon of Wednesday the twenty-eighth of July, when he was assured that Hacket was actually hanged, drawn, and quartered, he presently discerned his own delusion and great danger. Upon this he wrote in the most humble manner, to the Chancellor, and to the Treasurer, beseeching them to pardon the injuries he had done them, and afterwards he wrote to the body of the Council, giving the best account he was able of the whole business, beseeching them to intercede with her Majesty for him, that he might not be proceeded against as his companions had been. As for Coppinger, he a little after he was apprehended, ran absolutely distracted, and never recovered his senses, but obstinately refusing all nourishment, died of hunger the day after Hacket was executed. It was thought proper to detain Arthington some time in Wood-street Compter, in order to discover whether his repentance was sincere, as also whether there was no danger of his relapsing

[D] *Threatning also strange judgments against the city of London.* This judgment against London Arthington said, he gathered out of Hacket's history, and it was to happen thus. Men were to be seized with a sudden, furious, and bloody rage, and should there kill and butcher one another like swine all the day long, and that none should have either reason or

compassion enough to interpose and stop so horrid a massacre. It is to be observed, that Arthington's inspirations were no more than repetitions of what he had heard Hacket say, and that he stiled himself a prophet in consequence of his publishing his master's revelations (5).

(5) Ibid.

[E] *Some*

relapsing into his enthusiastick fit. But he remaining perfectly sober and sensible, the Queen was pleased to extend her mercy towards him, by granting him a pardon (k). He published a retractation under his hand, and, as an Ecclesiastical Historian (l) informs us, had the good luck to recover his reputation so far, as to be thought an honest and sincere, though a warm and weak man. What afterwards became of him, or when or where he died does no where appear. The conduct of these Enthusiasts, did not only kindle a great flame at that time, but have left such heat in the embers of their conspiracy, as at this day is scarce extinguished. The writers against the Dissenters never fail mentioning Hacket's insurrection, as a charge upon them, and the Apologists for the Puritans as constantly treat this as a gross calumny invented at first to countenance a most violent persecution, which was set on foot against them, and ever since kept up to hinder the abating of that prejudice, which hath been so carefully infused into the vulgar, against their principles and practices. This is a very dark and perplexed affair, there being what may well enough be stiled evidence on both sides. We pretend not therefore to decide upon this point; but to render this account of Hacket's conspiracy as compleat as we could, have added some particulars relating to this dispute in the notes [E], on which the reader may perhaps pass judgment; or if he thinks farther information necessary, will find it sufficiently indicated where that may be met with.

(k) Ibid. p. 64
—73.

(l) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. XVI. Book ix. p. 206.

[E] Some particulars relating to this dispute in the notes.] Dr William Nichols charges the Puritans roundly with abetting this design. Some of the Puritans of these times, says he, were so mad as to attempt a rebellion for the sake of the discipline, and by the solicitation of some enthusiastical men, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, were so mad as to attempt to take arms against the Queen on that behalf (6). Mr Peirce, who answered the Doctor's book, denieth this charge, and cites Fuller, the Church Historian, as an irrefragable witness in favour of the Puritans (7). That author says, *This business of Hacket happened unreasonably for that party, true it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemy as any. And such as loved Hacket, the Nonconformist, abhorred Hacket the heretick, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety.* Mr Neale in his late history of the Puritans; complains loudly of the injustice done them, in representing them as having any thing to do with these enthusiasts (8). The Rt. Rev. author who has answered his book, endeavours however to pin down the charge on Cartwright and Udall, two of the most famous Nonconformist ministers in those times (9): But none of these writers seem to have considered the only authentick account of this whole affair, the title of which runs thus, *Conspiracy for pretended Reformation, viz. Presbyterian Discipline. A treatise discovering the late delinquents and courses held for advancing thereof, by William Hacket, Yeoman; Edmund Coppinger,*

and Henry Arthington, Gent. out of others depositions, and their own letters, writings, and confessions upon examination: Together with some part of the life and conditions, and the two inditeiments, arraignment, and execution of the said Hackett: Also an answer to the calumniations of such as affirm they were madmen; and a resemblance of this action unto the like which happened heretofore in Germany, ultimo Septembris, 1591. This was written by Dr (afterwards Archbishop) Bancroft, by direction of the Council, and was published by authority. The very title shews that his intention was, to represent this conspiracy as if it had been concerted for the establishing Puritanism. In the course of his account he shews, that Arthington had a correspondence with Mr Penrie a zealous minister, who was not long after executed, and that Hacket was in partnership with one Wigginton, a minister, as a maltster. There are likewise in the same piece several letters to Puritan ministers, and a long examination of Wigginton's, wherein he acknowledges his being privy to Hacket's pretences both to prophecy and to power. This shews what the notions of men at the helm were concerning this extraordinary transaction, in which, if the Puritans had no concern, they were without all doubt very grievously injured, since in this account of the matter published, by the Queen's authority, they are insinuated to be the excitors and promoters of this disturbance.

E

ARTHUR (King of the Britons) of whom tho' the common opinion be, that nothing with certainty can be affirmed [A], from his birth to his death, yet is it but just, that what is related of him should be told, as also, what is said for and against it. Here therefore we shall report chiefly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the common story

[A] Nothing with certainty can be affirmed.] After allowing that nothing can be more dubious than the history of Arthur is generally esteemed, some readers may think his life might be as well omitted. Now as the same objection may be made to several other articles taken from our antient history; it will be proper to return an answer once for all. In the first place then, one can see no reason, why we should be at so much pains, to read and to understand the fabulous history of other nations, and yet absolutely reject our own. What pains have the learned taken with the fables both of Greeks and Latins; and with what solemnity of late years, especially, have we seen the oriental romances, which in their kind exceed all others, commented upon, and thereby rendered useful to the judicious reader. By what figure in rhetoric shall we distinguish between the wisdom shewn in these labours, and the folly of dwelling on the less credible history of this island? If under the former there may remain truths of great importance, why may not something of the same kind be buried under the latter? But farther still, what if the understanding these fables contribute not a little to the understanding true history. For how fabulous soever a story may be, yet if once it gain credit, and pass in the opinion of men for undoubted truth, it's circumstances will in time become so intermixed, even with the most authentick relations, that without a thorough understanding the one, there will be no

such thing as coming at the true sense of the other. On this account therefore the reading of fabulous history is necessary to avoid the believing fables; since if we should once grow so nice, as to think it not worth our while to peruse any thing branded with the name of fiction, it might become the means of our receiving, under the name of true history, the meanest and most absurd fictions for want of knowing their origin. Add to all this, that as in the case of all extremes, so here excessive incredulity becomes credulity itself. For if from an apprehension of being thought less critical in taste than others, we should reject the authority of all authors whose credit have been questioned, or resolve to give up all facts, with respect to which there have been any doubts, we evidently embrace the error we endeavour to shun, and by affecting criticism lose all the advantages deducible from that kind of knowledge; let us therefore be content, especially in such a work as this, to hear whatever our forefathers thought worth the leaving; to examine fairly both sides of the question, and then decide freely as the weight of evidence inclines us. It is indeed one great use of a dictionary like this, that it assembles in little room a multitude of passages relating to the same matter, and yet lying scattered in a variety of authors, whereby the reader in a few minutes becomes possessed of that knowledge, which cost the author much pains and time to acquire.

D d d

[B] What

(6) Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, p. 195.

(7) In his Ch. History, p. 205, 206.

(8) Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 537.

(9) A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England, against the injurious Reflections of Mr Neale, &c. by Dr Madox, now Bishop of Worcester, p. 354.

story of Arthur and his exploits, and in the notes, we shall shew what is supported, what refuted, by more credible historians [B]. As to his birth, he is said to have been

[B] *What supported, what refuted, by credible historians.* The history of Arthur in the text, is taken avowedly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his British history treats copiously of the actions of this Prince. As to the credit of this author, which hath suffered violent attacks, we must refer the reader to his article. Here we are to meddle only with the history of one King, tho' at the same time it must be acknowledged that this very history drew the most severe censures upon our author; who, as his antagonist tells us, was on this very account named *Jeffrey Ap Arthur*; because taking the fables of the ancient Britons concerning King Arthur out of the old romances, increasing them with his own additions, and giving them the varnish of the Latin tongue, he clothed them with the honourable name of History (1). A harsh judgment this, which however many ages after was supported by Polydore Vergil (2), and since his time by Mr Milton (3), and many others (4), who have carried it so far, as to doubt very much whether there really ever was such a person as Arthur or not. We will state briefly some of the principal arguments urged by them, and then we will shew what has been said in answer. I. If, say they, there had been such a King as Arthur, a Prince so warlike and so great a conqueror, how can we suppose that Gildas and Bede should take no notice of him, when they expressly name Ambrosius and other British Kings, whose actions it is confessed were inconsiderable in respect of those reported of Arthur. II. The history of Arthur is no way reconcilable to the authentick histories of those times. For whereas it is asserted therein, that the dominion of Arthur extended not only over all this island, but over a great part of the continent, it is manifest from these, that several Saxon kingdoms were actually set up in England (5), so that the smallest part of this story cannot be true. III. The great deeds of Arthur, as related by his historian, are incompatible with the histories of foreign nations; and since those histories are undoubtedly authentick, it follows that this is fabulous. IV. The inconsistency of this story with others, is not greater than it's inconsistency with itself. For whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth makes Arthur so great a conqueror, yet Karadoc, whom Geoffrey owns to be a good writer (6), says expressly, that Melvas, who was Prince of that country now called Somersetshire, kept his Queen from him a whole year in the town of Glaston, and was at last prevailed upon to restore her by the intreaty of Gildas, when Arthur had tried his power in vain (7). V. It is alledged that the whole of this tale rests on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in comparison of the times of which he writes is a modern, and flourished about the year 1150. From him all later writers have copied; and therefore nothing taken from them can strengthen his authority. On the other side it is urged, that the omitting the name of Arthur in Gildas's letter (8), is so far from being any proof of his non-existence, that it is really a circumstance very favourable to his character. For Gildas writing only of the causes why the Britons were delivered up to be slaughtered by their enemies the Saxons, characterizes only the bad Princes living at the time he wrote, which appears to have been a little after Arthur's death. The very first Prince whom he upbraids for his tyranny, is Constantine the successor of Arthur; and one of the facts for which he upbraids him, is for the murder of two young Princes of the royal family; these Princes Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, were the sons of Modred, the nephew of Arthur; and he relates their murder in the same manner as it is related by Gildas (9). But if there is no mention of Arthur in this author, he is however named by Nennius (10) a most ancient writer (11), so that this objection falls to the ground. It is also alledged, that tho' foreign historians do not speak of Arthur in the stile of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that is, as a mighty conqueror; yet nothing can be clearer than that they acknowledge there was such a Prince, and that he did also perform great things. Buchanan is very severe in his censure of Geoffrey, but the history himself gives us of Arthur, is such a one as does him very great honour. Let us hear one

sentence only of it. 'To speak briefly of his famous actions, says Buchanan, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the forces of the Saxons, and restored peace to Britain; afterwards going over to Brittany in France, he entrusted the kingdom to Modred, his nephew; but as to his exploits in Gaul, we have no certainty of them.' A little after he gives us his character. 'This, says he, is certain, Arthur was a great man and very valiant, one who expressed his sincere love to his country in freeing it from bondage, reforming corruptions in religion, and restoring the true worship of God' (12). Add to this, that in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh there is a very high hill, the top of which is stiled Arthur's seat, from a tradition that Arthur surveyed the country from hence (13). The tradition of a people in favour of themselves is a slight proof, but a tradition to their own dishonour, cannot well be accounted for, if it be not founded in truth. As to the Saxon kingdoms founded in or before his time, Arthur might suppose himself supreme Lord of the island from their submission; in after-times Alfred and Ethelstan, were held Monarchs of England, tho' the Danes had erected several principalities here, which is a parallel case. As to the foreign conquests of Arthur no body contends for them, they are fictitious circumstances added to his history, but surely they cannot take away what was real. The supposed inconsistency between the account given also by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that written by Karadoc, his contemporary, may prove, that there is some diversity in the records relating to the actions of this Prince, but then certainly it proves that such a Prince there was. For tho' one, or both of these authors should be mistaken, it cannot from thence be inferred that the history of Arthur is a fable; the utmost that can be deduced is, that some of the circumstances of his story are doubtful, which may be affirmed of the Princes of the last age. The resting of this story on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a point by no means to be admitted; Nennius, who flourished many ages before him, had recorded several particulars relating to Arthur (14). Henry of Huntingdon touches the principal points in his history (15); William of Malmesbury also, in his introduction to his history, had given a concise account of his reign (16); and as we shall see in the subsequent note set down in another work, some particulars relating to Arthur, which Geoffrey of Monmouth never knew, and this from unquestionable authority. King Edward I, in a letter written to Pope Boniface VIII, asserts positively, that Arthur, King of the Britons, a most renowned Prince, subdued Scotland when in rebellion against him, and almost destroyed the whole nation. He says farther, that the King of Scots attended King Arthur at the city of Legions, did homage for his kingdom, and carried King Arthur's sword before him (17). Leland alleges, that *Caire Arture* in Wales, is a plain proof there was such a person, as also Arthur's gate in Montgomery (18). After all, Geoffrey of Monmouth is not the author of his book, but the translator only; tho' some have affected to doubt whether there really was any such book written in the British tongue, yet in a manuscript history of British affairs, written a hundred years ago by Mr John Lewis, it is expressly said by the author, that he had the very original of the British history, written in the British tongue; as he concludes from this circumstance. That in his manuscript, Geoffrey's preface was wanting, and the preface to his book was the second chapter in Geoffrey's translation, being the description of Britain (19). Besides, Giraldus Cambrensis puts it out of dispute, that Geoffrey was under no necessity of forging. For he tells us expressly, that even in his time the Welsh bards, and songsters, could recite from their ancient and authentick books, the genealogy of their Princes, which they pushed not only as high as Arthur, but to Æneas (20). On the whole, if the history given us by Geoffrey contains many things which are not strictly true; he ought not to be reproached for them, because he pretends to no greater authority than he really had, viz. that of the old British book; which whether it's contents were true or false he was certainly commendable

(1) Gulielm. Neubrig. Proem. Hist.

(2) Hist. Anglic.

(3) See Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 32.

(4) Sir W. Temple, in his Introduction to the British Hist. &c.

(5) Spelman's Council. Tom. I. in Introd.

(6) Hist. Briton. lib. xii. c. 20.

(7) Apud Præfat. Galfrid. Monum. p. xix.

(8) Vid. Epistol. Gildæ ap. Theoph. Gale Scriptor. Veter. Tom. I. p. 18.

(9) Galfrid. Monumet. Hist. Briton. lib. xi. c. 4.

(10) Hist. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(11) A. D. 8; 3.

(12) Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. v.

(13) Tour thro' Great Britain, Vol. III. p. 240.

(14) Hist. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(15) Lib. ii. p. 313.

(16) W. Malm'sb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 9.

(17) Apud H. Knyghton. de Event. Anglæ, lib. iii. p. 2434.

(18) Assertio in-clytiff. Arthurii. Regis Britannicæ, Lond. 1544, 4to. p. 9, and 13.

(19) See Mr. Thompson's preface to Geoffrey of Monmouth's History in English. Lond. 1718, 8vo, p. 18.

(20) Gyrald. de-script. Camb. cap. iii. ap. Camd. Angl. Norman. &c.

been the son of Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons, by Igera, the wife of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall. This lady is held to have been in her time the greatest beauty in Britain, and we are told, that Uther Pendragon enjoyed her by the help of Merlin's skill in magick, who gave this amorous Prince the form of Gorlois, so that Igera taking him for her husband, received him readily to her bed, and had by him Arthur (a). But though he was begotten in adultery, he was born in wedlock; for soon after this transaction, Uther Pendragon killed Gorlois, and married his widow Igera, who was brought to bed of Arthur in 501 (b). This story is in itself very incredible, but if we admit the commentary of Buchanan, it becomes as clear, and as intelligible, as we could wish. He says, that the King lay with the Duke of Cornwall's wife in that Duke's life-time, and marrying her after his decease, the story of the magical interview, was invented to restore the splendor of the lady's honour, and make way for the King's owning Arthur for his son (c). Uther Pendragon had also by the same lady a daughter called Anne, and dying in the year 516, Arthur ascended the throne in his place, though he was then but fifteen, or, as Buchanan says, eighteen years old (d). At this time the Saxons committed horrid devastations in Britain, under the command of Colgrin their Duke, wherefore Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, solemnly crowned Arthur, at the request of the Nobles and the people, who immediately prepared to take the field against the Saxons. His generosity, personal bravery, and great zeal for the glory of the Britons, procured him quickly a competent army, with which he routed Colgrin and all his forces, consisting of Saxons, Scots, and Picts, on the banks of the river Douglas, but not without very considerable loss on his own side (e). Upon this, Colgrin retired with the remains of his army into York, where Arthur besieged him, and while he lay before the place, Cadur Duke of Cornwall, defeated Balduiph the brother of Colgrin, who with six thousand men came to his relief. The King however could not take York, for Cheldric, or Cerdic, King of the Saxons, landing in Albania, *i. e.* Scotland, with a prodigious number of men, from on board a fleet of six hundred sail, marched towards the Britons, whereupon, by the advice of his council, Arthur raised the siege of York, and marched to London. On his arrival in that city, he called a general assembly, wherein the state of affairs having been thoroughly debated, it was agreed to send Embassadors to Hoel King of Armorica, *i. e.* Brittany, who was Arthur's sister's son, to intreat his assistance, which being accordingly done, Hoel himself embarked with fifteen thousand men, and landing at Southampton, then called the Port of Hamo, quickly found his uncle, who received him with all the affection and respect imaginable (f). Immediately after this junction, Arthur and his kinsman marched to oblige the Saxons to raise the siege of Kaerlind coit, now called Lincoln. The Saxons upon their approach, instantly rose from before the place, that with the greater conveniency they might fight the Britons. The battle was bloody and obstinate, but at last the Saxons were overthrown with the loss of six thousand men, part killed, and part drowned in the rivers. The remains of the army retired to the woods of Caledon, which most probably are Celidon woods in Lincolnshire, where they made a brave stand, but being surrounded by the Britons, were at last obliged to surrender upon articles, *viz.* That they should leave behind them all their booty, retire peaceably to their ships, and transport themselves back again into Germany (g). For the performance of these articles they gave hostages, and were then suffered to retire in order to embark quietly. But in their voyage repenting of what they had done, they landed at Totness, burnt all the country as far as the Severn sea, slaughtered the peasants, ruined the villages, and at length laid siege to the city of Badon, *i. e.* Bath in Somersetshire. When this news was brought to King Arthur, who was on the point of marching against the Scots and Picts, he instantly ordered the Saxon hostages to be put to death, and then marched to the relief of the besieged city. When he drew near it, himself first made a speech to the army, and then the Archbishop Dubricius harangued them likewise, and gave them his blessing. On the day of battle, Arthur put on an excellent coat of mail, a golden helmet, with the figure of a dragon upon the top thereof, across his shoulder hung his shield, called Pridwen or Prywen, wherein was pictured the virgin Mary, bearing the child Jesus in her arms: he had likewise by his side his sword called Caliburn (h), and in his right-hand he bore his lance Rou. Thus equipped he attacked the Saxons, who were drawn up in the form of a wedge. The battle lasted from morning till evening, when the Saxons withdrew to the top of a high hill, and there encamped. The next day Arthur attacked them again, but they made a gallant defence, till the greatest part of the day was worn out, which so enraged Arthur, that he threw himself among the foremost ranks, and with great hazard to his person, performed there incredible feats of valour, for he slew with his own hand four hundred and seventy men. The Britons encouraged by the example of their Prince, forced the Saxon camp on all hands, and put many thousands

(a) Galfrid. Monumetens. Hist. Britonum, lib. viii. c. 19. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmon.

(b) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. viii. c. 20.

(c) Hist. Scot. lib. v.

(d) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 1. B. ch. Hist. Scot. ubi supra.

(e) Id. *ibid.*

(f) Id. lib. ix. c. 2.

(g) Id. lib. ix. c. 3.

(h) This sword Richard I. gave A. D. 1191, to Tancred King of Sicily. Bromton. in Chron. ap X Scriptor. p. 1195.

ly commendable for publishing; and as to the fictions contained in it, they are not at all more glaring than those in other histories of the same standing; and therefore, tho' they ought to have no credit themselves, yet they cannot impeach the credit of the true history mixed with them. To conclude, if Camden doubts the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth; he in other places

supports the history of Arthur (21). If Milton doubts whether there ever was such a Prince; Leland the great antiquary hath written a treatise expressly in support of his history; and the great Primate Usher (22) thought the objections brought against the story of his actions, but of very little weight.

(21) Britan. tit. Cornwall, Somersetshire.

(22) Britan. Eclesiast. Antiquit. p. 250.

- (j) Galfrid. Monument. lib. ix. c. 4. Camden. Britan. Tit. Somersetshire.
- (k) Id. lib. ix. c. 6.
- (l) Id. lib. ix. c. 4.
- (m) Godwin. de Præful. P. ii. p. 2. edit. 1616.
- (n) King Edward I, calls this King, Anselm. Epist. ad P. Bonifac. VIII, ap. H. Knyghton. de Evenr. Angliæ, p. 233.
- (o) Galfrid. Monument. lib. ix. c. 9.
- (p) Id. lib. ix. c. 10.
- (q) Id. lib. ix. c. 11.
- (r) Id. lib. ix. c. 12. Epist. Edward. I. ad Bonifac. VIII. P. M. Ypodigma Neustria, p. 492. Vita S. D. bricii, ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 657.
- thousands of them to the sword (i), amongst whom fell Colgrin and Balduiph. But as for Cedric he carried off the remains of his army, and endeavoured to recover his ships. After the important victory at Badon, Arthur received advice, that the Scots and Picts had besieged the city of Aclud, which is thought to be Dunbritton in Scotland, where he left his nephew Hoel sick, at the time he marched back against the Saxons. To his assistance therefore, the generous British Prince marched with all the alacrity imaginable, leaving Cadur Duke of Cornwall, to pursue the Saxons. On his approach, the Scots and Picts not only raised the siege, but fled precipitately to Lough Lomond, where they endeavoured to fortify themselves in the islands, but Arthur having quickly equipped a fleet, obliged them to surrender, and out of his great clemency pardoned them (k). In the mean time, Cadur Duke of Cornwall, taking a circuit round the Saxons, and thereby giving them time to collect themselves into a body, and to refresh after their fatigues, suddenly seized and carried away their ships, and then marched in quest of them, who perceiving their desperate condition, retired into the isle of Thanet, where Cadur blocked them up with their own ships, and after killing their commander Cedric in fight, forced them to surrender upon articles, and to give hostages once more for their departing out of the kingdom (l). This done, Cadur rejoined the King, who kept his Christmas at York, where he destroyed the temples of the Pagans, restored the Christian churches, and appointed Pyramus, his chaplain, Archbishop of this See (m). He also promoted Augufel to the sovereignty over the Scots (n), rewarded other persons of distinction, and took himself to wife Guanhumara, a lady descended from the Romans, of exquisite beauty, bred up in the family of Cadur Duke of Cornwall (o). The next summer he fitted out a fleet, and therewith invaded Ireland, of which Guillamurius was the chief King, who, to oppose him, drew together a numerous army, which Arthur defeated, and made him prisoner; upon this all the petty Princes in the island submitted. Then he sailed to Iceland, which he likewise subdued, and received the submissions of Doldavius King of Gothland, and Gunfavius King of the Orkneys, whom the very terror of his arms had reduced to obedience (p). After this he returned into Britain, and governed here twelve years in peace, with such magnificence and splendor, that all Europe was amazed thereat, and the greatest potentates stood in fear of him. At length, Sichelin King of the Norwegians dying, and leaving his kingdom to Lot, Arthur's brother-in-law, the people of Norway notwithstanding set up Riculf. On this pretence therefore, Arthur invaded that kingdom, defeated the Norwegians, killed Riculf, conquered Norway and Dacia, that is, Denmark, and having given the whole to Lot, proceeded with his victorious army to invade Gaul, then a province, as our historian tells us, of the Roman Empire. The greatest part of the country he quickly subdued, blocked up the Roman governor in Paris, and reduced him to such straits there, that he was on the very point of starving. In this distress he challenged Arthur to a single combat, which he was too gallant a man to refuse, whereupon a bloody duel ensued, in which at first Arthur had the worst, but at length he conquered and killed Follo, upon which, Paris surrendered. He spent however nine years in conquering the rest of France, after which he returned to that city, and kept a royal court, bestowing Neustria, afterwards called Normandy, upon his Butler, Bedver, and the rest of the provinces upon his domesticks (q). Upon the approach of the feast of Pentecost, Arthur determined to call a great assembly of the most noble of his subjects, which he appointed to be held at Caerleon in Montgomeryshire, because standing on the river Usk, near the Severn sea, it was both pleasant and commodious, for the coming and going of those who were invited. Accordingly there assembled Augufel, King of Scotland, the King of North-Wales, the King of South-Wales, Cadur, now called King of Cornwall, the Archbishops of London, York, and Caerleon, with a multitude of British Princes; there came likewise Guillamurius King of Ireland, Malvasius King of Iceland, Doldavius King of Gothland, Gunfavius King of the Orkneys, Lot King of Norway, Aschillius King of the Dacians, &c. At this time he was solemnly crowned, the Kings of Scotland, Cornwall, North and South-Wales, carrying four golden swords before him (r). Not long after this, the Romans demanded tribute, which Arthur, by the advice of his council, not only refused, but resolved to make war upon them. A mighty army he gathered, and marched to Southampton where he embarked, leaving the government of Britain to his nephew Modred, the son of Lot, by his sister Anne, beforementioned. But while he was a coasting about the island, he had news brought him, that a Spanish giant had forcibly taken away Helena, the daughter of his nephew Hoel, Duke of Brittany, whom he had carried to mount St Michael in Cornwall [C]; thither

[C] *Mount St Michael in Cornwall.*] William of Malmesbury, in his Antiquities of Glattenbury, gives us a very circumstantial account of King Arthur's carrying one *Ider*, a Prince of the blood royal, to try his valour at a certain mount, called *Brentenol*, where he behaved very gallantly; but falling, through weariness, at length into a swoon, Arthur left him there for dead, which proved the cause of his really breathing his last in that place through want of help; to expiate which involuntary offence, Arthur gave to the monastery of Glattenbury, lands sufficient for the maintenance of

twenty-four Monks to pray for the soul of *Ider*; and also bestowed on them gold and silver vessels, and other ecclesiastical ornaments (23). The same author in his catalogue of gifts made to the monastery hath these words. 'Imprimis Rex Arthurus tempore Britonum dedit Brentemaris, Poweldon, cum multis aliis terris in confinio sitis, pro anima *Ider*, ut supra tactum est, quas terras per Anglos, tunc Paganos, supervenientes ablatas; iterum post eorum conversionem ad fidem restituerunt cum pluribus aliis. i. e. In the first place,

(23) De Antiquitat. Eccles. Glattenbur. ap. Scriptor. Veter. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. I. p. 326.

thither the King pursuing him, slew him in single combat (s), after which he proceeded in the war he had first designed, and having therein triumphed over all the forces of the Roman empire, and slain with his own hand Lucius Tiberius, their General, as he was passing the Alps in order to go to Rome, he received advice, that Modred his nephew had revolted, and had married Guanhumara his Queen (t). This, says our historian, obliged him to desist from his enterprize against Leo, King of the Romans; wherefore, sending Hoel King of Britany with a great army to secure the peace of Gaul, he, with the rest of his forces, sailed for Britain. Modred, knowing the badness of his cause, endeavoured to fortify himself by many and great alliances; with this view he once more called in the Saxons, and also invited, by promising great sums of money, the Scots, Picts, and Irish, to fight under his banner. At length, having assembled eighty thousand men, he led them down into Kent, to oppose his uncle, who he knew intended to land there. He could not however prevent Arthur's coming on shore, but he presently engaged him, and after a bloody battle, in which many of the King's friends fell, was defeated and forced to fly to Winchester. As for the Queen, she retired to the city of Caerleon, and there became a Nun (u). King Arthur pursued his nephew to Winchester, and there a second time engaged him, beat him, and forced him to fly towards Cornwall. There, on the banks of the river Camel, Modred made a stand again with sixty thousand men, with whom Arthur fought a third battle, wherein after thousands had been slain, and amongst them, many of the most honourable persons on both sides, at length, Modred himself was killed, and his army totally routed. In this engagement however, our hero Arthur received several wounds, which forced him to retire into the island of Avalon, where, feeling himself extremely weak, he resigned the crown to Constantine, the son of Cadoc Duke of Cornwall, and a few days after died, A. D. 542. (w). It is necessary to add a little sober truth to this romantick story, and therefore let us conclude this article with observing, that Henry II, who was the first of the Plantagenet line, being in the last year of his reign at Pembroke, and hearing there a Welsh bard singing to his harp, the story of our Arthur, concluding with an account of his death and burial, in the churchyard of Glastenbury, between two pyramids [D]; the King instantly gave orders that the matter should be inquired into, and the body dug up. This was done as the King directed, and at the depth of seven feet, was found a vast stone, whereon was fastened a leaden cross, with this inscription on the inside: *Hic Jacet Sepultus Inclutus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia, i. e. Here lieth the famous King Arthurburied in the Isle of Avalon.* Digging still lower, they found the King's body in the trunk of a tree, his beautiful Queen lying by him, with long flowing hair, in colour bright as gold, which however sunk into dust when touched. The King's bones were very large sized, and in his skull there were ten wounds or more, all cicatrized, except that of which he died. This discovery was made in the year 1189, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, who saw these bones, and examined the whole matter carefully (x). There was also a table containing this story, set up in the monastery of Glastenbury, and the leaden cross with the inscription, remained there till the dissolution of the monastery, where it was seen by the great antiquary, Leland (y), but what is become thereof since, does not appear.

(s) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 3.

(t) Id. lib. x. c. 13; Buchan. Hist. Scoti lib. v.

(u) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 1.

(w) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xii. c. 2.

(x) Camden. Britan. tit. Somersetshire. Speed's Chron. p. 273.

(y) Assert. Artura

King Arthur in the time of the Britons gave Bren-temar, Poweldon, with many other lands in the neighbourhood for the soul of Ider, as is before-mentioned, which lands on the coming of the English, then Pagans, were taken away; and after their coming to the knowledge of the faith restored with many others (24). It is to be observed, that this fact does not rest at all on the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or of his original author, but was taken from the records of the Abbey of Glastenbury.

[D] *Between two pyramids.*] As to the discovery of King Arthur's body, we have not only the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, who was an eyewitness of it (25), but we have also a very long account in Bromton's Chronicle, who takes occasion from thence to speak of various circumstances relating to the history of King Arthur, from other authorities than that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. For instance, he tells us, that in certain Chronicles it was noted, that Arthur having again and again vanquished Cerdic the Saxon, and finding that he still brought new armies into the field, being quite tired out, he granted him Hampshire and Somersetshire, where he established the kingdom of the West Saxons. He says likewise, that in the English Chronicles, it was recorded, that when Modred rebelled against his uncle, he purchased the assistance of Cerdic by a new grant, and as it should seem, by releasing him from all homage. For thereupon Cerdic was crowned after the custom of the Pa-

gans at Winchester, and Modred at London. This writer reduces the victories gained by Arthur over the Saxons to nine, whereas all other authors reckon them twelve; he fixes however the last of them at Lansdown. He also fixes the Year in which King Arthur's body was found to the 13th of the reign of Henry II, and to the year of our Lord 1180 (26). He differs in this from another very authentic account of this fact, not in any circumstance, but in the date, which in the Annals of Margan is 1191. Therein it is said, that digging under the two pyramids to bury a Monk, there was first found the body of a woman, after that the body of a man, and a great way below both the stone and cross, bearing the inscription mentioned in the text, under which lay the body of King Arthur. The first is supposed to be the body of his Queen, and the second that of his nephew Modred (27). Not to tire the Reader, let us shut up this matter with one observation more; which is, that in the larger History of Winchester, we are told, that Arthur yielded in the second year of his reign to Cerdic the Saxon, Hampshire, Surrey, Wiltshire and Somersetshire, to which Modred when he rebelled, added Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and part of Cornwall. The author of this history, is so far from transcribing Geoffrey of Monmouth, that he inveighs bitterly against his work, and therefore must have taken these passages from what he thought better authority (28).

(26) Chron. Joh. Han. Brompt. ap. X. Scriptor. p. 1152.

(27) Annales de Margan. ap. Hist. Anglican. Script. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. II. p. 101.

(28) Thom. Rudborne Histor. Major. Winton. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vols. I. p. 187.

(24) Ibid. p. 326.

(25) Camden. Britan. tit. Somersetshire.

A R T H U R, (Duke of Britany) was the son of Geoffrey Plantaganet, fourth son of Henry II, King of England, and of Constantia sole daughter and heirs of Conan Duke of Britany, and Earl of Richmond. This Arthur was a posthumous son, his father being unfortunately slain, while his mother was with child of him, whom she brought into the world on Easter-day, which fell on the thirty-first of March, *Anno Dom.*

(a) Roger. de
Hov. Annal.
p. 364.
Matth. Paris.
p. 143.
N. Trivet, Ar-
nal. p. 89.
Walsingham, fol.
452.
Stowe, Holling-
head, Speed, ad
ann. 1187.

(b) Roger. de
Hov. Annal. p.
796.

(c) Ibid. p. 677.

(d) Roger. de
Hov. p. 683.
Matth. Paris,
p. 163.

(e) Roger. de
Hov. p. 791.
Matth. Paris,
p. 196.
Nich. Trivet,
p. 135.

(f) Stowe, Hol-
linghead, Speed,
ad ann. 1199.

(g) J. de Serres.
Chronique de
Normand. fol.
94, 95.
Roger. de Hov.
p. 792.
Matth. Paris,
p. 196.
Nich. Trivet,
p. 138.

(h) Roger. de
Hov. p. 793.
Matth. Paris,
p. 198.

1187 (a). In right of his mother he was heir apparent to the Dukedom of Britany, and to many Lordships, and on this account he was left under the care of his mother, notwithstanding the relation he had to the Royal Family of England [A]. The Lady Constantia did not long remain a widow, but took for her second husband the Earl of Chester (b), however she had still the care of her son, and in all probability was well treated, and her son for some years beloved, and cared for by her brother-in-law King Richard, who had so great a respect to the right of succession, and such an affection for his young nephew, that in the year 1190, in a letter directed to the Pope, and dated from Messina in Sicily, on the eleventh of November (c), he declares his dearest nephew Arthur his heir, in case he died without issue by his Queen, and also by an article in his treaty with Tancred King of Sicily, he stipulated that this nephew, Arthur, when he grew up, should take to wife the daughter of the King of Sicily. The next year after he provided by a treaty with the King of France, that the Dukedom of Britany should be for ever held of the Duke of Normandy, and that the Duke of Normandy should answer to the King of France for both Dukedoms (d). Yet in the year 1199, when this Prince was so unfortunate as to receive a mortal wound before the castle of Chalus, he devised to his brother John the kingdom of England, and all his other dominions, caused such as were present to swear fealty to him, directing also that his castles should be immediately put into his hands, with three fourths of his treasures (e). In all probability, it was the Queen-mother Eleanor who persuaded King Richard to take this step in disinheriting his nephew Arthur, who was then but twelve years old, neither are our ancient historians silent, as to the motives which induced the old Queen to act in this manner. She was, as all writers agree, a proud, ambitious woman, and the Lady Constantia, Duchess of Britany, having also a very high spirit, the Queen foresaw that in case her son ascended the throne, she should thence forward have little or no credit, which made her, to the utmost of her power, promote her son John's claim, against that of her grandson Arthur's. Several of the Norman, and most of the English Lords, stuck to the first mentioned Prince, who, very shortly after caused himself to be invested Duke of Normandy, and declared King of England. The inequality indeed was great between the competitors, for King John was in the prime of life, being in his thirty-third year, whereas Arthur was not much above twelve (f). Yet there wanted not some persons of distinction, who, out of pure respect to justice, espoused his quarrel, Thomas Desmures, governor of the city of Angiers, rendered it with the castle to Duke Arthur, and the Barons and great men of Anjou, Tourain, and Main, having met together, recognized the young Prince for their Lord, whom his mother brought to the city of Tours, and there delivered him to Philip King of France, who solemnly received him, and all his dominions, under his protection (g). This so provoked his competitor John, that he immediately attacked the city of Main, and having reduced it, treated the inhabitants with great severity, for the affection they had shewn to Duke Arthur. After this exploit, John went over into England to be crowned, while Arthur remained in the court of King Philip, who gave him strong assurances of his favour and assistance (h). In pursuance of these promises, King Philip committed many hostilities in the countries belonging to King John, and having raised a considerable army in the summer, he in the beginning of the month of August knighted his pupil Arthur, and received his homage for Anjou, Poictou, Tourain, Main, Britany, and Normandy, so that he seemed now absolutely engaged in the cause of the young Prince. King John returning into Normandy, first sought to have entered into a treaty with King Philip, and being disappointed therein, prepared the best he could to resist his enemies. In the beginning of the month of October, the King of France took the castle of Balun, and put a garrison into it. This highly offended William de Roche, whom the Latin writers call *de Rupibus*, who commanded the forces of Duke Arthur, inasmuch that after having expostulated, to no purpose, with King Philip, he reconciled the young Prince to his uncle, to whom he delivered the city of Mans, of which he was governor, and put Duke Arthur and his mother Constantia into the King's hands. Things did not long continue in this condition,

[A] *Royal Family of England*] His father Geoffrey, fourth son to Henry II, King of England, was born on the 23d of September 1158 (1), and his father, King Henry, while he was yet a child, declared he should marry Constantia heirs of Britany, who was also a child, and under colour of this marriage reduced the whole Duchy under his obedience (2). In the year 1186, he had the misfortune to fall off his horse at a tournament in Paris, and being trampled under feet, was so terribly bruised that he died, leaving by his wife, Constantia, an only daughter Eleanor, to whom Philip King of France claimed

to be guardian, which was disputed by King Henry of England, and in the interim Constantia was delivered of Arthur (3). That on the demise of Richard I, Arthur should claim his succession in England and in France, appears highly reasonable from this account of his birth. On the other hand, he had some other pretensions at least to friends and favourers, derived to him from his mother, for her mother was Margaret, sister to William King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, right heir to the Crown of England of the Saxon line (4).

(1) Rad. de Dic-
ceto, col. 531.

(2) Joh. Bromt.
col. 1059.

(3) Roger. de
Hov. p. 363,
364.

(4) Hollinghead,
Vol. II. p. 164. a.

dition, for the lady Constantia, and those about her, suspecting King John intended to imprison her son, made haste away with him to the city of Angiers, where, by virtue of a dispensation from the Pope, lady Constantia quitted her second husband the Earl of Chester, and married Guy de Tours (*i*). In the beginning of the next year, there were some negotiations between the Kings of France and England, which at length ended in a peace, wherein Duke Arthur was included, and the two Kings having an interview near the city of Vernon, Arthur, by consent of the French King, did homage to his uncle for the Dukedom of Britany, and this ceremony over returned with King Philip to Paris, as having no great confidence in King John (*k*). In the year 1201, that King returned into Normandy, and, on an invitation from King Philip, went to Paris, where he was kindly received, though after his return into Normandy, some disputes grew between them. In 1202, the King had another interview, at which Philip haughtily required King John, to yield to his nephew all that he possessed in France without exception, and this extraordinary demand occasioned a war. In the course of these disputes Duke Arthur, with a considerable army, entered Poictou, and having subdued it, with the countries of Tourain and Anjou, he suddenly came with his forces before the castle of Mirabeau, where Queen Eleanor, his grandmother, at this time had her residence. The success of this young Prince, had drawn numbers into his service, so that he attacked the place with a great army, and made himself master of all but the middle tower where the Queen was; in this distress she wrote to her son John, earnestly beseeching him to come to her assistance. The King extremely alarmed at his mother's danger, marched night and day to afford her relief, inasmuch that he appeared before Mirabeau at a time when he was not expected, and taking advantage of the enemy's confusion, he attacked, and entirely defeated them. This was on the first of August, 1202, as appears by King John's letter to the Barons of England, wherein he gives them a full account of this victory, and of his taking his nephew Arthur, and many other noble prisoners. This blow was fatal to our young Prince, and to his family. He had been a little before contracted to the King of France's youngest daughter, but now all hopes of his consummating that marriage were lost, his only sister, Eleanor, named, by the common people, the damsel of Britain, fell likewise into the hands of King John, who sent her over into England, where she remained a prisoner many years in the castle of Bristol (*l*). As for Duke Arthur, the King sent him to the castle of Falais, under the custody of his chamberlain Hubert, and not long after the King went thither himself. There it is said he treated his nephew very gently, intreated him to lay aside all thoughts of adhering, as hitherto he had done, to the French King, exhorting him rather to depend, as he ought, on him his uncle and sovereign, to these speeches the young Prince somewhat anadvisedly answered, that he was the lawful heir, not only of his uncle Richard's French dominions, but of the crown of England also, which if he did not yield to him, he should not long wear in peace. This answer was certainly bold enough, but as it came from a boy scarce turned of fifteen years of age, it ought not to have provoked the King so much as it seems it did, who thereupon caused him to be removed to the castle of Rouen, where, under the custody of Robert de Vypont, he was much more closely confined than before (*m*). After this King John returned into England, where he continued not long before he entertained strange thoughts with respect to his unhappy nephew. He was it seems so apprehensive of the claim that he, and his descendants, might have to the dominions of King Richard, that he resolved to have Arthur's eyes put out, and to have him farther deprived of the power of begetting children. From this barbarous project however he was dissuaded, either by his chamberlain Hubert, or by his mother Queen Eleanor, who began now (when it was too late) to express a great tenderness for her unhappy grandson, for whose misfortunes it is said she not long after broke her heart (*n*). But though the King was diverted from one cruel design, it hath been always strongly suspected that he put another in practice, since in the spring of the next year, Duke Arthur disappeared, and was never more seen (*o*). The French authors in general, and not a few English writers, charge King John expressly either with committing, or commanding the murder; and though some very learned men have taken no small pains to free that Prince's memory from so foul a stain, yet so weak are their arguments, that, to any impartial reader, they must rather prejudice than promote the opinion they maintain [*B*]. Our excellent Shakespear, in his life and death of King John,

(*i*) Roger. de
Hov. p. 795, 796.
Matth. Paris,
p. 193.

(*k*) Chronique de
Normand. fol.
95.
Roger. de Hov.
p. 814.
Matth. Paris,
p. 200.
Nich. Trivet.
p. 140.
Chronicon Jo-
hannis Abbat.
S. P. de Burgo
ap. Script. var.
à Josepho Sparke,
edit. p. 91.

(*l*) Roger. de
Hov. p. 823.
Matth. Paris,
p. 207.
Nich. Trivet.
p. 143.
See also Stowe,
Hollinghead,
Speed, ad ann.
p. 1202.

(*m*) Chronique de
Normand. fol.
95.
J. de Serres.
Matth. Paris, p.
207, 208.

(*n*) R. Coggeshall,
as cited in Hol-
linghead's Chron-
icle.

(*o*) Matth. Paris,
p. 208.
Nich. Trivet,
p. 144.
Peter Langtoff's
Chronicle,
Hearne edit. p.
206.

[*B*] *The opinion they maintain.* The Honour of King John in this particular, is best supported in that chronicle which passes under the name of Speed, but is in truth the work of several hands, this reign particularly being written by the learned Dr Barkham (5). 'As the tongues of parasites, says he, are no true scales to weigh the worth and virtues of great men; so neither ought we to judge of their (or any man's) blemishes, by the deforming pencils of envy or rancour; with one of which, no eminency, either of place or virtue, was ever unattended. And that this bloody aspersions on the King, came from no other fountain but malignity; such

as then lived, and might therefore best know the truth, and were also (as Monks generally were) his most bitter taxers, and therefore far from salving his infamy with partial falsehood, can but witness. It was (saith one) (6) by certain persons avowed, that Arthur attempting to escape secretly out of hold, was by casualty drowned in the river Seyne (on which the castle of Roan is seated); and yet the Frenchmen, the King's mortal enemies, (and therefore plenary credit not to be given them) give it out that he was murdered by the King's command, yea and by his own hands; thus by the malice of slanderers, England's King became not a little

(5) See his article in this Dictionary.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hist. min. MS. Trivet, p. 144.

John, has given us an admirable picture of this transaction, wherein (so far as we can gather from history) he presents to the eyes of his audience the true characters of those illustrious persons he introduces, inasmuch that whoever reads this play, after consulting our best historians, will read it with double pleasure, as perceiving thence, after how exquisite a manner this great genius hath united truth and poetry (p) [C]. Some authors inform us, that Constantia, Duchess of Brittany, and mother of Arthur, appealed King John before Philip, and the Peers of France, for the murder of her son, Arthur (q). Yet this admits of some doubt, since Roger Hoveden who lived in those times, and who concludes his history the year before the battle of Mirabell, mentions the death of Constantia (r), and there are other authors who agree in the same date. But that such a suit was commenced against King John, and judgment given thereupon is certain (s), as also that the famous John de Courcy, Earl of Ulster in Ireland, openly called him traitor, murderer, and refused to pay him any obedience on account of

(p) This Play is the last in the third Volume of the new edition in 12mo, London, 1740.

(q) Stowe, Holinghead, and Speed.

(r) Annal. p. 822.

(s) Rapin, Hist. D'Angl. Vol. II. p. 296.

‘ little defamed, with whom other the approved authors accord, (though differing in the manner of his death) that this imputation sprang only from the French emulation, as since it hath been kept on foot, only by French and Italianate spirits, one of which hath not blushed to charge King John with murdering of his own brother King Richard (7), and another with killing Arthur's sister, who yet out-lived him twenty-four years (8); so shamelessly will the pen blur the truth of actions, where it is once dipped in gall against the person.’ Stripped of the Doctor's fine language, there is not either argument or authority in any thing he says. Parafites seldom speak evil of princes, and as to the only author he cites in King John's favour, I mean Matthew Paris, he says in his larger history (9), which is also most authentick, what does not make for the Doctor's purpose at all. ‘ Sed non multo post, idem Arthurus subito evanuit, modo fere omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida. i. e. Not long after this, Arthur suddenly vanished in a manner few are acquainted with, not I hope as spiteful report speaks!’ Trivet whom he likewise cites, says only that King John was scandalized about his death (10), which is no proof that he did not kill him. Then as to charging King John with the murder of Duke Arthur's sister, he is not quite so clear of it as might be wished, she was his lawful Sovereign after the death of her brother, and yet he kept her a close prisoner so long as he lived, and left her in that prison where she died (11). If only French writers reported that he murdered his nephew, we might be inclined to suspect their authority, but it is in truth affirmed by all sorts of writers foreign and domestick. It is asserted in the old Chronicles of Normandy, that the King caused him to be drowned (12), and from thence I suppose the French writers borrowed it, as we shall hear more at large hereafter. Thomas Sprott, who wrote in the reign of Henry III, son to King John tells us roundly, ‘ Ite interfecit Arturum Nepotem suum, i. e. This Man murdered his nephew Arthur (13).’ In those days very probably it was not safe to say more. However, an author whose works are still preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, tells the tale out. ‘ Dum adhuc esset in Aquitanum comprehensum puerum, (scilicet Arthurum Nepotem suum) dolo tenuit & occidit per manum Armigeri sui Petri de Malo Lacu, cui postea heredem Baronie de Mulgrefse dedit uxorem. i. e. While he was in Aquitain, he seized the young Man, (Arthur his nephew) kept him basely, and caused him to be slain by the hand of his Esquire, Peter de Malo Lacu, to whom afterwards he gave the heiress of the Barony of Mulgrefse to wife.’ This seems to be the truth, and therefore I publish it. The Chronicle of Godstow Abbey places the fact in a worse light, for he tells us, that on the day of April 1203, King John having taken his nephew in battle, directed some of his knights to go and murder him in prison, but they refusing, himself entered the place where Arthur was, and drawing his sword, thrust the lad through as he was upon his knees (15). This murder is reported after another manner by Rapin (16), there want not, says he, some historians who write that John caused him to be put into a boat in a very dark night, at the foot of the Tower where he had been kept prisoner, where he stabbed him with his own hands, and then ordered the body to be carried

some leagues below Rouen, and there thrown into the Sein. These discordant accounts of the murder are very far from defraying the credit of each other, because such murders as this was must be secret in it's nature, and consequently though the fact was ever so certain, there would be various reports about it. The thing however was so flagrant, that King John, as Duke of Normandy, was charged with it before his Peers at Paris; and, on his non-appearance, condemned to lose all the lands he held in France. Camden tells us (17), that he offered to appear if he might have had a safe conduct, which however was refused him, on account perhaps of the nature of the crime with which he was charged. Dr Barkham in his before-mentioned history, is pleased to say, that the King might have justified his putting his nephew to death, whom he took in open arms fighting against him his Sovereign (18). This however is odd doctrine, considering who Arthur was, and how indisputable his title to those lands for which he fought. On the whole therefore, how much partiality soever there may be in the Monkish writers against King John in other respects, in this they seem to have done him no great wrong; and if he was innocent, he shewed little care to do himself right, otherwise he might certainly have given a clearer account of this affair, or at least he might have told where his nephew was buried.

[C] *This great genius hath united truth and poetry.* The whole Tragedy of the Life and Death of King John, is truly beautiful. In this note, however, I shall meddle with nothing, but what relates to the story of Arthur. In the first place, I must remark the wisdom, as well as justice of the poet, in making John thought by every body, nay even by himself, an intruder, and no lawful possessor either of the Crown of England, or of the Duchy of Normandy. In this he kept close to history, for in reality he was never owned for such, but by those who found it their interest. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, as appears by his oration (19), which is still extant, would have made him an elective King. If so, this would serve his purpose only in England, in France the title of Duke Arthur was clear, he claimed the French dominions as heir to his Uncle Richard, and the great lords in those countries, who were the best judges of the rule of descent, acknowledged his title. On this ground, Constance, throughout the Play, refuses all kind of treaty with King John, which is consistent with her character, tho' not exactly agreeable to history. The quarrels between her and Queen Eleanor, are founded on the testimony of credible authors, and, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, the poet makes her say nothing, but what we may well suppose she might have said. The reproaches thrown on Philip King of France, for owning and disowning the cause of Arthur, just as his interest led him, are just and grounded in reason. The character of Arthur, was entirely in his own hands, he was at liberty to give that young Prince what manners he pleased, provided only he gave him spirit, of which our histories assure us he had a large share. The scenes between the Prince and Hubert are strong and lively, agreeing perfectly well with the account given us by Coggeshal. It may not be amiss, to note here, that this Hubert, Chamberlain to King John, is the famous Hubert de Burgh, of whom the reader may see more in another place. As to the manner

(17) In tit. Richmond. in Descrip. Britan.

(18) Speed's Chronicle, p. 490.

(19) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 197.

(7) Sabellicus Ennead. 9. l. 5.

(8) John Harding in his Chronicles, c. 142.

(9) Hist. Angl. p. 208.

(10) Annal. p. 144.

(11) Nich. Trivet, p. 145, 194.

(12) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Chron. Johan. Abbat. S. P. de Burgo, p. 91.

(13) MS. p. 74. col. 2.

(14) Chronic. Radulphi niger in Bibliothec. Coll. Sanct. Trinuat. Cantab. fol. 94.

(15) MS. in Bibliothec. Harl. p. 91.

(16) Hist. D'Angleter. Tom. II. p. 296.

of this murder (*t*), which as Matthew Paris tells us, it was commonly reported the King committed with his own hand (*u*).

(*t*) Stowe, p. 186. b.
(*u*) Hist. Angl. p. 208.

of Arthur's death, Shakespear might take what tale he liked best; and accordingly, he has taken that which least injured the memory of King John, whom he treats as a lawful Prince in the latter part of the Play. On the whole therefore, as the

force of his genius strikes us at first sight, so a reverence for his deep judgment and great knowledge in English history, must necessarily arise from an attentive consideration of this, and indeed of all his performances of this kind. E

ARVIRAGUS, an ancient British King, flourished in the time of the Emperor Domitian [*A*], when Sallustius Lucullus was Lieutenant for the Romans in Britain (*a*). The British historians, especially Geoffrey of Monmouth, place him in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, whose enterprize against Britain he is said to have opposed. The account we have of Arviragus in that author is generally esteemed to be fabulous: however the substance of it is as follows: Kymbelinus, when he had governed Britain ten years, begat two sons, the elder named Guiderius, and the younger Arviragus. Kymbelinus being dead, Guiderius, who succeeded him, resolved to shake off the Roman yoke, and began with refusing to pay the usual tribute: whereupon the Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain (*b*) [*B*]. In a battle which ensued between the Romans and the Britons, Guiderius was treacherously killed by Leuis Hamo, a Roman [*C*]: whereupon Arviragus, putting on his brother's habillements, and heading the Britons, gained a victory over Claudius (*c*) [*D*]. But being soon after besieged

(*a*) Camden's Britannia, published by Bishop Gibson, fol. 1. col. 77.

(*b*) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(*c*) Ibid. c. 13.

[*A*] Arviragus — flourished in the time of the Emperor Domitian.] This appears from the following passage of Juvenal, which is a compliment to that Emperor:

Non cedit Veiento; sed ut fanaticus œstro
Percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat, &, ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus (1).

(1) Juvenal. Sat. iv. ver. 123.

Nor came Veiento short, but as inspired
By thee, Bellona, by thy fury fired,
Turns prophet: See, the mighty omen, see,
He cries, of some illustrious victory!
Some captive King thee his new Lord shall own;
Or, from his British chariot headlong thrown,
The proud Arviragus come tumbling down.

Rev. Mr Richard Duke.

(2) Chron. Dover. apud Leland, Collectan. Vol. II. p. 50.

The author of the Chronicle of Dover (2) understands this passage as addressed to Nero; I suppose, because the poet introduces the story, of which they are a part, with these lines:

Cum jam femianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, & calvo ferviret Roma Neroni (3).

(3) Juv. ib. ver. 37.

When he, with whom the Flavian race decay'd,
The groaning world with iron scepter sway'd,
When a bald Nero reign'd, and servile Rome
obey'd. Ibid.

But this is a plain description of the Emperor Domitian, who was the last and worst of the Flavian family, and is here called *calvus Nero* (a *bald Nero*) both on account of his cruelty, in which he resembled that Emperor, and his baldness, by which he was distinguished from him. Let us add, that the above-mentioned compliment would have been a very insipid piece of flattery to Domitian, unless Arviragus were a considerable Prince then living, and an enemy to the Romans. And therefore there is no ground for the opinion of Alford (4), who contends, that Arviragus is the same as *Caracallus*, who was conquered by Claudius, and that Juvenal uses the name by a poetical licence, tho' he lived long before. The probability of the case seems to be, that, in Domitian's time, after the recalling Agricola, and taking away the life of Sallustius Lucullus his successor, the Britons took up arms under Arviragus. And the learned Primate of Armagh (5) mentions an old British coin in Sir R. Cotton's Collections, with these letters on it,

(4) Annal. Eccl. ad an. 45. p. 9.

(5) In Primord. p. 583.

from whence he thinks his true name was *Arivogus*, which the Romans changed to *Arviragus*. The Britons being now up in arms, as far as we can learn, were not repressed till the Emperor Adrian came over in person, and built the first wall, to keep them out of the Roman Province. For, before this time, Spartian (6) tells us, the Britons could not be kept in subjection to the Roman power. So that here was a fit season, in Domitian's time (Agricola being re-called in the beginning of that Emperor's reign) for such a King as Arviragus to appear at the head of the Britons, and it was then a suitable compliment to Domitian to wish him a triumph over Arviragus.

(6) In Hadriano.

[*B*] The Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain.] He was attended in this expedition (says the Monmouth historian) by the commander of his army, who was called in the British tongue Leuis Hamo; by whose advice the succeeding war was to be carried on. This man therefore, arriving at the city of Portcestre, began to block up the gates with a wall, and denied the citizens all liberty of passing out. For his design was, either to reduce them under subjection by famine, or to kill them without mercy (7). Guiderius, upon the news of Claudius's coming, assembled all the soldiery of the kingdom, and marched to meet the Roman army, which he attacked with great eagerness, doing more execution with his own sword, than the greater part of his soldiers (8).

(7) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(8) Ibid. c. 13.

[*C*] Guiderius was treacherously killed by Leuis Hamo.] Claudius was now just upon retreating to his ships, and the Romans very near routed, when the crafty Hamo, throwing aside his own armour, put on that of the Britons, and as a Briton fought against his own men. Then he exhorted the Britons to a vigorous assault, promising them a speedy victory. For he had learned their language and manners, as having been educated among the British hostages at Rome. By this means he approached by little and little to the King; and seeing his opportunity of access, he stabbed him while under no apprehension of danger, and then escaped through the enemies ranks, to return to his men with the news of this detestable exploit (9).

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] Arviragus — gained a victory over Claudius.] The Britons, knowing nothing of Guiderius's death, fought courageously, under the conduct of Arviragus, and killed no small number of the enemy. At last the Romans gave ground, and dividing themselves into two bodies basely quitted the field. Claudius, with one part, to secure himself, retired to his ships; but Hamo to the woods, because he had not time to get to the ships. Arviragus, thinking that Claudius fled along with Hamo, pursued him with speed, nor left off harassing them from place to place, till he overtook them upon a part of the sea-coast, which from the name of Hamo is now called *Southampton*. There was at the same place a convenient haven for ships, and some merchant-ships at anchor. And just as Hamo was attempting to get on board them, Arviragus came upon him unawares, and forthwith killed him. And ever since that time the haven has been called *Hamo's port* (10).

(10) Ibid.

besieged by that Prince in the city of Winchester, he made his submission to the Romans, and, in consequence of the treaty, married the Emperor's daughter Genuiffa (d) [E]. Matters being thus accommodated, Claudius returned to Rome, and left to Arviragus the government of the British Islands (e). After the departure of the Romans, Arviragus became a very powerful Prince; and this so elevated him with pride, that he disdained any longer subjection to the Romans, and assumed to himself an independent authority. Whereupon Vespasian was sent against him into Britain [F]; and, upon the arrival of this General, a great battle was fought, in which neither side got the victory: but, the morning after the fight, by the mediation of Queen Genuiffa, the two leaders were reconciled; Vespasian returned to Rome, and Arviragus remained in Britain. This monarch lived to a good old age, governing his kingdom in peace, confirming the old laws of his ancestors, enacting new ones, and liberally rewarding persons of merit: so that his fame spread all over Europe; and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the subject of their discourse more than any King of his time. After his death, he was buried at Gloucester, in a certain temple, which he had built and dedicated to the honour of the Emperor Claudius (f). This is the substance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative. There is an old tradition, that, in the time of this British King, Joseph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Gospel here [G].

A R U N D E L

[E] He made his submission to the Romans, and married the Emperor's daughter Genuiffa.] Claudius having employed variety of engines against the city, Arviragus assembled his troops, and opened the gates, to march out and give him battle. But just as he was ready to begin the attack, Claudius, who feared the boldness of the King, and the bravery of the Britons, sent a message to him with offers of peace; as chusing to reduce the Britons by wisdom and policy, rather than hazard a battle. To this purpose he offered a reconciliation with him, and promised to give him his daughter, if he would acknowledge the kingdom of Britain subject to the Roman State. The nobility hereupon persuaded Arviragus to lay aside thoughts of war, and be contented with Claudius's promise; representing to him, that it was no disgrace to be subject to the Romans, who enjoyed the empire of the whole world. By these and many other arguments he was prevailed upon to hearken to their advice, and so made his submission to Cæsar. Which done, Claudius sent to Rome for his daughter, and then, with the assistance of Arviragus, reduced the Orkney and the Provincial Islands under his power (11). As soon as the winter was over, those who were sent for Claudius's daughter, returned with her, and presented her to her father. The damsel's name was Genuiffa, and so great was her beauty, that it raised the admiration of all who saw her. After her marriage to the King, she gained such an ascendant over his affections, that he in a manner valued nothing but her alone: insomuch that he was desirous to have the place honoured where the nuptials were solemnized, and moved Claudius to build a city in memory of so great and happy a marriage. Claudius consented thereto, and commanded a city to be built, which after his name was called *Kaerglou*, that is, *Gloucester*, being situated on the confines of Demetia and Loegria, upon the banks of the Severn. But some say, it derived its name from *Gloius*, who was born to Claudius there, and to whom, after the death of Arviragus, fell the Dukedom of Demetia (12). This story of Arviragus's marriage must be a mere fiction, if Claudius had no daughter named Genuiffa. But the Roman Historians, who should best know, mention only three daughters of that Emperor, named Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia.

[F] Vespasian was sent against Arviragus into Britain.] As Vespasian was just arrived at the haven of *Rutupi*, Arviragus met him, and hindered him from entering the port. For he had brought so great an army along with him, as was a terror to the Romans, who for fear of his falling upon them durst not come ashore. Upon this Vespasian withdrew from that port, and shifting his sails arrived at the shore of Totness. As soon as he was landed, he marched directly to besiege *Kaerpenbuelgoit*, now *Exeter*; and after lying before the town seven days, he was overtaken by Arviragus and his army, who gave him battle (13).

[G] An ancient tradition, that, in the time of Arviragus, Joseph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Gospel here.] Though it will appear presently that this tradition has really nothing to do with King Arviragus, yet since the pretended coming

of Joseph of Arimathea into Britain has been ascribed to the times of that Prince, and Arviragus is supposed to have been a benefactor to that Missionary and his companions, I think proper to take notice here of so remarkable a piece of ecclesiastical antiquity. The tradition in question is to be found in William of Malmesbury's Book *Of the Antiquity of the Church of Glasfenbury*. That writer, after some prefatory discourse to Henry of Blois, nephew to King Henry I, and at that time Bishop of Winchester and Abbot of Glasfenbury, proceeds in his narrative of the antiquities of that church in the manner following. 'After the glorious Resurrection and triumphant Ascension of our blessed Saviour, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the success of the Gospel began to spread, the number of believers increased daily, and all of them maintained such a friendly and charitable correspondence, that they seemed to have but one heart and one soul. The Jewish Priests, with the Scribes and Pharisees, growing envious at the progress of Christianity, stirred up a persecution against the Church, murdered the Protomartyr St Stephen, and made the country too troublesome for the rest. Thus the storm blowing hard in Jewry, the disciples dispersing went off into several countries, according to their respective commissions, and, as they travelled along, preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. Among these holy men, St Philip (as Freculphus relates, *lib. ii. cap. 4.*) arriving in the territories of the Franks, converted a great number of them: and being desirous to enlarge his Master's kingdom, he picked out twelve of his disciples, and dispatched them to preach the Gospel in Britain; Joseph of Arimathea, as it is said, being one of the number, and constituted a superior to the rest. These holy Missionaries coming into Britain, in the year of our Lord 63, and in the 15th of the blessed Virgin's Assumption, published the doctrine of Christ with great industry and courage. But the barbarous King and his subjects being somewhat alarmed at so unusual an undertaking, and not relishing a persuasion so different from his own, refused to become a proselyte; but in consideration of the length of their journey, and being somewhat charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes, to dwell in. This place was called *Ynswitrin* by the natives, and situated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other Pagan Kings, being affected with their remarkable sanctity, gave each of them a certain proportion of ground, and, at their request, settled twelve *Hides* of land on them, by instruments in writing, according to the custom of the country: from whence it is supposed the *twelve Hides*, now part of the Abbey's estate, had their denomination (14). Malmesbury proceeds to relate the occasion and manner of these Missionaries building a church, which, he says, was the first in the island. The place where it was built was afterwards called *Glasfenia* or *Glasfenbury*; and the King, who was thus kind to Joseph of Arimathea and his companions, is said to be Arviragus:

(14) *Apud Ulfellii Briton. Eccles. Antiq. Lond. 1637. c. 2. p. 7.*

Glastonix bis sex Hidas dedit Arviragus Rex (15).

I shall not enter upon the question concerning the authenticity of this tradition, any farther than to shew, that, at the time of Joseph's supposed arrival, there could be no such British King as Arviragus is said to have been. For, according to the tradition, Joseph of Arimathea came into Britain in the year of our Lord 63. Now the more southern parts of the island, where Glastenbury stands, were seized by the Romans, and formed into a province, before that time. For, as Tacitus reports (16), the hithermost part of Britain was gained and planted by Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula, and several colonies of the veteran troops were fixed there. Now between these two governors, and Suetonius Paulinus, were Didius Gallus and Veranius; and probably the *Belgæ* were subdued by Vespasian, who commanded under Plautius, of whom Suetonius relates (17), that he conquered here two power-

ful nations, above twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight. By which we may conclude his expeditions lay westward. Now the *Belgæ* and *Danmonii* were the two powerful nations that way; and in all the progress of the war against the Britons afterwards, we find no care taken by the Roman Generals to secure themselves against the *Belgæ*, as they did against the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, among whom Caractacus commanded: so that there could be no such British King at that time among the *Belgæ*, as Arviragus is supposed to have been. For had there been such a Prince among that people, we cannot suppose that, when Ostorius marched northward against the *Cangi* or *Cheeshire-men* (18), he would have fixed his garrisons on the Severn and the Avon, to secure the province. For, had there been such a British King as Arviragus among the *Belgæ*, what would the fortifying the Severn have signified, when the enemies to the Romans lived on the Roman side?

(18) Tacit. An-
nal. lib. xii.
c. 31, 32.

T

ARUNDEL (THOMAS), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, was the second son of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warren, and brother of Richard Earl of Arundel, who was afterwards beheaded. He was but twenty-two years of age, when, from being Archdeacon of Taunton, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Ely [A], by the Pope's provision [B], and consecrated at Otford, April 6, 1375, in the fiftieth year of King Edward III. He was a considerable benefactor to the church and palace of that See; and, among other donations, he presented them with a very curious table of massy gold, enriched with precious stones; which had been given to Prince Edward by the King of Spain, and sold by the latter to Bishop Arundel for three hundred marks. In the year 1386, the tenth of Richard II, this prelate was made Lord High Chancellor of England (a); but resigned that post upon his advancement afterwards to the See of Canterbury (b). After he had sat a little more than fourteen years in the See of Ely, he was translated to the Archbishopric of York, by virtue of the Pope's Bull, dated April 3, 1383 (c), and received the Pall the fourteenth of September following. He expended a very large sum of money in building a palace for the Archbishops of that See; and, besides other rich ornaments, he gave to that church several pieces of silver-gilt plate. In 1393, being then Chancellor, he removed the Courts of Justice from London to York [C]; and, as a precedent for so doing, he alledged the example of Archbishop Corbridge, who had taken the same step eighty years before (d). The See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Dr William Courtney, Archbishop Arundel was translated thither by a papal provision. The Bull of translation was published at Canterbury the eleventh of January, 1396. The Crozier was delivered into his hands by Henry Chelnden, Prior of Canterbury, in the presence of the King, and a great number of the nobility. On the tenth of February following, he received the Pall, and on the nineteenth

(a) Godwin, de
Præful. Angl.
inter Episc. E-
liens. an. 1375.

(b) Id. ibid. inter
Archiepisc. Ebor.
an. 1383.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid.

[A] At twenty-two years of age — he was promoted to the Bishopric of Ely.] This is, I believe, the only instance of so young a prelate in all the English History. The King, it seems, had designed another person for that See, but could not carry his point. For, hearing of the death of Dr John Barnet Bishop of Ely, he wrote a very pressing letter to the Chapter, desiring them to elect his Confessor, John Woodroof. But the Monks, disregarding the King's recommendation, met together, and unanimously chose one Henry Wakefield. The Pope thought fit to set aside this election, and, by virtue of his apostolical authority, declared Thomas Arundel, Archdeacon of Taunton, Bishop of Ely. Bishop Godwin mentions this new prelate's age with an ironical sneer. 'Pontifex [says he] ex plenitudine potestatis Episcopum Eliensem declaravit, annosum quendam, quemque virum facile credas gravissimum, Thomam Arundellum, Roberti Comitis Arundellæ et Warrenæ filium, Tauntonensem archidiaconum, cum jam (6 capularum senem) ætatis annum explevisset fere vicefimum secundum, et subdiaconus nuper factus esset (1). — The Pope, by his own authority, advanced to the See of Ely a person of great age and weight, namely Thomas Arundel, son of Robert Earl of Arundel and Warren, and Archdeacon of Taunton, when he was just stepping into his grave, being then very near two and twenty years of age, and lately made a Subdeacon.'

[B] — By the Pope's provision.] The reality of this papal provision, in favour of Arundel, is disputed. For Godwin tells us (2), some writers are of opinion, he was canonically elected, because at that time the papal provisions were prohibited in England by authority of Parliament. It is true, the Statute of Provisors, whereby the Pope's authority in filling up

the vacant bishopricks was taken away, is by the Statute-Books assigned to the year 1350 (3), twenty-five years earlier than the time in question. But it is certain the Pope still continued to exercise that power, since it was found necessary to confirm that Act with new penalties, in the year 1390 (4). To which may be added, that tho' the State was willing to get rid of this encroachment of the See of Rome, the Clergy were not so ready to part with it: for when the Statute abovementioned was confirmed, the Archbishops and Bishops made a solemn protestation in open Parliament, that they would not assent to any law, which should restrain the Pope's authority (5). But if there could be any doubt in this matter, the present article affords us two other unquestionable instances of the exercise of this power in the translations of Arundel to the Sees of York and Canterbury.

[C] He removed the Courts of Justice from London to York.] This he did, in order, as he said, to mortify the insolence and pride of the Londoners, with whom the King was at that time highly displeased. But whatever he might pretend, the Londoners affirmed, he did it only to gratify and enrich the inhabitants of York. Our author adds, that this design did not take place long: for after one or two Terms, the Courts returned to their old place. *Summa Angliæ Tribunalia Londino Eboracum traduxit, eo pacto optime dicens castigari Londinensium proteritiam atque superbiam, quibus rex ea tempestate suis admodum insensus. — Quicquid vero ille obtenderet, Eboracenses suos juvandi et locupletandi gratia hæc ipsum molitum Londinenses affirmabant. Quocumque id fecerit consilio, non duravit hoc ejus institutum, judiciis post Terminum unum aut alterum ad pristinum locum revocatis (6).*

(3) 25 Edw. III.

(4) 13 Rich. II.

(5) Collier's Ec-
cles. Hist. Vol. I.
B. vi. p. 592.

(6) Godwin, ubi
supra, inter Ar-
chiepisc. Ebor.
an. 1383.

[D] He

(15) Ex Appen-
dice Chronici
Glastoniensis
MS. in Biblioth.
Cotton.

(16) In Vita A-
gricolæ, c. 14.

(17) In Vespasia-
no, c. 4.

(1) Godwin, de
Præful. Angl.
inter Episc. E-
liens. an. 1375.

(2) Ubi supra.

(e) *Idem*, *inter Archiepisc. Cantuar. an. 1396.*

(f) *Idem*, *inter Archiepisc. Ebor. an. 1388.*

(g) Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford.* B. i. p. 197, &c.

(b) Matth. Parker, *Antiq. Britan. ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.*

(i) Cotton's *Abridgment*, p. 368.

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) *Ibid.*

teenth was enthroned with great pomp at Canterbury (e). It is observable, that this was the first instance of the translation of an Archbishop of York to the See of Canterbury (f). He was scarce fixed in that See, when he had a contest with the University of Oxford about the right of visitation [D]; which was determined by King Richard, to whom the decision was referred, in favour of the Archbishop (g). At his Visitation in London, he revived an old constitution, first set on foot by Simon Niger, Bishop of London; by which the inhabitants of the respective parishes were obliged to pay to their Rector one half-penny in the pound out of the rent of their houses (b). In the second year of his translation, a Parliament was held at London; in which the commons, with the King's leave, impeached the Archbishop, together with his brother the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Gloucester, of high-treason [E], for compelling the King, in the tenth year of his reign, to grant them a commission to govern the kingdom (i). The Archbishop was sentenced to be banished, and had forty days allowed him to prepare for his exile; within which time he was to depart the kingdom on pain of death (k). Being thus driven from his country and his See, he retired first into France, and then to the Court of Rome, where Pope Boniface IX gave him a very friendly reception, and wrote a letter to King Richard, desiring him to pass by the offence, and receive the Archbishop again into favour. But not meeting with success, his holiness resolved to interpose his authority in favour of Arundel. Accordingly he nominated him to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, and (which was a more disobliging stroke) declared his intention of giving him several other preferments in England, by way of provision (l). The King, being informed of the Pope's design,

[D] *He had a contest with the University of Oxford about the right of visitation.* The Canonists and Civilians of Oxford, being uneasy at some Statutes made to the disadvantage of their profession, preferred a complaint against the University to the Convocation then sitting at London. Their Delegate for this business was Michael Sergeaux Doctor of Laws, who set forth, that the University of Oxford had procured a Bull to exempt themselves from the jurisdiction both of their Diocesan and Metropolitan: that this Bull was rather a disservice than an advantage to that learned body, as it deprived the members of a remedy, in case of any injustice done to them by the Chancellor. This faculty therefore intreated the Archbishop, since he had an undisputable right to visit their University, that he would exert his authority, and revoke the Chancellor's pretended exemption. It was called a *pretended Exemption*, because, as Sergeaux alledged, the Bull had neither the Pope's seal, nor the subscription of any public Notary, to prove it authentic. Notwithstanding this objection, Dr Hyndman, the Chancellor, who was present in the Convocation, insisted upon the instrument, and entered a protest against any farther proceedings. After the breaking up of the Convocation, the Archbishop, designing to visit the University, was informed, that the Chancellor and Proctors were resolved to insist upon the Pope's Bull, and oppose the visitation. Whereupon a writ was issued out by the King's order, directed to the Chancellor and Students, requiring them not to oppose the jurisdiction of their Ordinary and Metropolitan, to renounce the Bull in form, and to send their act of renunciation to the King. It does not appear, that this writ was obeyed, or the Bull given up. However that some kind of submission was made, is very probable, since the Archbishop went to Oxford the *May* following, with a design to visit. It is true, he was opposed in the exercise of this jurisdiction; but it was upon a new plea: for now the University, waving their former privilege, pretended they were visitable by the crown only, and not by the Archbishop. This created a new dispute; which being at last referred to the King, his highness gave the cause against himself, and decided in favour of the Archbishop. But, notwithstanding this sentence, the visitation did not go on at that time (7).

[E] *The Commons — impeached the Archbishop — of high-treason.* The chief article of the charge was, *that being Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, he was traiterously aiding, procuring, and advising, in making a commission directed to Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others, and procured himself, as one of the chief ministers of State, to be put into the said commission; which commission was apparently prejudicial to the King's prerogative and dignity; and that the said Thomas put the said commission in execution* (8). The King, to whom the commons applied for leave to carry on the prosecution against the Archbishop, told them, that, in

regard the impeachment concerned so great a person and a peer of the realm, he would be farther advised. But the commons resolving not to give over, and pressing the King farther, his highness replied, that the Archbishop had confessed to him before several Lords, that he had been guilty of imprudence in executing that commission, and threw himself upon the King's mercy. However, this not satisfying the commons, the King consented to the impeachment; and the Archbishop was adjudged a traitor, by the Lords Temporal, and Sir Thomas Piercy Proctor for the Bishops and Clergy (9). It will not be improper to observe, that Archbishop Arundel, though in the Parliament-House at his first impeachment, yet was absent the next day when sentence was pronounced against him. It seems, the King had commanded him not to come into the house, having first made him a promise of his friendship, and given him his oath that the Lords should do nothing to his prejudice (10). I shall subjoin Mr Collier's remarks upon this impeachment. 'This case affords another precedent of a Bishop's being tried by his Peers, it being plain by the Record, that judgment was given by the House of Lords; and that the Lords proceeded not in a legislative, but in a judicial way, is evident by the commons being only prosecutors in the case; whereas, had the Archbishop been found guilty by a bill of attainder, the votes of the commons would, have been necessary. And whereas none of the commons are concerned as judges in this trial, excepting Sir Thomas Piercy, who represented the Bishops and Clergy; we may observe from hence, in the second place, that the Bishops withdrawing from the House of Lords in causes of blood was only a voluntary absence, occasioned by the restraint of the Canons. Their retiring, I say, was a compliance with the discipline of the Church, and not any necessity forced upon them by the civil constitution. For now we see, since they had appointed a Lay-Proxy, their right of judging in criminal matters is not questioned. For the record informs us, that Sir Thomas Piercy, Proxy for the Prelates, gave judgment with the Temporal Lords against the Archbishop. Now this gentleman was no more than a commoner, and acted only upon the strength of his representation. If therefore the Bishops had been barred by the constitution from being judges in capital causes, Sir Thomas Piercy's powers would have been contested, neither would he have been allowed an equal share with the Temporal Peers in pronouncing this sentence: for a delegation cannot reach beyond the right of the principal, nor can any proxy have more authority than the person he represents (11).' It may be necessary, for the better understanding this last remark, to observe, that Sir Thomas Piercy, as Proctor for the Clergy, not only concurred in giving judgment against the Archbishop, but likewise in passing sentence on the Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Hollinghead's *Chronicle*, p. 490.

(11) Collier, *ubi supra*.

(7) Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, B. i. p. 197, &c.

(8) Cotton's *Abridgment*, p. 368.

design, wrote an expostulatory letter to him [F]; which had so good an effect upon his Holiness, that he not only withheld the intended favours from Arundel, but likewise, at the King's request, promoted Roger Walden (m), Dean of York; and Lord Treasurer of England, to the See of Canterbury. That Prelate was installed the twenty-fifth of March, 1398 (n); but was soon obliged to quit his new dignity: for, the next year, Archbishop Arundel returned into England with the Duke of Lancaster [G], afterwards King Henry IV; upon whose accession to the throne, the Pope revoked the Bull granted to Walden, and restored Arundel to his See (o). Among the articles of misgovernment brought against King Richard, one was his usage and banishment of this Prelate [H]. The throne being vacant by Richard's resignation, and the

(m) See the article
WALDEN
(ROGER).

(n) *Ibid.* p. 408.

(o) Walsingham;
Hist. Angl. p.
354. & Antiq.
Brit. ubi supra,
p. 409.

[F] *The King* — wrote an expostulatory letter to the Pope. It was couched in the following terms:

‘ Thomas, for his treasonable conspiracy against our crown and royal dignity, has been sentenced only to perpetual banishment; whereas, had he been dealt with answerably to his demerits, he ought to have suffered the punishment of high-treason: but in consideration of his character, and out of regard to religion, we have thought fit to grant him his life, and abated of the rigour of the law. But, since his going beyond sea, both ourself and our subjects are much surprized at the turn of his fortune: for we are informed, he has been invited to your Holiness's court, countenanced in his misbehaviour, taken into your protection, and put in hopes of recovering his See, or at least of being promoted in our kingdom to benefices of greater value than those he enjoyed before. How destructive such unaccountable favours as these must be to our dignity and government, and to what apparent danger it may expose us, is easy to imagine. For which reason, we are resolved not to bear with such treatment, tho' the whole world were of a different opinion. For we are thoroughly acquainted with this man: We know him to be of a turbulent seditious temper; who, if he were permitted to live in our dominions, would return to his old practices, poison our subjects with misreporting the administration, and endeavour to undermine our government. For it is probable he would use sufficient precaution not to fall under the lash of the law. We desire therefore, that your Holiness would prevent these opportunities of mischief, and not shock our interest and inclinations by such favours. For should such measures be put in execution, it is possible they might create such misunderstandings between the Crown and the Mitre, as it might prove difficult to remove. For, to speak plainly, we cannot take that person for our friend, who caresses our enemies, and takes them by the hand in so loving a manner. However, if you have a mind to provide for him otherwise, we have nothing to object; only we cannot allow him to dip in our dish. We heartily desire you would take this matter into serious consideration, as you tender our royal regards, and expect a compliance with any future request your Holiness may make to us (12).’

[G] *He returned into England with the Duke of Lancaster.* The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of England, having been for several years intolerably oppressed and slighted by King Richard and his favourites, contrived to fettle the Crown on another head, which might govern them with greater prudence and lenity. The person, whom they pitched upon as fittest to sway the scepter, was Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster and Hereford; who, being the Son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III, was nearly allied to the Crown. I shall not enter into the particulars of this conspiracy against King Richard, which ended in placing the Duke of Lancaster on the throne; but shall confine my self to that part of it, in which Archbishop Arundel was concerned. The Duke of Lancaster, it is well known, had been banished by King Richard, and was in France when he was solicited by the nobility and others to take the crown. This their request they drew up in a letter, and sent it over by faithful messengers to Archbishop Arundel, who was then in Britany, desiring him to be their advocate upon this occasion with the Duke. The Archbishop, being a fellow-sufferer, gladly accepted the office, and went with the messengers to the Duke at Paris; where they delivered the letters from the Nobles and Commons of England, and the Archbishop seconded them with the

best arguments reason could invent, or rhetoric urge. He represented to the Duke the present miserable state of the English nation: ‘ That it was utterly ruined by the mismanagement of public affairs; in which though the King himself were not actually concerned, yet, so long as he employed and supported unfit ministers, he could not be thought fit to govern: that it was far more intolerable to be slaves to ignoble persons, than to the King; and therefore, so long as the King continued to maintain the pride and tyranny of such persons over his subjects, it could be no crime to depose him: that the present state of the nation was so disordered, that nothing but immediate help could save it from entire destruction; for the antient courage of the English was sunk into effeminacy, the men of bravery and conduct either put to death or banished, the nobility contemned and slighted, the gentry abused, and the commons oppressed with heavy taxes, not to support the government, but the pride and avarice of their fellow-subjects.’ The Archbishop added, ‘ That the nation placed all their hopes in him (the Duke) and expected the redress of their grievances only at his hands, both on account of his personal courage and achievements, and the near relation he stood in to the crown; and therefore he was bound in honour and duty to answer the reasonable expectations of his country-men, especially as they had resolved to stand by him in the attempt; which could hardly prove unsuccessful, where so much affection, power, and interest were united.’ The Duke of Lancaster did not immediately close with this inviting offer, but objected to the Archbishop the unlawfulness of the design; to which Arundel thus replied: *Examples of casting a King out of his state are not rare (as you affirm) nor long since put in practice, nor far hence to be fetched. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden are oftentimes banished by their subjects, oftentimes imprisoned and put to their fine. The Princes of Germany, about an hundred years past, deposed Adolphus the Emperor, and are now in hand to depose their Emperor Wenceslaus. The Earl of Flanders was a while since driven out of his dominions by his own people, for usurping greater power than appertained to his estate. The antient Britons chased away their King Caractacus, for the lewdness of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bernredus King of Mercia, for his pride and stoutness towards his people, was by them deposed. Likewise Alcredus and Ethelbertus, Kings of Northumberland, were for their disorders expelled by their subjects. Since the conquest of the Normans, the Lords endeavoured to expel King Henry III, but they were not able; yet were they able to depose King Edward II, and to constitute his young son Edward King in his stead. These are not all, and yet enough to clear this action of rareness in other countries, and novelty in ours (13).* The event of this negotiation is too well known, to need mentioning in this place.

[H] *One of the articles* — against King Richard was, his banishment of Arundel. To give a better colour to their proceedings, the Lords drew up a charge of male-administration, digested into thirty-three articles. These articles were publicly read in the Parliament-house, and alledged as a sufficient ground for deposing King Richard. What relates to his treatment of our Archbishop is contained in the thirtieth and thirty-third articles. The 30th article complains, ‘ That the said King having persuaded Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, and his spiritual father, to absent himself from the Parliament-house, dealt insincerely with the said Archbishop, took advantage of his absence, and, without any legal process of law, adjudged him to per-

(13) Life and Reign of Richard II, in the Complete History of England, Vol. II p. 232.

the Duke of Lancaſter's title being allowed in Parliament, Archbiſhop Arundel took that Prince by the hand, and led him to the throne; where when he was ſeated, the Archbiſhop made a kind of ſermon or oration to the aſſembly [I] He had the honour to crown the new King; and, at the Coronation-dinner, ſat at his right hand; the Archbiſhop of York being placed at his left (p). In the firſt year of King Henry's reign, this Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod [K], which ſat at St Paul's (q). Harpſfield, and the Councils from him, have miſtaken this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See [L]. This Prelate, by his courage and reſolution, preſerved ſeveral of the Biſhops, who were in King Henry's army, from being plundered of their equipages and money [M]. The next year, the Commons having

(p) Fabian's Chron. fol. 163. & Antiq. Brit. ib.

(q) Antiq. Brit. ibid.

'petual baniſhment.' The 33d article reports this grievance more at large, and ſets forth, 'That, after one of the knights for the county had wrongfully impeached the Archbiſhop of Canterbury of high-treafon, the ſaid Archbiſhop immediately ſtood up, and offered to answer to the charge in Parliament, and deſired the King would permit him the liberty to make his defence: that the King, out of a deſign to ruin the Archbiſhop, adviſed him to wave his defence, to reſerve himſelf for a better opportunity, and forbear coming to the houſe five or ſix days; promiſing him withal, that he ſhould receive no prejudice by his abſence; and yet the ſaid King, in the Parliament above-mentioned, procured a ſentence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, without calling him to his answer, or allowing him the benefit of the law.' The ſame article charges the King with farther inſincerity; viz. 'That he promiſed him, that, upon his going down to Southampton in order to quit the kingdom, the Queen ſhould intercede for the reverſing the ſentence; and in caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be forced to depart the kingdom, the King engaged to re-call him before the Eaſter following; notwithstanding which promiſe, ſolemnly ſworn upon the croſs of St Thomas of Canterbury, the King forced the Archbiſhop to quit the kingdom, and abſolutely deprived him of his See (14).'

(14) Rotulus Parliamenti, &c. de Depoſitione Ricardi II. apud X Scriptores. p. 2753, 2754, 2755.

[I] He made a kind of ſermon or oration in the Parliament-houſe.] His text was: *And when Samuel ſaw Saul, the Lord ſaid unto him, behold the Man, whom I ſpoke to thee of; this ſame ſhall reign over my people,* 1 Sam. ix. 17. In theſe words (ſays the Archbiſhop) God Almighty deſcribes the qualifications of a governor: and ſince they may be truly applied to our preſent Prince, they afford us a very comfortable proſpect. For now we have no reaſon to fear that threatenng denounced againſt the Jews by the prophet Iſaiah; *I will give children to be their princes,* chap. iii. 4. For God has been pleaſed in his wrath to remember mercy, to viſit his people, and not, as formerly, *to ſuffer babes to rule over us.* To thoſe Princes, who have lately governed us, thoſe words of St Paul may be applied without ſtraining the compariſon, *When I was a child, I ſpoke as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as a child,* 1 Cor. xiii. 11. Firſt, as to ſpeech, 'tis certain a child is very inſignificant and variable: truth and falſehood are almoſt indifferent to him; he is forward to promiſe, but quickly forgets the performance. Theſe qualities are very unfortunate in a Prince, neither is it poſſible for a kingdom to be happy, where the crown is no better furniſhed. But, *cum vir dominatur populo,* when the people have a man to reign over them, there will be none of theſe defects in the adminiſtration. For it is the property of a man to govern his tongue and guard his language. This is our caſe; we have now a man to reign over us, of whom I hope that ſaying of the ſon of Sirach may be verified; *Happy is the man that hath not ſlept with his tongue.* The Archbiſhop proceeds to comment on the above-mentioned text of St Paul, and upon theſe words, *I underſtood as a child,* he obſerves, that *a child reliſhes nothing but what pleaſes his humour, and flatters his weakneſs: as for remonſtrance and plain-dealing, ſuch freedoms are always unacceptable.* Then he goes on: 'But ſuch has formerly been the miſfortune of this kingdom; for truth was in a manner clapt under hatches, and no man had the courage to deliver his thoughts. From whence it is plain, the ſcepter was in a child's hand: for a man carries his thoughts farther, and has a more abſolute command over his paſſions. And to come to the advantage of our preſent circumſtances, now, by God's aſſiſtance, that of the ſon of Sirach,

Bleſſed is the man, who is ſtayed upon wiſdom, may juſtly be affirmed of this royal perſon. For as a child is fond of trifles and flattery, ſo a man loves truth and prudent advice. In the laſt place, the Apoſtle tells us, *I thought as a child.* And what are the thoughts of a child? A child follows only the ſollicitations of appetite. Thus, when a child governs, reaſon is diſcarded, humour is abſolute, and will carries all before it. But, where caprice reigns, and reaſon is forced to retire, the adminiſtration muſt needs be unſteady and ill directed. But now, having a man at the helm, we are reſcued from the danger of ſo unhappy a conduct. The Prince, who now rules over us, being a man both in age and underſtanding, will readily acknowledge the proper buſineſs of his ſtation, and make no ſcruple to ſay, *I come not to do my own will, but the will of him that ſent me,* that is, God's will. And therefore we may promiſe ourſelves, *that he will be ſtaid upon wiſdom:* that he will ſeriously conſider the providence of God, and govern his practice by the rules of religion; in ſhort, that he will conduct the adminiſtration in ſuch a manner, that the promiſe in holy ſcripture may not be unapplicable to his government, *A King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and do judgment and juſtice in the earth* (15).

(15) Cotton's A-bridgment, p. 389, and Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 154.

[K] He ſummoned a Synod.] King Henry ſent the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland to this Synod, not to preſs any ſubſidy, but only to deſire the prayers of the clergy for the proſperity of the King and Nation. *Reſtitutionis ejus anno primo Synodum indixit, quo acceſſerunt Northumbriae & Weſtmerlandiae Comites, dicentes, a rege quidem miſſos ſeſe, ſed munus ſolium haudquaquam apportare; ſiquidem ideo ſe venire, non ut pecunias flagitent, ſed orationes eorum, pro ipſo, regnique incolumitate fundendas* (16). But this diſintereſted Prince, who ſeemed at this time to deſpiſe money, was ſo changed before two years were ended, that he reſuſed a voluntary offer made him by the clergy of a tenth of their revenues, and demanded a larger ſum. *Hic tantum pecuniarum contemptor, ante elapſum biennium ita mutatus eſt, ut annui cenſus ſimplicem decimam in proxima Synodo oblatam ultro, aſpernaretur, multo majora poſtulans* (17).

(16) Godwin, inter Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1396.

(17) Id. ibid.

[L] Harpſfield — miſtook this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See.] That author tells us (18), that, during the exile of Arundel, a Synod was held at Canterbury; that it was ſummoned by the Prior and Chapter of Chriſt's Church; and that the King ſent the Earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland to this convocation, with the meſſage above-mentioned (19). But Harpſfield is undoubtedly miſtaken: for, firſt, Walden being Archbiſhop of Canterbury that year, the Prior and Chapter could have no pretence to ſummon a convocation. In the next place, the circumſtance of King Henry's ſending the Earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland is a proof that Arundel was reſtored; ſince that Prelate came over with the Duke of Lancaſter, and crowned him upon his ſeizing the government.

(18) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 617.

(19) See the preceding remark.

[M] He prevented ſeveral of the Biſhops — from being plundered of their equipages and money.] Walingham (20) informs us, that the King having marched his army into Yorkſhire, and ſettled the northern parts, projected an expedition againſt the Welch, who had lately made depredations upon the Engliſh; but, his exchequer being low, he wanted money to ſubſiſt and pay his troops. That the deſign might not be dropt upon this account, ſome of the officers ſuggeſted an expedient to the King. They told him, there were ſeveral Biſhops in the army in a condition to ſupply his Highneſs: that theſe Prelates ought to be ſent home on foot, and their equipages and money taken from them for the public ſervice. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being preſent when the

(20) Hypodigm. Neut. p. 561.

having moved, that the revenues of the Church might be applied to the service of the public, Archbishop Arundel opposed the motion so vigorously [N], that the King and Lords promised him, the Church should never be rifled in their time (r). After this, he visited the University of Cambridge; where he made several statutes, suppressed several ill customs, and punished the Students for their misbehaviour. And, when the visitation was ended, at the request of the University, he reserved all those matters and causes, which had been laid before him, to his own cognizance and jurisdiction (s). In the year 1408, Arundel began to exert himself with vigour against the Lollards or Wickliffites (t). To this end, he summoned the Bishops and Clergy at Oxford, to check the progress of this new sect, and prevent that University's being farther tainted with their opinions (u). But the doctrines of Wickliff still gaining ground in that seat of learning, the Archbishop resolved to visit the University, and apply some farther remedy. Accordingly he went down, attended by the Earl of Arundel, his nephew, and a splendid retinue. When he came near the town, he was met by the principal members of the University, who told him, that, if he came only to see the town, he was very welcome; but if he came in the character of a Visitor, they refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction. The Archbishop, resenting this treatment, left Oxford in a day or two, and wrote to the King on account of his disappointment. After a warm contest between the University and the Archbishop, both parties agreed to refer the dispute to the King's decision; who, governing himself by the example of his predecessors (w), gave sentence in favour of the Archbishop [O].

(r) Walsingham. ib. p. 371, 372.

(s) Ibid. p. 411.

(t) See the article WICKLIFF.

(u) Spelman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 662.

(w) See the remark [D].

Soon

the motion was made, replied, *That if any of the soldiers offered to plunder his retinue, they might expect to be well drubbed for their pains.* This resolution of the Archbishop checked the intended outrage, and made the officers desist. This is Walsingham's account of the matter. The author of the *Life and reign of Henry IV* (21) relates the same story with this difference, that the King was advised to seize the lands and treasures of the Bishops, not their equipages; for he says nothing of their being in the King's army. That writer adds, that 'though the King was not forward to meddle with the church-men, yet this advice put him in mind of the riches and plenty of the clergy; which being bestowed on persons, whose best character it is to be despisers of the world, might best be spared at this juncture; and thereupon, though he would use no force, yet he dealt with the Archbishop to procure him a supply in this exigency, and so prevailed with him, that, calling a Synod of the clergy, he obtained a tenth of them for him; and the King sent the Prince, with his army, into Wales.'

[N] Arundel vigorously opposed the motion for applying the revenues of the Church to the service of the public. On the 6th of October, 1404, the King held a Parliament at Coventry. It was called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*, because it was composed of none but illiterate persons, all others, especially Serjeants and Barristers at Law, being, by the King's express direction, excluded (22). M. Rapin thinks, there is room to doubt whether these orders were so positive as is affirmed. However he is of opinion, the court took care, upon this occasion, that such persons chiefly should be elected, as were least likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy; and that for reasons, which will presently appear (23). When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor laid before them the necessities of the public; that the Scots and Welsh, the French and Flemmings, were ready to invade the kingdom; that the Exchequer was greatly exhausted, and the King's revenues unable to furnish the necessary defence. The Commons hereupon remonstrated, that the clergy had engrossed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom; that they lived in idleness, and contributed very little to the public advantage: whereas the laity hazarded both their persons and fortunes in the service of their country. They therefore were of opinion the King should seize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the public service of the nation. Archbishop Arundel, who was present at the motion, rose from his seat, and repressed, 'That the Clergy had always contributed more to the public service than the Laity, and had more frequently granted the crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth; and though they did not serve the King in person in his wars, yet they sent their tenants to assist him, and were at least as serviceable to him by their incessant prayers for his success, as the Laity were by their arms.' The Speaker of the House, Sir John

Cheney, took up the Archbishop, and publicly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very slender supply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This answer fired the Archbishop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, 'That the King and kingdom could not expect to thrive, so long as the prayers of the Clergy were despised.' And as for you, Sir, continued he, turning to the Speaker, *who take the liberty to rally the functions of the Clergy, I believe you will find it no easy undertaking to invade the rights and possessions of the Church.* Then, perceiving the King, who was present at the contest, inclining to favour the design of the Commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, besought him to consider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the Clergy his favour and protection. Whether the King was really affected with the Archbishop's discourse, or began to see the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him rise and go to his place; assuring him, he was fully resolved not to hearken to these new measures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promise, turned to the Commons, and let them know, he saw through the whole design, telling them, 'That their wicked advice was intended more for their own, than the King's advantage.' You, Gentlemen, says he, *and others governed by the same views, have persuaded the King and his predecessors to seize the revenues of the Friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the crown of those estates, and begged them for your selves. And the same would be the case, should the King comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time.* This courage in the Archbishop, and the King's declaration, silenced the Commons, and put a stop to the design for the present. However Arundel thought it best to secure a party in the House of Lords against the intended bill, in case the project should be revived. At last the Commons themselves asked the Archbishop's pardon, admired his resolution, and confessed the injustice of their expedient (24).

[O] — After a warm controversy between the university and the Archbishop, &c.] The heads of the university were sent for up to court, and the Chancellor and Proctors turned out of their office. The students were so far disconcerted by these rigours, that they discontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and dissolving their body. The King, being informed of what passed, sent them a reprimanding letter at first, but afterwards was pleased to treat them more gently. His Highness's award in favour of the Archbishop was confirmed by act of Parliament (25). And to fortify himself still farther, Arundel procured a Bull from the Pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the university by Boniface. But this Bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV, who, as much as in

(24) Walsingham. Hist. Angl. p. 371, 372. See also Complete Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(25) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. iv. p. 166. Ex Rotul. in Turri Lond.

him

(21) In the Complete History of England, Vol. I. p. 288, 289.

(22) Complete, Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(23) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, liv. 11. an. 1404.

Soon after this controversy was ended, a Convocation being held at St Paul's in London, the Bishops and Clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitism at Oxford [P], and pressed the Archbishop to visit that University. Hereupon Arundel wrote to the Chancellor and others, giving them notice, that he intended to hold a visitation in St Mary's Church. His Delegates for this purpose were sent down soon after, and admitted by the University; who, to make some satisfaction for their backwardness in censuring Wickliff's opinions, wrote to the Archbishop, and asked his pardon (x): after which they appointed a Committee of twelve persons, to examine heretical books, particularly those of Wickliff. These Inquisitors into heretical pravity, having censured some conclusions extracted out of Wickliff's books, sent an account of their proceedings to the Archbishop, who confirmed their censures, and sent an authority in writing to some eminent members of the University, empowering them to enquire into persons suspected of heterodoxy, and oblige them to declare their opinions. These rigorous proceedings made Arundel extremely hated by the Wickliffites, who would sometimes compliment him with a cursing letter. However he went on with the prosecution, and not only solicited the Pope to condemn the above-mentioned conclusions, but desired likewise a Bull for the digging up Wickliff's bones. The Pope granted the first of these requests, but refused the other, not thinking it any useful part of discipline to disturb the ashes of the dead (y). Arundel's warm zeal for suppressing the Lollards, or Wickliffites, carried him to several unjustifiable severities (z) against the heads of that sect, particularly against Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham (z); and induced him to procure a Synodical Constitution, which forbade the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue [R]. This great Prelate died at Canterbury, after having sat seventeen years, the twentieth of February, 1413. The Lollards of those times pretended to discover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death [S]. He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury, near the west end, under a monument erected by himself in his life-time. He was a considerable benefactor to that church: for he built the Lanthorn Tower, and great part of the Nave; and gave a ring of five Bells, called from him *Arundel's Ring*, and distinguished by the names of *Trinity, Mary, Gabriel, Blasius, and John* (aa). He gave likewise to that church several rich vestments, a mitre enchafed with jewels, a silver gilt crozier, a golden chalice for the high altar, and another to be used only on St Thomas Becket's day. He gave also the church of Godmersham, out of the income of which, he ordered six-shillings and eight-pence to be given annually to every Monk of the convent, on the aforesaid festival. Lastly, he gave several valuable books, particularly two Missals, and a collection in one volume of St Gregory's works, with *Anathema* to any person, who should remove it out of the church (bb). Archbishop Arundel seems to have been a person of great natural capacity, well improved by study and experience; but is de-

(x) Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205.

(y) Id. ib. p. 206.

(z) See the article OLDCASTLE (Sir JOHN).

(aa) Godwin, inter Archiepisc. Cantuar. an. 1396.

(bb) Dies Obituales Archiepisc. Cantuar. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 62.

(26) Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205. and Cotton's Abridgment, p. 480.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Wood, ubi supra.

(29) See the article WICKLIFF.

him lay, restored the university to their former immunities (26). As to the King's decision, in case the University did not abide by it, but disturbed the Archbishop or his successors in their visitation, they were to forfeit a thousands pounds, and their franchises to be seized, and remain in the King's hands, till they submitted to the award (27).

[P] *The Bishops and clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitism at Oxford*] An University, they said, which was formerly the seat of learning and virtue, a support of the Catholic Faith, and a place of exemplary obedience and good behaviour: but now the Students were strangely degenerated, strove to distinguish themselves by contumacy and rebellion, and made it their business to sow tares among the wheat. They added further, that this heterodox party in the University had robbed the treasury, and, without the priority of the Doctors and Masters, made use of the public seal to give a recommendation to Heresy (28).

[Q] *He was carried to several unjustifiable severities against the Lollards.*] It cannot be denied, that the Lollards had given the Archbishop great provocation (if any could be great enough) for persecution. They attacked him in the authority of his character, and struck directly at the rights and possessions of the Church. It is true, they had began a reformation in religion, but maintained withal several gross and capital errors (29). But on the other side, the persecuting these people to the stake, was carrying the rigour of discipline too far; and acting in a manner not suitable to Christian charity, and the tenderness of the episcopal character.

[R] *He procured a synodical constitution, which forbade the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue.*] Let us hear what Bishop Godwin says of this matter. 'Cumque nihilo fecius istorum hominum crescere indies numerum conspiceret; ut caliginem offunderet oculis eorum, ne illos defigere possent amplius in pravis illis superstitionibus quæ in ecclesiam jam olim paulatim irrepserant; Scripturas

' facras in vernaculam Anglicanam converti, vel conversas legi vetuit in Synodo; cum non ita pridem in funere Annæ Reginæ concionatus, haud alio nomine eam magis laudaverit, quam quod Evangelia in Anglicanum idioma conversa assidue lectaret (30). — And observing that the number of these Sectarists daily increased, that he might in some measure put a stop to those erroneous opinions and practices, which had by degrees crept into the Church, he forbade, by a synodical decree, the translating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the reading them when translated: Arundel, I say, did this; who not long before, in a sermon preached at the funeral of Queen Anne, commended her for nothing more than her daily reading the Scriptures translated into English.' Let us see how Mr Collier endeavours to vindicate the Archbishop from this charge of inconsistency. 'To this it may be answered, that the Archbishop's constitution declares only against a translation made by a private hand; and that no version of the Holy Scriptures should be used till it was allowed by a provincial Synod, or at least by the Bishop of the Diocese (31). Now without doubt the Archbishop was so far in the right, as not to allow every private person the liberty of translating the Scriptures. To have done otherwise might have been a dangerous permission. It might have opened a passage to heresy and error, put it in the power of ignorant and designing men to corrupt the holy text, and poison the fountain of life (32). With submission to this ingenious author, this does not amount to a justification of Arundel. For what difference is there between obliging the people to receive such a translation or interpretation of the Scriptures as the Church shall think fit, and withholding the use of it entirely from them; since in both cases the people must pin their faith upon the Church's sleeve?

[S] *The Lollards pretended to discover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death.*] He died

(30) Godwin, ubi supra.

(31) Lindwood, Provincial. lib. v. tit. 4. p. 286.

(32) Collier, Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 635.

fervedly censured for the great share he had in dethroning King Richard, and his cruelty towards those whom he esteemed heretics.

of an inflammation in his throat. It is pretended, he was struck with this disease, as he was pronouncing sentence of excommunication and condemnation on the Lord Cobham; and from that time, notwithstanding all the assistance of medicines, he could swallow neither meat nor drink, and so was starved to death. The Lollards imputed this lamentable end to the just judgment of God upon him, both for his severity towards

that sect, and forbidding the Scriptures to be translated into English (34). Bishop Godwin tells us the same. *Justo Dei judicio factum ferunt, ut is qui verbum Dei, animæ pabulum, subtraxerat popularibus; clausis per anginam aut morbum aliquem consimilem faucibus, aliquantò ante mortem tempore, nec verbum potuerit fari, nec cibi vel minimum deglutire, adeoque mutus factusque tandem enecatus inedia interierit* (35). T

(34) Completè Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 311.

(35) Godwin, ubi supra.

ASAPH (*St*) gave his name to the Episcopal See of *St Asaph* in Wales (*a*). He was descended of a good family in North-Wales, and became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern the Scotch Bishop of that place presided [*A*]. That Prelate, being recalled to his own country, resigned both his convent and cathedral to Afaph, who demeaned himself with such sanctity, that after his death Llan-Elvy lost it's name, and took that of the saint. He was a diligent preacher, and had frequently this saying in his mouth; *They who withstand the preaching of God's word, eny man's salvation*. *St Asaph* flourished about the year 590, under Carentius King of the Britons. He wrote the *Ordinances* of his church, the *Life* of his master Kentigern, and some other pieces. The time of his death is not certainly known (*b*). Bale tells us, he was the first who received unction from the Pope [*B*]. After his death, the See of *St Asaph* continued vacant above five hundred years, till Geoffrey of Monmouth was placed therein [*C*].

(a) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 68. & Pits, de illust. Britan. Scriptor. an. 590.

(b) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Afaph. init.

[*A*] He became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern — presided.] Capgrave, who tells us this (1), gives Afaph a very advantageous character. His words are these: 'Erat in prædicta literatorum multitudine Afaph quidam genere & specie clarus, ab ipso pubertatis flore virtutibus et doctrina fulgens, qui vitam magistri in omni sanctitate et abstinencia sequi fatebatur. — Amidst this great number of learned men was one Afaph, descended of a good family, and eminent, from his very youth, for his virtues and learning; who diligently followed his master's example in all holiness and godliness of living.'

[*B*] Bale pretends, he was the first who received unction from the Pope.] Primus hic erat, (says he) qui a Romano Pontifice Unctionem accepit (2). It is not easy to say what our author's meaning is in these words. Pits, who is very ready to steal from Bale, especially whatever may seem of advantage to the papal cause, has entirely dropped this circumstance.

[*C*] The See of *St. Asaph* continued vacant above five hundred years.] For Henry of Huntington, who wrote about the year 1150, which is 560 years after *St Asaph* flourished, in reckoning up the Welsh Sees, mentions only Bangor, Landaff, and *St David*'s (3).

(2) De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 68.

(3) See Godwin, ubi supra.

ASCHAM (ROGER) was born at Kirby-Wiske, near North-Allerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1515 (*a*), his father's name was John Ascham, a man of a moderate fortune, but of a very extraordinary character, both for his understanding, and probity, and Steward to the noble family of Scroop; his mother's name was Margaret, descended of a genteel family, and allied to several persons of great distinction. Besides this Roger, these good people had two other sons, Thomas, and Anthony, and several daughters. As they lived in great credit in their country, so their conduct was very exemplary; the education of their children their principal concern, and their behaviour towards their neighbours equally honest and courteous; by which means they were universally beloved, and many honourable persons interested themselves in providing for their children. One thing is so remarkable of them, that it ought not to pass unmentioned; after living together forty-seven years in the greatest harmony, and with the most cordial affection, the good old people died the same day, and almost in the same hour (*b*). As for him of whom we are speaking, their third son Roger, some time before his father's death he was taken into the family of the Wingfields, and at the expence of the then Sir Anthony Wingfield, studied with his two sons under the care of Mr Bond. The brightness of his genius, and his great affection for learning, very early discovered themselves, by his eager reading all the English books which came to his hands. This propensity for study was encouraged by his generous benefactor, who when he had attained the elements of the learned languages, sent him, about the year 1530, to *St John's-college* in Cambridge (*c*). It was extremely happy for Mr Ascham, that at this time, *St John's-college* was one of the most flourishing in the university. It's master, Nicholas Medcalf, a great encourager of learning, and a most generous patron to such as addicted themselves thereto; his tutor, Mr Hugh Fitzherbert, had not only much knowledge, but also a most graceful and insinuating method of transfusing it into his pupils, amongst whom were very many, who, in process of time, became the greatest and the brightest men of the age (*d*). No wonder then, that to a genius naturally prone to learning, Mr Ascham added a spirit of emulation, which, together, induced him to study so hard, that while a perfect boy, he made a prodigious progress in polite learning, and became exceedingly distinguished, even amongst those who were the most eminent wits in the university [*A*]. He took his first degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the

(a) Edwardi Grant. Oratio de vita & obitu Rogeri Aschami, &c. p. 4. Thuan. Hist. lib. xliii. Tessier, Elog. T. I. p. 323.

(b) Grant, p. 5.

(c) Grant, ubi supra.

(d) Schoolmaster, B. i. p. 21. B. ii. p. 54. first edition. Grant, ubi supra, p. 8.

[*A*] The most eminent wits in the university.] At first Mr Ascham applied himself to teaching Greek for the sake of learning it thoroughly himself; to which course he was advised by his great friend

Mr Robert Pember, who told him, that he would acquire more knowledge by reading to a boy a single fable out of *Æsop*, than by hearing others read Latin lectures on the whole *Iliad* (1). The same gentleman,

(1) Ed. Grant Orat. de vita & obit. Roger. Ascham, p. 7.

the twenty-eighth of February, 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age, and on the twenty-third of March following, was elected fellow of his college by the interest of the master (e), though Mr Ascham's propensity to the Reformed Religion, had induced him to speak a little indiscreetly, and thereby put Dr Medcalf to no small trouble, in carrying his good intention into act, as our author himself tells us. These honours served only to excite him to still greater vigilance in his studies, particularly in that of the Greek tongue, wherein he attained an excellency peculiar to himself, and read therein, both publickly for the university, and privately in his college, with universal applause. At the commencement held after the feast of St Peter and St Paul, in 1536, he was inaugurated Master of Arts, being then twenty-one years old (f). By this time many of his pupils came to be taken notice of for their extraordinary proficiency, insomuch, that William Grindal who was one of them, at the recommendation of Mr Ascham, was made choice of by Sir John Cheeke, to be tutor to the lady Elizabeth. One may justly wonder, that he did not accept at this time of so great an honour himself; but it seems he was so delighted with an academical life, that he was not very desirous of changing it for one at court (g). His affection for his friends, though it filled him with a deep concern for their interests, and a tender regard for their persons, yet could not induce him to give up his understanding, especially in points of learning. For this reason he did not go immediately into the new pronunciation of the Greek, which his intimate friend, Sir John Cheeke, laboured, by his authority, to introduce throughout the university (h); yet when he had thoroughly examined, he came over to his opinion, and defended the new pronunciation with that zeal and vivacity, which gave a peculiar liveliness to all his writings. In July 1542, he supplicated the university of Oxford, to be incorporated Master of Arts, but whether he was or was not incorporated, does not appear by the register (i). To divert him after the fatigue of severer studies, he addicted himself to archery, which innocent amusement, drew upon him the censure of some envious persons. Whereupon he set himself to shew the expediency of such sort of divertisements in general, and the innocency and usefulness of shooting with the long-bow, in particular, in a small treatise, intituled, *Toxophilus*; which book he published in 1544, and dedicated it to King Henry VIII, then about to undertake his expedition against Boulogne. This work was very kindly received [B], and the King, at the recommendation of Sir William Paget, was pleased to settle a small pension upon him, which, after that Prince's death, was for some time discontinued, but at length restored to him, during pleasure,

(e) Schoolmaster, B. ii. fol. 54.

(f) Grant, ubi supra, p. 9.

(g) Ascham. Epistol. l. i. epist. 5. Grant, ubi supra.

(h) Grant, p. 10, 11.

(i) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

(2) Ascham's Schoolmaster, B. ii. p. 51—54.

(3) Ascham. Epist. l. iii. ep. 12.

(4) Ascham. Epist. p. 404.

(5) Ascham. Epist. l. ii. ep. 25.

(6) Grant, p. 11.

gentleman, directed him in his choice of Latin authors. By degrees he became himself so perfect a judge, both of sentiment and stile, that he lost no time in the perusal of mean or unprofitable books. Cicero and Cæsar he studied, especially, for the sake of their language; and whosoever considers his letters attentively, will find that he rarely makes use either of words or of phrases, but what are to be found in them. Among the philosophers he read, chiefly Plato and Aristotle, Thucydides and Herodotus, were his favourite historians; Demosthenes and Isocrates, the orators he studied most (2). On these two last mentioned authors, he read privately to his pupils, as he did likewise on the best and most famous of the Greek poets. By this means, he came to excel in Philology, of which there cannot be a stronger testimony, than his excellent letter to Hubert Languet, in defence of the new pronunciation of the Greek tongue (3), of which it is hard to say, whether the critical knowledge contained therein, or the elegance of the stile in which it is written, ought most to commend it. There is extant in the Oxford edition of his letters, Languet's answer (4), which is also well worth reading, by such as are desirous of understanding thoroughly that controversy, and the reasons which induced Sir John Cheeke, and Sir Thomas Smith, to support that which is now stiled the English pronunciation of the Greek.

[B] *This work was very kindly received*] The title of the book mentioned in the text, as it stands in the copy I have before me is this, *Toxophilus. The Schole or Partitions of shooting containyd in two Bookes, written by Roger Ascham, 1544. And now newly perused. Pleasaut for all gentlemen and Yomen of England, for theyr Pastime to reade, and profitable for their Use to followe both in Warre and Peace, Anno 1571. Imprinted at London in Fleete-streat, near to Saint Dunstone's Church, by Thomas Marfhe.* Before it stands a copy of Latin verses by Dr Walter Haddon. This second edition hath a dedication prefixed to it, addressed to all the gentlemen and yeomen of England; though, as is observed in the text, the first edition is dedicated to King Henry. There is among our author's letters, one addressed to his patron Gardiner, Bishop

of Winchester, wherein he speaks out plainly, what his design was in writing that book, and what he aimed at by writing it. As to the first, he acknowledges his intention was to introduce an easy and natural stile, in the writing of English prose, instead of that forced and frothy language, which was the foible of most writers of his time. With respect to the second, he owns that he had at that time a desire of travelling into Italy, and was in hopes of obtaining, by the dedication of his book to the King, a pension, which might enable him to fulfil his desire (5). Without all doubt, this little treatise may still be stiled a master-piece in it's kind, whether we consider the manner in which he handles his subject, or the matter which his book contains (6). His words are always suited to the nature of his discourse, never rising above, never sinking beneath it, but so naturally expressive of their author's sentiments, that the reader is never at a loss, as he never can be displeas'd with their meaning. Much learning he does indeed shew, where one would little expect it; but this he does so modestly, with such a graceful propriety, and so much to the peruser's advantage, that it is impossible to mistake that for pedantry, which is the pure effects of superior knowledge. So perspicuous, so natural his method, that if for no other reason yet for this, I should be glad to see it taken out of it's black letter'd garb, and put into the hands of young gentlemen at the university. But there is another reason, which renders this still more desirable. It abounds with fragments of English history, curious in themselves, and so lost in the ocean of our histories, that should they be at any time revived, they would certainly have all the charms of novelty. It would be unjust to conclude this note without remarking, That as this treatise gave the first rise to our author's fortunes, so it was the review of it by Bishop Gardiner, which restored them when the author thought them shipwrecked by the death of King Edward; for in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester, he takes notice of it's being perused and approved by the lords of the council, and being the means of introducing it's author into their favour (7).

(7) Ascham. Epist. l. ii. ep. 25. [C] His

pleasure, by Edward VI, and confirmed by Queen Mary, with an addition of ten pounds *per annum* (k). Among other accomplishments, he was remarkable for writing a very fine hand, for which reason he was made use of to teach that art to Prince Edward, the Lady Elizabeth, the two brothers Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk, and several other persons of distinction, and for many years wrote all the letters of the university to the King, and to the great men at Court (l). The same year that he published his book he was chosen university orator, in the room of Mr John Cheeke, an office which suited him extremely well, as gratifying his strong passion for an academical life, and affording him frequent opportunities of displaying his superior eloquence in the Latin and Greek tongues (m). In 1548, on the death of his pupil, Mr Grindal, he was sent for to Court, in order to instruct the Lady Elizabeth in the knowledge of the learned languages, which duty he discharged for two years, with great reputation to himself, and with much satisfaction to that illustrious person (n). For some time he enjoyed as great comfort and content at Court as he had done at College, but at length, on account of some ill-judged and ill-founded whispers, Mr Ascham took such a distaste at some in the Lady Elizabeth's family, that he left her a little abruptly, which he afterwards heartily repented, and took great and not unsuccessful pains, to get himself restored to her good graces (o). On his returning to the university, he resumed his studies, and the discharge of his office of publick orator, his circumstances being at this time pretty easy [C], by reason of considerable assistances from lovers of learning, and a small pension allowed him by King Edward (p). In the summer of 1550, he went into Yorkshire to visit his family and relations, from whence he was recalled to Court, in order to attend Sir Richard Morysine, who was then going Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. In his journey to London, he went to visit the Lady Jane Gray, at her father's house at Broadgate in Leicestershire, with whom he had been well acquainted at Court, and for whom he had already a very high esteem. At this visit it was, that he surprized her reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, in the absence of her tutor Mr Aylmer, in the article of whose life, a full account is given of their conversation and it's effects (q). In September following, he embarked with the beforementioned Ambassador for Germany, where he remained three years, and during that space, left nothing omitted which might serve to perfect his knowledge of men as well as books (r). As he travelled with an Ambassador, he thought it became him to make Politicks some part of his study, and in this he succeeded perfectly well, as appears from a short but very curious tract [D] which he wrote, concerning

(k) Grant, ubi supra, p. 21.
Ascham. Epist. lib. i. ep. 9.

(l) Idem, p. 9.

(m) Grant, p. 14.

(n) Ascham. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 40.

(o) Grant, p. 16.
Ascham. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 43. lib. iii. ep. 7.

(p) Grant, ubi supra.
Ascham. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 43.

(q) Grant, p. 17.
Schoolmaster, B. i. fol. 11.
Ascham. Epist. lib. iii. ep. 7.

(r) Grant, p. 17.
Ascham. Epist. lib. iii. ep. 3, 4, 6, &c.

[C] *His circumstances being pretty easy.* Among our author's first patrons, are to be reckoned the following illustrious persons, viz. Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, a Prelate distinguished no less by his extraordinary learning, untainted integrity, and extensive beneficence, than by his exalted station: He took our author early under his care, and besides many other services, which in respect to his merit he render'd him, was pleas'd to allow him an annual pension out of his pocket. Among our author's letters, there are extant several to this Archbishop full of profound acknowledgments, and of panegyrics in the strongest and sweetest strain (8). This prelate died in 1544, when Mr Ascham was in the thirtieth year of his age (9). He was also much cared for by the Duchess of Suffolk, and had in some measure her sons, Henry and Charles, entrusted to his care (10). Anne, Countess of Pembroke, and sister to the Marquis of Northampton, was another auspicious patroness and his pupil in the Latin tongue, as appears by two letters still extant in that language to that noble lady (11). To these we may add the Chancellor Wriothesley, Sir John Cheeke, and many others (12). To all of whom, Mr Ascham was peculiarly grateful, for a due sense of obligation was in him a predominant virtue, and no doubt, this thankfulness in his temper, was no inconsiderable help to his promotion. All the stations of life he occupied, were discharged with decency and honour, but he seems to have shone most in his post of publick orator at the university, where he distinguished himself with a zeal equally laudable and happy; for as a certain humorous writer expresses himself, he did good service in the hindring those sacrilegious persons who had dined upon the Church from supping on the Universities (13). This ought to be remembered to his everlasting honour, for many reasons, but for this especially, that it may provoke others to a like diligence, and a like respect for those luminaries of science which once eclipsed, we should soon fall into more than Egyptian darkness.

[D] *A short and very curious tract.* The title of this treatise runs thus. *A Report and Discourse, written by Roger Ascham, of the Affairs and State of Germany, and the Emperor Charles his Court, during*

certain Yeares, while the said Roger was there. At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per Decennium. My copy is without a date, nor does Anthony Wood mention when it was printed, though he mentions the book. This treatise is written in the form of a letter, addressed to John Aitley, in answer to one of his which is prefixed; he was a domestick of the lady Elizabeth, and his letter bears date the 19th of October 1552. The answer must have been written the same year, since there is no mention therein of King Edward's death, which happened the next. It is without compliment to Mr Ascham, one of the most delicate pieces of History that ever was penned in our language, and shews it's author to have been a man as capable of shining in the cabinet as in the closet. He first tells his friend, that the Emperor Charles V, was in peace with all the world in the year 1550, and yet at the time he was writing, which as we have shewn, was in the latter end of 1552, found himself so pressed by open, and so embarrassed by secret enemies, that after flying out of Germany, he was now in a manner at his wit's end, and knew not what to do. The plan therefore that he proposes to himself, is to enter into and to explain the causes of these disorders, the consequences of them, and the characters of those from whom they chiefly proceeded. Previous to this, he makes some observations on the various methods of writing history, and the several kinds thereof. In the course of it he renders unknown things clear, by comparing them with such as are perfectly known, and throughout the whole, writes nothing which he knew not to be true of his own experience, or from the authority of such as either in respect to their offices, or characters, were not above all suspicion. On the whole, this short piece gives the clearest and most distinct account of the motives which led to one of the greatest events in that age, viz. The Emperor's resignation, and contains such a number of curious facts, with such natural and pertinent reasonings upon them, as can scarce be found within the same compass in our own, or perhaps in any other modern language. This is by much the scarcest and the least known of all our author's writings, and

even

(8) Ascham. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 1, 3, 5, 6.

(9) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. p. ii. p. 86.

(10) Grant, p. 15.

(11) Ascham. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 31, 32.

(12) Grant, ubi supra.

(13) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 613.

concerning Germany, and of the affairs of Charles V. He was also of great use to the Ambassador, as well in the management of his publick concerns, as in being the companion of his private studies (s), which were for the most part in the Greek language, wherein he read Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Demosthenes, three days in a week, the other three he copied the letters which the Ambassador sent to England (t). While he was thus employed, his friends in England procured for him the post of Latin Secretary to King Edward, for which he was in a particular manner obliged to the kind intercession of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State (u). But whatever satisfaction resulted to him from hence, he did not enjoy it long, being recalled on account of the King's death, whereby, for the present, he lost all his places, together with his pension, and, which was worse, all expectation of obtaining any farther favours at Court. In this sad situation he was at first in a manner hopeless, and therefore retired to the university, merely to indulge his melancholy (w). But the prospect quickly became more promising, his friend the Lord Paget mentioned him to Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Lord High Chancellor, who very frankly received him into his favour, notwithstanding Mr Ascham remained firm to his religion, which was so far from being a secret to the Bishop, that he had many malicious informations given him on that head, which however he treated with contempt, and abated nothing in friendship to our author on that account [E]. He in the first place procured him the re-establishment of his pension, which consisted of but ten pounds a year, with the addition of ten pounds a year more; he fixed him in the post of Latin Secretary to the King and Queen, and by her majesty's interest and his own, kept him in his fellowship of St John's, and in his place of orator to the university, to Midsummer 1554 (x). He was likewise well known to, and in great credit with, Cardinal Pole, who though he wrote elegantly in the Latin tongue, yet he would sometimes make use of Mr Ascham's pen, and particularly in translating his speech to the Parliament, which he made as the Pope's Legate, and of which translation he sent a copy to the Pope (y). On the first of June 1554, he married Mrs Margaret Howe, a lady of a good family, and with whom he had a very considerable fortune, of whom he himself gives an excellent character, in one of his letters to his friend Sturmius (z). His favour with Queen Mary's ministers lasted as long as they were in power, and he was even so happy, as to enjoy the countenance of the Queen herself, who conversed with him often, and was much pleased with his company (a). On her death however he was far from losing any of his preferments, that, on the contrary, having been previously reconciled to the Lady Elizabeth, he was immediately distinguished by her, on her accession to the throne. Thenceforward to the day of his death he was always constant at Court, very fully employed in the discharge of his two great offices, the one of Secretary for the Latin tongue, and the other of Tutor to her Majesty in the learned languages, wherein he read some hours with her every day. This interest of his at Court, would have procured a man of a more active temper many considerable advantages; but such was either Mr Ascham's indolence, or disinterestedness, that he never asked her Majesty any thing, either for himself or his family, though he received several considerable benefactions without asking, particularly the Prebend of Westwarg in the church of York, in 1559, which he held to his death (b). Yet how cold soever he was in regard to his own affairs, he was very far from being negligent in those of his friends; for whom he was ready to do any good office in his power, and in nothing readier than in parting with his money, though he never had much to spare. He was always in company with the greatest men of the Court, and having once in conversation heard the best method of educating youth debated with some heat, he from thence took occasion, at the request of Sir Richard Sackville, to write his *Schoolmaster*, which he lived to finish, but not to publish [F]. His application to study rendered him infirm throughout his whole

even among the copies that are now and then to be met with, there is hardly one perfect.

[E] *Abated nothing in his friendship to our author on that account.* One cannot help being astonished at Mr Ascham's good fortune under the reign of Queen Mary, considering that he never made any secret, not only of his being a Protestant, but of his being zealously so, while in the mean time, his friend and patron, Sir John Cheeke, was in the Tower for his religion, and converted by this sole argument, *Obuse whether you will sign yourself a recantation, or have a warrant signed for your execution* (14). The former of which he chose; and there is amongst Mr Ascham's letters, that very one which was written by or for Sir John Cheeke, upon this occasion (15). This was owing in all probability to two causes, the innocency of his life, and the usefulness of his pen. The former made it unreasonable to proceed harshly against him, and the latter considering that Queen Mary's ministry were most of them men of great parts and learning, made his service appear more necessary than it would have done at another time. How well he answered their expectations, may be gathered from the many letters of his

which are extant, and how assiduous he was in the discharge of his duty, may be understood from this instance; that in the beginning of the reign of Philip and Mary, he wrote in three days seven and forty letters to persons of such high rank, that the lowest in dignity was a Cardinal (16). His duty and diligence answering so fully the character which Lord Paget had given him, and his other patrons, Pole and Gardiner, being the Queen's chief ministers so long as she lived, we may thence gather, that a man of Ascham's prudence, was pretty safe even in those troublesome times. Yet neither his complaisance, nor the care he had of his own safety, could divorce him from his Protestant friends; he took care to maintain his interest with the lady Elizabeth, when it was dangerous to seek such an interest, and he lived in such strict friendship with Sir William Cecil, as contributed not a little to his prosperity in the succeeding reign.

[F] *He lived to finish but not to publish.* This work of his, which is that whereby he is chiefly known to posterity, bears in it's original edition this title. *The Schoolmaster. Or a plain and perfitte Way of teaching Children to understand, write, and speak*

(s) Grant, p. 19.

(t) Grant, ubi supra.

(u) Ascham. Epist. lib. i. ep. 2. Grant, p. 20.

(w) Grant, p. 21. Ascham. Epist. l. iii. ep. 18.

(x) Ascham. Epist. l. i. ep. 2, 3, 18, 19, 23. Grant, p. 22.

(y) Grant, p. 23-25.

(z) Grant, p. 22. Ascham. Epist. 3, 2.

(a) Grant, p. 25.

(b) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 65.

(14) See the article CHEEK.

(15) Ascham. Epist. p. 436.

(16) Grant, p. 22.

whole life, and at last he grew so weak, that he was unable to read in the evenings or at night; to make amends for which he rose very early in the morning. The year before his death he was seized with a hec tick, which brought him very low, and then, contrary to his former custom, relapsing into night studies, in order to compleat a Latin poem with which he designed to present the Queen on the new year, he, on the twenty-third of December 1568, was attacked by an aguish distemper, which threatened him with immediate death. He was visited in his last sickness by Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, who found him perfectly calm and chearful, in which disposition he continued to the thirtieth of the same month, when he expired (c). On the fourth of January following, he was interred according to his own directions, in the most private manner, in St Sepulchre's church, his funeral sermon being preached by the beforementioned Dr Nowell. He was universally lamented, and even the Queen herself, not only shewed great concern, but was also pleased to say, that she had rather have lost ten thousand pounds than her tutor Ascham. His character is very well drawn by Buchanan in the following short epigram, which he consecrated to the memory of his friend.

(c) Grant, p. 25
—29.

Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camænæ

Et Latîæ vera cum pietate dolent.

Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,

Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit (d).

(d) Buchan. Epi-
gram. lib. ii. p.
339.

With thine, the Greek and Latin Muses join,

O Britain! to lament at Ascham's shrine.

To Princes dear, delightful to his friends,

He liv'd on little, yet to mighty ends.

His only failing was too great a propensity to dice and cock-fighting, which the learned Bishop Nicholson would persuade us to be an ill-grounded calumny (e); but as it is mentioned by Camden (f), as well as some other contemporary writers (g), we dare not omit it. Certain it is, that he died in very indifferent circumstances, as may appear from these two instances. First, the address of his widow to Sir William Cecil, in her dedication of his *Schoolmaster*, wherein she says expressly, that Mr Ascham left her a poor widow with many orphans, and this only to comfort them, that, as his relations, they would be under the protection of that honourable person to whom she addresses herself. Secondly, it appears from Dr Grant's dedication of Ascham's letters to Queen Elizabeth, wherein he most pathetically recommends to her his pupil, Giles Ascham, the son of our author, telling her, that he had lost his father who should have taken care of his education, and that he was left poor and without friends, having indeed a

(e) English Librar-
y, p. 247.

(f) *Annal. sub*
an. 1568.

(g) Clark's *Mir-*
ror, c. 61. p. 240.
See also Wood's
Athen. Oxon.
and Lloyd's *State*
Worthies.

mother
speak the Latin Tong, but especially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in Gentlemen and Noblemens Houses, and commodious also for all such as have forgot the Latin Tong, and would by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short Time, and with small paines, recover a sufficient Habilitie to understand, write, and speake Latin, by Roger Ascham, Ann. 1571. At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per Decennium. Notwithstanding this date in the title page, the colophon tells us, it was printed in 1573. This work is now well known to the world by Mr Upton's edition, illustrated with notes (17), which is now out of print; and while I am writing is said to be in the press: The occasion of the author's composing this book, is briefly touched in the text, but it may not be amiss to insist a little more particularly upon it here. When the great Plague was at London, in 1563, Queen Elizabeth lay at her castle of Windsor, where it so fell out, that on the 10th of December there dined in Sir William Cecil's lodgings, Sir William Petre, Sir J. Mason, Dr Wootton, Sir Richard Sackville, Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr Haddon, Mr Astley, Master of the Jewel-house; Mr Hampton, Mr Nicasius, and our author. At dinner Secretary Cecil happened to say that he had heard strange news that morning: viz. That several scholars at Eaton, had run away on account of their master's severity, which he condemned as a very great fault in such as had the education of youth. Sir William Petre maintained the contrary, and being a severe man in his temper, pleaded warmly in defence of the rod. Dr Wootton, in a soft voice and with smooth words, supported what the Secretary had said; Sir John Mason merrily bantered both sides, with-

out adhering to either. Mr Haddon seconded Sir William Petre, and, in defence of what he advanced, observed, that the best school-master then in England, was the greatest beater. This provoked our author to speak; who said, that if it was so, it was owing to the boy's parts, and not to their master's beating, which he was sure did often harm and seldom, if ever, good. Sir William Cecil being mightily pleased with what Mr Ascham said, engaged into discourse more largely upon the subject; to which also Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr Astley, and the rest, spoke a little, only Sir Richard Sackville said not a word. After dinner Mr Ascham went to the Queen, with whom he read one of the orations of Demosthenes: Sir Richard Sackville coming up, and finding him in the Queen's privy-chamber, as soon as company came in, took him aside to a window; there he told him, that though he spoke nothing, he would not have been from that dinner for a great deal of money; that he knew to his cost, the truth of what Mr Secretary Cecil had said, since the beating of such a school-master at fourteen, had given him an aversion to learning, which he said should make him the more careful of his grandson Robert Sackville. On this account he proposed to Mr Ascham, that he should fix upon a good school-master, and send his own son Giles, to be bred up together with his grandson under his care, by those rules, which, as Sir Richard said, he thought our author could draw up the best of any man (18). This is the accident gave birth to Ascham's *School-master*, a book that will be always useful, and everlastingly esteemed on account of the good sense, judicious observations, excellent characters of antient authors, and many pleasant and profitable passages of English history, which are plentifully sprinkled therein.

(18) See the pre-
face to the
Schoolmaster.

mother who had the will, but not the means of affording him such breeding, as the son of such a father deserved. Besides this son he had two others, Dudley and Sturmer, of whom we know little. But as for Giles Ascham, Lord Burleigh took him under his protection, by whose interest he was commended to a scholarship of St John's, and afterwards by the Queen's mandate, to a fellowship of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and was celebrated, as well as his father, for his admirable Latin stile in epistolary writings (b) [G].

(b) Grant, p. 30
—38.

[G] *Admirable Latin stile in epistolary writings.* As to the Epistles of our author, which were also a posthumous work, collected however very soon after his death by Mr Grant, master of Westminster school, in order to recommend his son, as we have in the text noted, to Queen Elizabeth's favour, let their character be first seen by Bishop Nicholson's account of them, and of their author, and then we will speak of their several editions. 'These letters,' says that learned Prelate, have, chiefly on account of their elegance, had several editions. The author was some time an instructor in the Latin tongue, and afterwards Latin secretary to King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and in this latter station, was frequently employed to translate several letters of the then English ministers of state, to foreign Princes, Ambassadors, and other great men. In these we have all the fine variety of language that is proper; either for rendering a petition or complaint the most agreeable, and withal a very great choice of historical matter that is hardly preserved any where else. Together with the author's own letters, we have a good many that are directed to him, both from the most eminent foreigners of his time, such as Sturmius, Sleidan, &c. and the best scholars, as well as the wisest statesmen of his own country. And the publisher of these, assures us, that he had

'the perusal of a vast number of others in the English tongue, which were highly valuable. His attendance on Sir Richard Morrison, in his German embassy, gave him an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of that country, and the extraordinary freedom and familiarity, with which the two Sister Queens treated him here at home, afforded him a perfect knowledge of the most secret mysteries of state in this kingdom; so that were the rest of his papers retrieved, we could not perhaps have a more pleasing view of the main Arcana of those reigns, than his writings would give us (19).' Mr Grant's first edition came out in 1576; there was another in 1577; a third in 1578; a fourth in 1590, all at London, in 8vo. There were two editions at Hanau, one in 1602, the other in 1610; also one at Nurembergh in 1611. The last and best edition is that of Oxford in 1703, published by the celebrated Mr Elstob, who has added from MSS many letters, which were not in the former editions; but hath omitted Mr Ascham's Poems, which are to be met with in the rest. Mr Wood mentions another work of our author's, intitled *Apologia contra Miffam, &c. i. e. An Apology against the Mass, &c.* said to be printed in 1577, in 8vo (20). Some writers mention a treatise *de Imitatione*, but that is included in the last edition of his Letters (21). E

(19) English Historical Library, ubi supra.

(20) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

(21) Ascham. Epist. lib. I. ep. 1.

(a) Godwin, ubi infra, calls him *Ascotb.*

(b) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lincolnshire, p. 156.

(c) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. inter Episc. Sarisbur. an. 1438.

(1) Worthies of England, Lincolnshire, p. 156.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 157.

ASCOUGH (a) (WILLIAM) Doctor of Laws, and Bishop of Salisbury in the reign of King Henry VI, was descended from a very antient family seated at Kelsey in Lincolnshire (b) [A]. He was consecrated to the aforementioned See in the chapel of Windfor, July 20, 1438: soon after which he was appointed the King's Confessor, this being the first instance of a Bishop's discharging that office. The most remarkable particular concerning this Prelate was the tragical manner of his death. For after he had fat near twelve years, the famous rebel Jack Cade and his followers, coming to Edington in Lincolnshire, where the Bishop then was, and being joined by several of that Prelate's own tenants, fell upon his carriages and plundered them, taking away no less than ten thousand marks in money. The next day they assaulted the Bishop himself, whilst he was officiating at the altar, and dragged him away to a neighbouring hill, where they barbarously murdered him [B] by dashing out his brains: then tearing his bloody shirt in pieces, to be preserved in memory of the action, they left his body naked on the place. This massacre happened the 29th of June 1450 (c).

[A] *He was descended from a very antient family, seated at Kelsey in Lincolnshire.* Dr Fuller (1) collects this chiefly from Bishop Ascham's arms, which, he says, he saw at Salisbury, 'With allusion to the arms of that house, and some episcopal addition.' This likeness, the Doctor tells us, 'Is with him a better evidence, than a sameness of arms would have been, knowing (as he expresses it) that the clergy in that age delighted to disguise their coats from their paternal bearing.'

[B] *They barbarously murdered him.* Upon the mention of this tragedy, Dr Fuller (2) gives us the following distich:

Sic concussa cadit populari MITRA tumultu,
Protegat optantus hunc DIADEMA Deus.

By people's fury MITRE thus cast down,
We pray henceforward God preserve the CROWN.

Bishop Godwin is at a loss for the reason of this cruel treatment. *Illi quam ob causam inoffensi non habeo compertum* (3). But Dr Fuller conceives it was 'Because he was learned, pious, and rich, three capital crimes in a clergyman (4)'. The last mentioned circumstance is sufficient to account for this horrid tragedy: for it is more than probable they murdered the good Bishop, the better to secure the riches they had robbed him of.

(3) Godwin, ubi supra.

(4) Fuller, ubi supra.

(a) MS. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Asgill by his intimate Friend Mr. A. N. p. 1.

(b) See the preface of an Essay on a Registry for titles of Lands.

ASGILL (JOHN), a late ingenious and eminent writer, was descended of parents in a middle state of life, who gave him a good education, and then sent him to London, in order to acquire some knowledge of the Laws, whereby he might gain his living. The natural quickness of his genius, joined to the good fortune he had of rendering himself agreeable to the gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, proved the means of recommending him to Mr Eyre, a very eminent Lawyer, and one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, in the reign of King William (a). Under so able a master, he quickly acquired a competent knowledge of the Laws, and was thereupon called to the bar, and was soon taken notice of, as a rising man in his profession (b). His talent for politicks, and a very uncommon vein of wit and humour, which was discovered in two pamphlets he published in the year 1698, drew the eyes of the world still more upon him, and

acquired

acquired him the universal character of a person of extraordinary though singular genius [A]. Dr Barebone, the famous projector, who built the new square in Lincoln's-Inn, and who, by a multitude of schemes, had brought his affairs into a very perplexed situation, made choice of Mr Asgill, first for his friend and counsel, and afterwards for his executor, for a very odd reason (c), of which the reader may be informed in the notes [B]. His own affairs were a good deal embarrassed before he took upon him this trust, which served to increase his difficulties not a little, so that upon the act for resuming forfeited estates in Ireland, passing in the year 1699, and appointing Commissioners to hear and determine claims, he resolved to go over into that island (d). Before his departure, he published that strange treatise on *The Possibility of avoiding Death*, which made him so well known to the world, and which will hinder his being ever forgot. A treatise so amazing as to its matter, and dressed out in such an unusual manner, that in all probability

(c) MS. Memoirs, p. 1.

(d) See Mr Asgill's Defence on his expulsion, p. 39.

[A] *A person of extraordinary though odd genius.* Of this he afforded the world sufficient evidence, in the two pamphlets mentioned in the text. The first was entitled, *Several assertions proved, in order to create another species of money than gold and silver*; the second, *An essay on a registry for titles of lands*, London, 1698, 12mo. This, though written in a humorous stile, must be allowed to be as sensible a piece as was perhaps ever written on that important subject, and is become extremely scarce. It may not therefore be amiss to give the reader a specimen, as well of this piece, as of our author's method of handling grave subjects in a merry way. His fourth assertion runs in these words, *That all objections made against such registry, on account of reducing the practice of the Law, are one good reason for it*, which he thus proves. 'The practice of the Law in civil causes is divided into three sorts; first, the transferring of titles, which is called Conveyancing. Secondly, the shewing forth and defending these titles in forms of Law, and this is called Pleading. Thirdly, the arguing upon these conveyances and pleadings (when they come in contest) before the Judges, and this is called, Practice at the bar. So that the practice of the two latter, doth arise from the errors or uncertainties of the former. Were the titles of lands, once made certain, (which they may be by a registry, and no otherwise) I know what I think of the future gains of the Law: the profit of the Law arises from the uncertainty of property, and therefore as property is more reduced to a certainty, the profit of the Law must be reduced with it, the fall of one must be the rising of the other. Actions of slander and battery, and causes on the crown side, would scarce find some of the circuteers perriwigs, and yet (if we observe evidence) they stand obliged to disputes in titles for many of these. Thief and whore, kick and cuff, are very often the effect of forcible entries, trespasses, and serving of process, in which the title comes frequently in question. But the reducing this part of the practice of the Law, are things not seen as yet. *The proximus ardet* will fall upon the conveyancers, and that not by altering the forms of legal conveyances, or taking them out of their hands, or putting any stop to the dealing in lands, (for that will be increased) but by exposing their manner of practice in this conveyancing part of the Law. For as it was numbered among the sins of one of the Kings of Israel, that he made priests of the meanest of the people; so it is the misfortune of the people of England, that conveyancers are frequently made out of old attornies or noblemens lease-makers sumpt up in bar gowns. Two qualifications are necessary to a compleat conveyancer. First, that he be incapable of dispatching business so fast as he should; secondly, that he doth not dispatch it so fast as he can. Not to speak of bantering their clients with their seeming care and caution in delaying their business, shewing great trunks of old writings in their chamber, calling to their clerks (before them) for one Lord's settlement, and another Lady's jointure, to tell what great clients they have: and when they come to be paid, they reckon their fees by longitude and latitude. I have seen an original mortgage of one skin bred up by a scrivener (in six years) to one and twenty, by assigning it every year, and adding one skin to every assignment, by recitals and covenants. As cows after three years old have one wrinkle added to each horn for every year after, which shews their age; and I am informed, that one deed of sixty skins, was heaved out of a conveyancer's office the other day. At this rate in a little

time, the clients must drive their deeds out of their lawyers chambers in wheel-barrow. These assignments and re-assignments of securities, have been a pretty sort of perquisites, especially, if they have but an old judgment or statute kept on foot, these are certain annual incomes. I knew two Serjeants at Law (usurers) made it their common practice every long vacation, to swap securities with one another, to make their mortgagees pay for the assignments; and (doing this without advice of counsel) they once merged an old term, and thereby spoiled their title to secure their fees; which (as to them) answers the character given of these graduates by a foreign historian, *Est in Regno Angliæ Genus Hominum doctissimum indolissimum communiter vocat, The learned Serjeants at Law*: Now I cannot think but these conveyancers and assigners, would be ashamed to produce such things to a registry; and that therefore, they must either abbreviate their conveyances, or lose their practice. But whether this registry will make these reductions: 1. Of the length of conveyances. 2. The uncertainties of titles: and, 3. By consequence, the other practice in the Law, I cannot tell: however, I hope it, and believe some of them fear it. But if the cries of Monks and Friars had been regarded, we had never heard of the dissolution of monasteries; and if the clamours of Masters of Request, Clerks, and Escheators, had prevailed, the court of wards and liveries had been standing to this day; and yet perhaps, most of these had either purchased their places, or were bred up to that part of the Law only (1). This excellent pamphlet is amongst many other curious pieces preserved in the large collection of State Tracts in the reign of King William III (2), where we also find another treatise in answer to some objections made to such registry, which by the stile should seem to be Mr Argill's also, only his name is not prefixed, as his manner was to every thing he published (3).

(1) Essay on a Registry for titles of Lands, p. 18.

(2) Vol. II. p. 693.

(3) Ibid. p. 704.

[B] *Of which the reader will be informed in the notes.* Dr Barebone was not only a schemist, but a humorist, which the following story will illustrate; he had drawn a gentleman in the city into a building project there, by which he lost a considerable sum of money. To make him amends, he engaged him in another scheme of building in the fields; where he buried the remainder of his fortune. Whether the gentleman had really any foul play, or whether his misfortunes rendered him suspicious, so it was, that meeting Barebone in Leicester-Fields, he clapt his hand upon his sword, and bid him draw, *Draw*, said the Doctor calmly, *why, where would you have me draw you, I have already drawn you from one end of the town to the other* (4). Such was the man who fixed upon Mr Asgill for his executor, and the sole cause he assigned for it was, *That he should never pay his debts*. As soon therefore as the testator was dead, Mr Asgill summoned his creditors to Lincoln's-Inn Hall, where he produced the Will, and to avoid drawing things into length, or feeding them with false expectations, he made them a very laconick speech. *You have heard, gentlemen, the Doctor's testament, and I will religiously fulfil the will of the dead*. The gentleman who furnished these memoirs rightly observes, that the Doctor and the Counsellor resembled each other strongly, and that there was not perhaps, such another pair in the three kingdoms. It may not be amiss to observe, that his being Dr Barebone's executor, gave him an interest in the borough of Brambet, for which he sat as Burgess in several Parliaments (5).

(4) British Journal, No. 39.

(5) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Asgill, p. 15.

[C] *It*

(c) *Ibid.*, p. 40, 41. bility it will be ever read, though never believed (e) [C]. On his arrival in Ireland, the favour of the Commissioners, and Mr Asgill's own merit, got him into excellent practice, the whole nation almost was then engaged in law-suits, and among these, there were few considerable in which Mr Asgill was not retained on one side or other; so that in a very short space of time, he became master of a considerable fortune, which, however, instead of making him happy, became his ruin. He purchased a large estate for the life of Nicholas Brown, Esq; commonly called Lord Viscount Kinmare (f), having been so created by King James II. This estate, which was worth about three thousand five hundred pounds a year, he bought for a very small consideration, in trust, as it was suggested, for the family of that unfortunate Lord. The interest this estate gave him occasioned Mr Asgill's being elected a member of the House of Commons in Ireland, an honour which he did not long enjoy. He was in Munster when the sessions began, and before he could get to Dublin he was informed, that, upon a complaint, the House had voted his book to be a blasphemous libel, and had ordered it to be burnt; however, he ventured to take his seat in the House, where he sat just four days, when he was expelled for his performance (g). We have an account of this matter given by himself, which is a very fair one, and will certainly divert the reader [D]. His affairs made him

(f) MS. Memoirs of Mr Asgill, p. 3. Defence on his expulsion, p. 41.

(g) Defence on his expulsion, p. 41.

[C] *It will be ever read, though never believed.* The title of this treatise was, *An Argument, proving, That according to the Covenant of eternal Life revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be translated from hence into that eternal Life, without passing through Death, although the Human Nature of Christ himself, could not be thus translated till he had passed through death.* It was printed originally in the year 1700, and has been privately reprinted several years since. To give the reader any notion of this piece, in any other than its author's words is impossible. Thus then he speaks of it himself. 'To them that knew not the reason, it looked like a whim, for the man in the gospel to walk about the streets with his bed upon his back on the sabbath-day, while the rest of the people were at their devotion, and perhaps it may seem more odd in me, to bolt out an argument in Divinity (as a bone of contention) into the world, at a time when the rest of mankind are so deeply engaged in secular affairs. But he that regardeth the wind: will never sow; and he that waiteth for times and seasons will never do business. And as that seeming whimsical man said to them that reproved him, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, take up thy bed and walk: so say I to them that affront me, He that revealed this unto me, the same bad me tell it abroad, as a watch-word to be given out from one to another (every man to his fellow) as fast as he receives it: Let him that heareth, say come! And having thus delivered my part of the message, I look upon myself to have no more to do with it afterwards than you have. But hereby I shall know, whether this doctrine be mine or no. If it be mine, it will sink and fall and die, but if it be his, that I think it is, it will kindle itself like a firebrand from one to another, till it hath set the world in arms against death. And having thus left the decision of the truth of it to the success, I begin to feel myself more easy under it. And as the four leprous men said to one another in the gate of Samaria; if we fit here we are sure to die with famine, and if we go into the camp of the Syrians, we can but die by the sword: so I have said to myself, if I submit to death, I am sure to die, and if I oppose it, I can but be killed and die. And should I be baffled in this essay, I can lose nothing by it, but that little credit with the world which I value not, in comparison of this attempt. And as those four desperate men venturing themselves upon this resolution, did thereupon find, that they had been before more afraid than hurt; so in making this folly against death, methinks I have discovered it to be rather a bugbear than an enemy. And therefore as they having filled themselves with plunder, thought it their duty to go, and tell the news to them that were ready to perish: So I cannot satisfy myself to eat my morsel alone, without communicating to them, who I know with myself must, by reason of death, be all their life-time subject to bondage. And as their glad tidings of plenty was nevertheless welcome to the King and people of Israel, for being brought to them by men poor and miserable; so if my news be true in itself, why should it fare the worse for being told by the greatest of sinners? And perhaps this qualifies me to be the messenger, lest one more holy should seem to be honoured with it for his own personal sanctity. I re-

member a sudden retort once given me by a Lady, (to whom I excused this my emulation by the example of Enoch), but you are not so good as he was; for Enoch walked with God. And this might have puzzled me, had not Paul (in his list of worthies) counted upon the translation of Enoch, as done by faith: By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death. Why then, if I have as good a faith for this purpose as he had, I am in this point (*quoad hoc*) as good a man as he was, though I fall short of him, in all his other qualities. Nor is it to be expected, that any assembly of divines should be employed in such a business as this. They inclose themselves within the pale of their own Church, and whoever breaks through that fence, is prosecuted as a trespasser upon their jurisdiction. And thus the Jewish priests excommunicated a layman for teaching them religion, Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us? and they cast him out. But he that had opened his eyes took him in. And such an exchange I should reckon no great misfortune. But is it not a shame, that this Enoch in the beginning of time, so long before the receipt of the promise, should attain to that faith in Christ, which we, that have seen him crucified before our eyes, think a sin to offer at? But having been tempted to commit this sin (like a true mother child of my grand parent Eve) I would tempt my friends to do so too. And all I ask of them is this; having abstracted the study of seven years recluse into less than two hour's reading, I only desire the perusal of it at a time of leisure, when men and women design to be serious, and think most for themselves. And then I flatter myself, that they will find it not the most unpleasant hour that ever they spent in their life. For this I know, that nothing is more pleasant to us than news; and what I have said, was never said by man before. And this I know, that (notwithstanding the defection of our natures) nothing is more pleasant to man than truth. And what I have said is true. And a truth that all the gainers shall not be able to resist, though it be in contradiction to the most received truth in the world. That all men must die (6). It is scarce to be conceived how great a noise this small tract raised, and how general an outcry was made against it's author. The Rev. Dr Sacheverell mentioned it among other blasphemous writings, which induced him to think the Church in danger (7), the poets too were very hard upon Mr Asgill, and what is not a little strange, almost all the world concluded that Mr Asgill must be an Atheist, because he had taken so much pains about religion. The truth seems to be, that he was a violent Enthusiast, and having studied the Scriptures in his mother tongue, and without consulting any commentators, in consequence of which, he frequently mistook their meaning, this led him to believe so much, that those who believed less, in order to vindicate themselves, would needs have it, that he did not believe at all. To support what has been said, as well as to gratify the curiosity of the reader, it will be necessary to add, in other notes, a specimen or two of that wit, which Mr Asgill's book occasioned.

[D] *Will certainly divert the reader.* This we find in a tract of the author's, published in the year 1712. Having, says he, condemned and executed the

(6) Preface to the Argument, &c. by Mr Asgill.

(7) See Dr Sacheverell's Trial, p. 295.

him very uneasy in Ireland, where he involved himself in various suits, with the unfortunate Lord Kinmare's family, notwithstanding he married his daughter, a lady of distinguished beauty and merit, and for whom Mr Asgill had a most tender affection (b). In order to deliver himself from these troubles, he disposed of part of his interest, which created fresh disputes, and a new train of law-suits. His expulsion seems to have been in the year 1703, and in 1705 he returned into England, where he was chosen a member for the borough of Bramber in the county of Suffex, and sat without dispute or interruption for several years (i). But in an interval of privilege in 1707, being taken in execution at the suit of Mr Holland, he was committed to the Fleet. The House meeting in November, Mr Asgill applied, and on the sixteenth of December he was demanded out of custody by a Serjeant at Arms with the mace, and the next day took his seat in the House. Between his application and his discharge, complaint was made to the House, of the treatise so often mentioned, and a Committee was appointed to examine it. Of this Committee, Edward Harley, Esq; was Chairman, who made a report, that the book contained several blasphemous expressions, and seemed to be intended to expose the Scriptures. Thursday the eighteenth of September, 1707, was appointed for him to make his defence, which he did with infinite wit and spirit, but inasmuch as he still continued to maintain the assertions he had laid down in that treatise, he was expelled (k) [E]. Many have surmised, and indeed Mr Asgill himself was of opinion, that though his book was made the handle, yet his circumstances were the true cause of his being thus severely treated. It was indeed the first session of the first Parliament of Great Britain, and the memoirs I have suggest, that several of the north British members were scandalized at a person's sitting in the House, and disposing of other folk's property, who, by his lying in prison, had visibly no property of his own (l). Thenceforward Mr Asgill's affairs grew worse and worse. He retired first to the Mint, and then became a prisoner in the King's-Bench, removed himself thence to the Fleet, and

(b) See P. S. to his Defence, p. 60.

(i) See the List of this Parliament at the end of the History of Europe for 1705.

(k) See his Defence on his expulsion, p. 37.

(l) MS. Memoirs, &c. p. c. Complet Hist. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399.

' the book without hearing me, there was nothing left between that, and my expulsion, but to prove me the author; which no one can think I intended to do down, when I had published it with my name to it. Yet as it happened, I had then an opportunity to put them upon the proof of it. The Printer having fold off his first edition, broke the press. And the demands for more putting him upon a second, he committed in that, above thirty *errata's* from the first. And my accuser in Ireland, (who, I hear, is since promoted to be Secretary to the French prophets) having one of this second edition in his hand, demanded of me a categorical answer, whether I was the author? To which I replied, that I was author of a treatise written upon that argument; but that if I must be categorical, what he then shewed me, was not a print from my copy. And therefore, since he had accused me of (a crime higher than high-treason) blasphemy; I did demand it, as the justice of the house, that they would not admit any less evidence to convict me of this crime, than if I stood indicted of high-treason. Upon this, up stood two volunteer evidence. The first a gentleman of the Law, who at my coming to Ireland (about three years before) had invited me to dine with him at his own house (where I never was either before or after). And his evidence was, That there was then some jocular discourse about a book. The other was a member (with whom I had a suit of law) and his evidence was, That I had turned about upon my heel, and said I had wrote a book, and did not care who knew it. And upon this evidence, I was expelled that house for blasphemy (10).

[E] *He was expelled.* Out of the long defence of Mr Asgill, wherein he accounts for this notion coming into his head, his writing a treatise to support it, and his publishing that treatise when it was written, it will be necessary to select only one passage, because therein, we have his answer to the charge brought against him, and the most material evidence to justify that character which we have given of him. * I find, says he, the report of the Committee is not levelled at the argument itself which I have advanced; nor yet against the treatise I have published to prove it: But against some expressions I have used in that proof, and which I intend to give particular answers to. But there is something else laid to my charge (as my design in publishing that argument) of higher concern to me, than any expressions in the treatise, or any censure that can fall on me for it. As if I had wrote it, with a malicious intention to expose the Scriptures as false, because they seemed to contain what I have asserted. And that therefore, if that assertion did not hold true, the Scripture must be false. Now, whether this was my intention or no, there is but

' one witness in heaven or earth can prove, and that is he that made me, and in whose presence I now stand; and who is able to strike me dead in my place. And to him I now appeal, for the truth of what I protest against: That I never did write or publish that argument or treatise upon it, with any intention to expose the Scriptures. But, on the contrary, (tho' I was aware that I might be liable to that censure; and which I knew not how to avoid) I did both write and publish it, under a firm belief of the truth of the Scriptures: And with a belief (under that) that what I have asserted in that argument, is within that truth. And if it be not, then I am mistaken in my argument, and the Scripture remains true: Let God be true, and every man a liar. And having made this protestation, I am not much concerned, whether I am believed in it or no. I had rather tell a truth, than be believed in a lye at any time. But having made this protest against an accusation, greater than the charge in the report, 'tis time for me to come to the report itself. But by what I apprehend from the nature of the exceptions thereby taken, I may first offer one general answer to most, if not all, of them, before I descend to particulars. I do own that, in that treatise (the subject whereof relates to eternal salvation), I have used some familiar expressions of common things, which I did with intent to be sooner read, and more readily understood: All men in the world being (in this thing) like children, most affected with what is spoken in their own dialect. From whence any one of our Saviour's short parables, in comparing the kingdom of God to small and trivial things, hath proved more instructive in religion and morality, than all the works and orations of the learned philosophers (11). To this let us add, an account of his expulsion from an impartial writer. There was, says he, one Mr John Asgill, a Member of the House of Commons, who at the opening of this session of Parliament, was unhappily laid under execution in the Fleet prison; and his adversary Mr Holland, a Staffordshire gentleman, being apprehensive lest he might plead his privilege, he petitioned the House, that he might not be allowed it, till he had made just satisfaction for the debt he owed him. Now the house having appointed a Committee to examine this affair, and Mr Asgill having some years before published a pamphlet, entitled, *An Argument*, &c. This, instead of the matter of privilege, was wisely made a handle to expel him the House; which, when Mr Asgill, who was then in the House, saw would unavoidably befall him, he went out, and by a stratagem made his escape from those that lay in wait for him at the door (12).

(11) *Ibid.* p. 44, 45.

(12) Complet Hist. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399, 400.

[F] *Which*

and in the rules of one or other of these prisons continued thirty years, during which time he published a multitude of small political pamphlets, which were most of them well received [F]. He also drew bills and answers, and did other business in his profession with great dexterity. He had something extremely singular in his person, his air, his dress, and his manner of speaking. His conversation was inexpressibly lively and entertaining, and his vivacity continued, in spite of old age and infirmities, to the last. He had a very unaccountable contempt for money, parting with it very readily on all occasions, though he acquired it hardly. The death of his wife affected him more than all the rest of his misfortunes (m) [G]. But even the sense of this he wore off by degrees, and continued a boon companion till within a few weeks before his death, which happened in the rules of the King's-Bench, some time in November 1738, when he was upwards of fourscore (n).

(m) Defence on his expulsion, p. 60.

(n) MS. Memoirs, p. 11.

[F] Which were most of them well received.] It would be a very difficult thing, to attempt making an exact catalogue of Mr Asgill's writings, since there were few publick disputes after his expulsion, in which he did not take a share. The most considerable of his works however, which have not been already taken notice of, are these, *De Jure Divino, or, an Assertion, That the title of the house of Hanover to the succession of the British monarchy (on failure of issue of her present Majesty) is a title hereditary and of divine institution*, 1710, 8vo. Mr Asgill's defence on his expulsion, to which are added an introduction and postscript, 1712, 8vo. Of the first pamphlet there were several editions; however, not long after it was published, he sent abroad another treatise, under the title of, *Mr Asgill's apology for an omission in his late publication, in which are contained summaries of all the acts made for strengthening the Protestant succession*, for which Mr Asgill was a strenuous advocate. Another pamphlet of his was, *The Pretender's declaration abstracted from two anonymous pamphlets: The one entitled, Jus Sacrum; the other, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St George, with memoirs of two other Chevaliers in the reign of Henry VII.* 1713, 8vo. *The succession of the house of Hanover vindicated, against the Pretender's second declaration in folio*, entitled, *The hereditary right of the crown of England asserted*, &c. 1714, 8vo. This was in answer to Mr Bedford's famous book, and indeed the best answer it ever had, for Mr Asgill was a good lawyer, and knew better what he was about, than that Rev. Divine, or any of his assistants. *The Pretender's declaration from Plombiers*, 1714, englished, with a postscript before it, in relation to Dr Lesley's letter sent after it, 1715, 8vo. Besides these he wrote *An essay for the press. The metamorphoses of man. Asgill against Wolfson*, and many other things.

[G] The death of his wife afflicted him more than all his misfortunes.] The truth of this cannot be doubted, if we will take his own word for it. In the postscript

to his defence he writes thus. 'Under this confinement God hath been also pleased to take away the desire of mine eyes with a stroke, which hath (however) drowned all my other troubles at once (for the less are merged in the greater). *Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes*. And since I have mentioned her, I'll relate this of her. She having been educated a Protestant of the Church of England, by a Lady her grandmother (her immediate parents, and other relations being Roman Catholics) an honest gentleman of that persuasion, who knew her family, presented her (while she was my fellow-prisoner) with a large folio volume, (being the history of the saints canonized in that Church) for her reading: With intention (as I found) to incline her that way. With which (delighting in reading) she entertained herself till she had gone through it. And some time after that she told me, that she had before some thoughts towards that religion; but that the reading that history had confirmed her against it. And in truth, were I to prescribe an antidote against Popery, I can't think of a better, than to have that legend reprinted, and read in Protestant churches. And yet she would never read the book I was expelled for, till after my last expulsion. But then reading it through, told me she was reconciled to the reasons of it, though she could not say she believed it. However, she said something of her own thoughts with it, that hath given me the satisfaction that she is dead in Christ, and thereby sure of her part in the first resurrection: The dead in Christ shall arise first. And this *Pars decessa mei* leaving me half dead (while she remains in the grave) hath since drawn me (in diving after her) into a nearer view, and more familiar (tho' more unusual) thoughts of that first resurrection, than ever I had before (13). This Lady, for whom Mr Asgill expresses so much tenderness and respect, is said to have broke her heart on account of the misfortunes of her family, which were chiefly owing to her husband's management. E

(13) Defence on his expulsion, p. 60.

ASHLEY (ROBERT) a Wiltshire gentleman (a), descended from the family of that name residing at Nashhill in that county, was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in the year 1580, being then fifteen years of age. From the university he removed to the Middle-Temple, where he was called to the dignity of Barrister at Law. After some time, he travelled into Holland, France, &c. [A], conversing with the learned, and frequenting the public libraries. Being returned into England, he lived many years in the Middle-Temple, and honoured the commonwealth of learning with several of his lucubrations. He died in a good old age, the beginning of October, 1641, and was buried in the Temple-Church, the fourth day of the same month. He gave several books to that society. We shall mention some of his works in the remark [B].

[A] He travelled into Holland, France, &c.] Mr Wood tells us, that Mr Ashley, 'finding the practice thereof, (the Law) to have ebbs and tides, applied himself to the learning of the languages of our neighbours, the French, Dutch, Spaniard, and Italian; to the end that he might be partaker of the wisdom of those nations, having been many years of this opinion, that as no one soil or territory yieldeth all fruits alike, so no one climate or region affordeth all kind of knowledge in full measure (1)'. The same author tells us, Mr Ashley returned from his travels, a very knowing and complete gentleman (2).

[B] We shall mention some of his works.] I. A Relation of the kingdom of Cochim-China, containing many admirable rarities and singularities of that country. London 1633, 4to. This book is chiefly, if not entirely,

taken from an Italian relation (then lately presented to the Pope) of Christopher Barri, who lived several years in that country. II. A translation from French into Latin verse of Du-Bartas's Urania, or Heavenly Muse; in about two sheets quarto, dedicated to Sir Henry Unton of Wadley. London, 1589. III. A translation from Spanish into English of Almanzor, the learned and victorious King, that conquered Spain; his Life and Death. London, 1627, quarto. It was printed in Spanish at Saragossa, 1603, from an Arabian copy remaining in the Elcurial; where, our author says, he once saw a glorious golden library of Arabian books. IV. A Translation from Italian into English of Il Davide perseguitate, i. e. David persecuted. London, 1637. Written originally by the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi. Mr Wood tells us, that part of the impression of this book had a new title

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11, 12.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11.

(2) Ibi.

put to it bearing date 1650, with the picture before it of King Charles I, playing on a harp like King David, purposely to carry off the remaining

copies; *such* (says that author) *are the usual shifts which Bookfellers use* (3).

(3) *Ibid.*, & col. 12.

A S M O L E, (ELIAS) an eminent Philosopher, Chemist; and Antiquary, of the last century, and founder of the noble Musæum at Oxford, which still bears his name (a). He was the only son of Mr Simon Ashmole, of the city of Lichfield, in Staffordshire, Sadler, by Anne, the daughter of Mr Anthony Boyer, of Coventry in Warwickshire, Woollen-Draper (b). He was born May 23, 1617, a little after three in the morning, as himself informs us, with other particulars relating to his tender years, which for their singularity he thought worth remembering (c) [A]. It happened that his mother's sister was married to James Paget, Esq; Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, and his second son Thomas being extremely fond of his cousin Ashmole, proved the cause of his future preferment, which our author gratefully recorded both in his memory and diary (d). On this gentleman's motion he was taught Musick as well as Grammar; and having a genius thereto, succeeded so well, as to become a chorister in the cathedral at Lichfield. When he had attained the age of sixteen, young Mr Ashmole was sent for up to London, and taken into Baron Paget's family (e). In the month of June, 1634, he lost his father, of whom he has left us a very modest and candid character [B]. He continued for some years after in his dependance on the Paget family, during which time he made a considerable progress in the Law, and spent his leisure hours, in perfecting himself in Musick and other genteel accomplishments (f). In the year 1638, he settled himself in the world, and on the twenty-seventh of March, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr Peter Manwaring, of Smallwood, in the county Palatine of Chester, and in Michaelmas term the same year, became a Solicitor in Chancery (g). On the eleventh of February, 1641, he was sworn an Attorney of the Court of Common Pleas (b), and on the fifth of December in the same year, he lost his wife, who died suddenly, and of whom he has left us a very natural and affectionate memorial [C]. The troubles coming on, he retired from London, agreeable to his principles, being always a zealous and steady Loyalist, and on the ninth of May, 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordnance in the garrison at Oxford (i), from whence he removed to Worcester, where he was Commissioner, Receiver, and Register of the Excise, became soon after Captain in the Lord Ashley's regiment

[A] *Which for their singularity he thought worth remembering.* As this gentleman had a very strong turn to Astrology, he was singularly nice in his dates, and I am apt to think, the minuteness of such remarks in many old diaries owing to the same cause. The following circumstances from our author's diary, are such as were collected for rectifying the scheme of his nativity when he first studied that art, and I am inclined to believe, that he then began to keep so exact an account of his actions. 'I was born the 23d of May, 1617, (and as my dear and good mother hath often told me) near half an hour after 3 o'clock in the morning. When I rectified my nativity, *An.* 1647, I found it to be 8 hours and 25 minutes, 49 seconds, A. M. the quarter 38 of 11 ascending. But upon Mr Lilly's rectification thereof, *Anno* 1667, he makes the quarter 36 ascending. I was baptized the 2d of June following, at St Mary's Church in Lichfield, my Godfathers were Mr Christopher Baxter, one of the proctors of the Bishop's court, and Mr Thomas Offey, Sacrist of the cathedral church. Before I was carried to church, it was agreed my name should be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But when the minister bad name the child, my godfather Offey answered Elias, at which his partners wondered and being (at their return home) asked why he so called me, he could render no account, but that it came suddenly into his mind by a more than ordinary impulse of spirit. My godmother's name was Mrs Bridges. When I was about a year old and sat by the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right side of my forehead; it resting upon the iron bar of the grate, (of which a scar always remained) but my good mother being near, presently took me up and applied something for the cure. I had the small-pox (yet but few) as also the swine-pox and measles, when I was young, but know not the certain time of either. Being about 8 or 10 years old (but the year I cannot remember) my mother and I were invited to my cousin Blackburn's in Longparish, at that time they were building a barn, and I getting up by ladders, to the top thereof fell down, in which fall the inside of my right knee struck against the edge of a great beam, which thereby received a great triangular gash, of which I lay a long time before I was cured (1).'

[B] *A very modest and candid character.* It is generally allowed our author penned his diary for private

use, and never intended it for publick inspection. But why so? Did he set down his father and mother's names for fear he should forget them? or is it not more probable, that he committed these particulars to writing, that they might be preserved and read? I therefore commend him for speaking so of his father, as to render his best qualities conspicuous, at the same time he throws a decent veil of obscurity over the rest. '1634 my father died about eleven o'clock before noon, Mr Simon Martin's letter, who gave me notice of his death, bears date the 22d of June. My father was born upon a Whit Sunday in the morning, he was bred up by his father to his trade. Yet when he came to man's estate, followed it but little. He more affected war than his profession, and spent many of his years abroad, which drew on him a course of expences and ill husbandry. His first voyage was into Ireland with Robert Earl of Effex, *anno* 159... Two other voyages he afterwards made with his son Robert Earl of Effex, into the Palatinate, from whom he received good respect. He was an honest fair conditioned man, and kind to others, yet through ill husbandry became a great enemy to himself and poor family (2).'

[C] *A very natural and affectionate memorial.* It appears by the diary, that in the summer of 1641, Mr Ashmole and his wife were in the country together, and that he came up to London without her because she was with child. A maid of his died the same year of the plague, but whether his wife died of the same distemper is uncertain. His entry concerning her death runs thus, 'December 5, My dear wife fell suddenly sick about evening and died (to my own grief and the grief of all her friends) she was buried the next night about 9 o'clock in Atsbury church in Cheshire, near the entrance of the fourth ile of that church, *viz.* the west end of that isle. December 14. I went from London towards Cheshire, 16th arriving at Lichfield, I first heard of my wife's death, she was a virtuous, modest, careful, and loving wife, her affection was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to her, which caused us to live so happy together. Nor was I less beloved and esteemed both by her father and mother, inasmuch as at her funeral her mother sitting near the corps, with tears professed to the Baron of Kinderton's Lady (who after told it to me) and others present, that she knew not whether she loved me or her only son better (3).'

(f) *Memoirs of his life prefixed to his Antiquities of Berkshire*, p. 111.

(g) *Diary*, p. 6.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(i) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 886, where he says they were five. *Diary*, p. 11. Mr Ashmole says there were but four.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 95.

(a) *Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary Elias Ashmole, Esq; drawn up by himself by way of Diary*, published by Charles Barman, Esq; 1717, 12mo.

The article of A S H M O L E in Collier's *Historical Dictionary*, Vol. III, in the second Alphabet.

Plot's *History of Staffordshire*.

(b) *Diary*, p. 1. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 886.

(c) *Diary*, p. 1, 2, 3. *Lilly's Nativities*, MS. p. 95.

(d) *Page* 3.

(e) *Wood's Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 886.

(1) *Ashmole's Diary*, p. 2, 3.

(k) Memoirs,
p. 5.
Diary, p. 14.

(l) Athen. Oxon.
Vol. 11. col. 386.
Diary, p. 11.

(m) Memoirs,
p. 6.
Diary, p. 15, 16.

regiment, and Comptroller of the ordnance (k). In the midst of all this business he was far from neglecting his studies, on the contrary, having entered himself of Brazen-Nose-college in Oxford, he applied himself vigorously to the sciences, but more particularly to Natural Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Astronomy, and his intimate acquaintance with Mr, afterwards Sir George Wharton, gave him a turn to Astrology, which was in those days in greater credit than now (l). In the month of July 1646, he lost his mother, who had always been a very kind parent to him, and for whom he had a very pious regard, as appears by the fair account he has given of her in his diary [D]. On the sixteenth of October the same year, he was elected a brother of the ancient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons (m), which he looked upon as a very distinguishing character, and has therefore given us a very particular account of the lodge established at Warrington in Lancashire, and in some of his manuscripts, there are very valuable collections relating to the history of the Free Masons [E]. The King's affairs being now grown desperate, Mr Ashmole withdrew himself, after the surrender of the garrison of Worcester, into Cheshire, where he continued till the end of October, and then came up to London, where he became acquainted with Mr, afterwards Sir Jonas Moore, Mr William Lilly, and Mr John Booker,

[D] *The fair account he has given of her in his diary.* At the time of her demise, he was besieged in Worcester. His entry on hearing the news of her death, runs in the following terms, ' July 31, 1646, Mr Richard Harrison minister of Tetnal formerly, and afterwards of Lichfield, told me of my mother's death, and that she died about the 8th or 9th of July of the Plague, not long before, that city being visited this summer. She was a discreet, sober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many afflictions, her parents had given her exceeding good breeding, and she was excellent at her needle, which (my father being improvident) stood her in great stead. She was competently read in Divinity, History, and Poetry, and was continually infilling into my ears, such religious and moral precepts as my younger years were capable of; nor did she ever fail to correct my faults, always adding sharp reproofs and good lectures to boot; she was much esteemed by persons of note with whom she was acquainted, she lived in much friendship among her neighbours, and left a good name behind her; in fine, she was truly religious and virtuous (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. 15.

[E] *Collections relating to the history of Free-Masons.* He made very large collections on almost all points relating to English history, of which some large volumes are remaining at Oxford, but much more was consumed in the fire at the Temple (5), which will be hereafter mentioned. What is hinted above, is taken from a book of letters, communicated to the author of this life, by Dr Knipe, of Christ-church, in one of which is the following passage relating to this subject. ' As to the ancient society of Free-Masons, concerning whom you are desirous of knowing what may be known with certainty, I shall only tell you, that if our worthy brother, E. Ashmole, Esq; had executed his intended design, our fraternity had been as much obliged to him as the brethren of the most noble Order of the Garter. I would not have you surprized at this expression, or think it at all too assuming. The Sovereigns of that order have not disdained our fellowship, and there have been times when Emperors were also Free-Masons. What from Mr E. Ashmole's collection I could gather, was, that the report of our society's, taking rise from a Bull granted by the Pope, in the reign of Henry III, to some Italian Architects, to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, was ill-founded (6). Such a Bull there was, and those Architects were Masons; but this Bull in the opinion of the learned Mr Ashmole, was confirmative only, and did not by any means create our fraternity, or even establish them in this kingdom. But as to the time and manner of that establishment, something I shall relate from the same collections. St Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, established Masonry here, and from his time it flourished more or less, according as the world went, down to the days of King Athelstane, who, for the sake of his brother Edwin, granted the Masons a charter, tho' afterwards growing jealous of his brother, it is said, he caused him together with his Page, to be put into a boat and committed to the sea, where they perished (7). It is likely that Masons were affected by his fall, and suffered for some time, but afterwards their credit revived, and we find

(5) Ath. Oxon.
Vol. II. col. 338.

(6) History of
Masonry, p. 3.

(7) Ex Rotulo
membranaceo penes
Camentario-
rum Societatem.

under our Norman Princes, that they frequently received extraordinary marks of royal favour. There is no doubt to be made, that the skill of Masons, which was always transcendent, even in the most barbarous times, their wonderful kindness and attachment to each other, how different soever in condition, and their inviolable fidelity in keeping religiously their secret, must expose them in ignorant, troublesome, and suspicious times, to a vast variety of adventures, according to the different fate of parties and other alterations in government. By the way, I shall note, that the Masons were always loyal, which exposed them to great severities when power wore the trappings of justice, and those who committed treason, punished true men as traitors. Thus in the third year of the reign of Henry VI, an Act of Parliament passed to abolish the society of Masons (8), and to hinder, under grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or other regular assemblies. Yet this act was afterwards repealed, and even before that King Henry VI, and several of the principal Lords of his court became fellows of the craft (9). Under the succeeding troublesome times, the Free-Masons thro' this kingdom became generally Yorkists, which as it procured them eminent favour from Edward IV, so the wife Henry VII, thought it better by shewing himself a great lover of Masons to obtrude numbers of his friends on that worthy fraternity, so as never to want spies enough in their lodges, than to create himself enemies, as some of his predecessors had done by an ill-timed persecution (10). As this society has been so very ancient, as to rise almost beyond the reach of records, there is no wonder that a mixture of fable is found in it's history, and methinks it had been better, if a late insidious writer had spent his time in clearing up the story of St Alban, or the death of Prince Edwin, either of which would have found him sufficient employment, than as he has done in degrading a society with whose foundation and transactions, he is visibly so very little acquainted (11), and with whose history and conduct Mr Ashmole, who understood them so much better was perfectly satisfied, &c. (12). I shall add to this letter, as a proof, of it's author's being exactly right as to Mr Ashmole, a small note from his diary, which shews his attention to this society, long after his admission, when he had time to weigh, examine, and know the value of the Masons secret (13). 1682, Mar. 10. About 5 Hor. post Merid. I received a summons to appear at a lodge to be held the next day at Masons-hall, in London. 11th accordingly I went, and about noon, were admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons, by Sir William Wilton, Knight; Captain Richard Bothwick, Mr William Woodman, Mr William Grey, Mr Samuel Taylour, and Mr William Wise; I was the senior fellow among them, (it being thirty-five years since I was admitted) there was present besides myself, the fellows after-named; Mr Thomas Wise, master of the Mason's company, this present year; Mr Thomas Shorthofe, &c. we all dined at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new accepted Masons.

(8) Ferd. Pulston's
Collect. of Statutes,
3 Hen. VI,
chap. 1.

(9) History of
Masonry, p. 29.

(10) Ibid. p. 19.

(11) Plot's Nat.
History of Staf-
fordshire, p. 316,
317, 318.

(12) Dr W. to
Sir D. N. June
9, 1687.

(13) Diary, p. 66.

Booker, esteemed the greatest Astrologers in the world, by whom he was cared, instructed, and received into their fraternity, which then made a very considerable figure, as appeared by the great resort of persons of distinction to their annual feast, of which Mr Ashmole was afterwards elected Steward (n). In 1647 he went down into Berkshire, where he made choice of the pleasant village of Englefield, for the place of his retirement. There he pursued his studies very closely, and having so fair an opportunity, and the advantage of some very able masters, he often went a Simpling, and very soon became an eminent Botanist; for it was the peculiar felicity of this man's genius, that he speedily attained whatever he attempted (o). Here, as appears from his own remarks, he enjoyed in privacy the sweetest moments of his life, the sensation of which perhaps was quickened, by his just idea of the badness of the times (p). It was in this retreat that he became acquainted with a fair lady, whom he afterwards married, tho' the prospect of that marriage had very near cost him his life. This lady's name was Mary, sole daughter of Sir William Forster, of Aldermarston in the county of Berks, Bart. who was first married to Sir Edward Stafford, after his decease to one Mr Hamlyn, and lastly to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knt. Recorder of Reading, and one of the Masters in Chancery. Mr Humphrey Stafford her second son, had such a dislike to this match, that when Mr Ashmole was very ill, he broke into his chamber, and if he had not been prevented, would have murdered him (q). In the latter end of 1648, Lady Mainwaring conveyed to him her estate at Bradfield, which was soon after sequestered on account of Mr Ashmole's loyalty, but the interest he had with William Lilly, and some others of that party, enabled him to get that sequestration taken off (r). On the sixteenth of November, 1649, he married Lady Mainwaring, upon which he settled in London, and his house became the receptacle of the most learned and ingenious persons that flourished at that time (s). It was by their conversation, that Mr Ashmole, who had been more fortunate in worldly affairs than most scholars are, and who had been always a curious collector of manuscripts, was drawn to think of publishing a treatise written by Dr Arthur Dee, relating to the Philosopher's stone, together with another tract on the same subject, by an unknown author, which pieces actually came abroad in the year following, but Mr Ashmole was so cautious, or rather modest, as to publish them by a fictitious name (t) [F]. He at the same time

(n) Lilly's History of his Life and Times.

(o) Plot's Staffordshire, p. 276. Diary, p. 19.

(p) Ibid. p. 17.

(q) Ibid. p. 13.

(r) Memoirs, p. 3.

(s) Lilly's History of his Life and Times. Memoirs, p. 8, 9, 10.

(t) Viz. James Hasolle, Esq.

[F] To publish them by a fictitious name.] The first step into the world in print, is for a modest man always a little hard, let his abilities be what they will; but besides the usual inconveniences, Mr Ashmole laboured under many, from the subject he had chosen to cultivate, and very probable this it was that induced him to break the ice, by publishing other mens works, and to appear as an editor and translator, before he took upon him the character of an author. The title of this piece was. I. FASCICULUS CHEMICUS: or Chymical Collections expressing the Ingress, Progress, and Egress, of the secret Hermetick Science, out of the choicest and most famous authors. Whereunto is added, the Arcanum, or Grand Secret of Hermetick Philosophy. Both made English by James Hasolle, Esq; Qui est Mercurius Anglicus. London. 1650 12°. In his Prolegomena to the ingeniously elaborate Students of Hermetick Learning he speaks thus. 'I here present you with a summary collection of the choicest flowers growing in the Hermetick gardens, sorted and bound up in one compleat and lovely posy, a way whereby painful inquisitors avoid the usual discouragements met with in a tedious wandering through each long walk, or winding maze; which are the ordinary and guileful circumstances, wherewith envious Philosophers have enlarged their labours purposely, to puzzle or weary the most resolved undertakings. 'Tis true, the manner of delivery used by the antients upon this subject, is very far removed from the common path of discourse; yet I believe, they were constrained, (for the weight and majesty of the secret) to invent those occult kind of expressions in Ænigmas, Metaphors, Parabols, and Figures.

'Now amongst the catalogue of authors that have treated of this sacred learning, I have chiefly observed four sorts.

'The first, are such whose well-mindedness and honesty have caused them to lay down the whole mystery, faithfully and plainly, giving you a clew, as well as shewing you a labyrinth; and they only are to be studied.

'The second, are those whose magisterial handling a part, or branch thereof, did it rather to discover themselves masters, than with intent to instruct others: These may be read, but they are too sublime for those who stand in need of any introduction.

'Others there are, who, out of ignorance or mistake, have delivered blind and unbottomed fictions,

'which have too much deluded and abused the credulous world; so that of this sort, I may say, (not blemishing the honour, which some of them have justly acquired in other parts of learning) their works are like Pygmalion's image, (full of exquisite proportion, feature, delicacy, and beauty, but not animated with the life and soul of truth) and whilst a man consults with such, he shall always doubt, whether what he reads be to the matter or not; however, the judicious may smell their levity by the rankness of their impertinencies.

'But the last and worst sort of all, are those who, through envy, have scattered abroad their unfaithful recipes and false glosses, (taking for president the devil, that can sow tares and transform himself into an angel of light) with intent to choak and obfuscate the more evident light of the plain-dealing Philosophers, and to discern these impostures, requires a judgment able to divide a hair.

'From this variety of writers it is, that many otherwise steady minds, are tossed up and down, as from racket to racket, being forced to change their thoughts as often as they change their authors, and conceiving they have settled right upon a point, (just like ticklish weather-cocks) are necessitated to shift with the next puff (although but of an empty windy conceit). New discoveries begetting new opinions, which raise more untoward and turbulent doubts, than their greatest strength of judgment can conjure down. Thus (unhappy men) thinking themselves ready to anchor, a cross gust blows them off the shore, perhaps into a rougher sea of debate and perplexity than before, and with greater hazard and danger of splitting.

'I know that the truth of the proper argment, it's preparation, and the fire (the three most important steps to this blessed work) with the whole process is by some philosophers so sincerely laid down and unfolded, that, to a knowing artist, it is a cause of much wonder, why he that reads, (though but smatteringly acquainted with nature) should not meet with clear satisfaction: But here is the reason, many are called but few are chosen. 'Tis a haven towards which many skilful pilots have bent their course, yet few have reached it. For as amongst the people of the Jews, there was but one that might enter into the Holy of Holies, (and that but once a year) so there is seldom more in a nation whom God lets into this sanctum sanctorum of Philosophy, yet some there are. But though the

addressed himself to a work of greater consequence, which was the preparing for the press, a compleat collection of the works of such English Chemists, as had till then remained in MS: which cost him a great deal of labour, and for the embellishment of which he spared no expence, causing the cuts that were necessary, to be engraved at his own house in Black-Fryars, by Mr Vaughan, who was then the most eminent artist in that way in England (u). He was brought to have such an affection for Chemistry, by his intimate acquaintance with Mr William Backhouse, of Swallowfield in the county of Berks, who was reputed an adept, and who, from his free communication of chemical secrets, Mr Ashmole was wont to call Father, agreeable to the custom which had long prevailed among the lovers of that art (w) [G]. He likewise employed a part of his time in

(u) *Diasy*, p. 25.

(w) *Theatr. Britan.* p. 440.

number of these Elect are not many, and generally the fathom of most mens fancies, that attempt the search of this vast and subtle mystery, too narrow to comprehend it, and their strongest reason too weak to pierce the depth it lies obscured in; being indeed so unfarcachable and ambiguous, it rather excites the sacred and courteous illuminations of a Cherub, than the weak assistance of a pen to reveal it. Yet let no man despair; For surely there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding. And though all things before us seem huddled up in a deformed chaos, yet can he place them in comeliness and order. For many philosophers closely shut up, or concealed divers things, which they left the ingenious inquirer to sift into or find out, presuming to whom God intended the discovery of the wonder, he would afford eyes that should pierce through the mist of words, and give them a ray of light, which should lead them through this darkness. To find out that path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen. For if seriously perused, you will find their books are much like drawers, that lead to some choice and secret box in a cabinet, (one opening the way to the rest) which if heedfully revolved, the satisfaction you miss in one author, you will meet with in another; and all perhaps may at length discover such pregnant and sublime secrets, as shall manifest thee to be one of those chosen vessels ordained to be informed of this knowledge, which sometimes God hath hid from the wise and prudent, but revealed unto babes (14). The bringing so much of this introductory discourse into publick view, may be of service to the inquisitive reader, as it shews him at once, what sort of learning this was, and what kind of phraseology was thought requisite to recommend it. Mr Ashmole's Prolegomena alone contains thirty-one pages, exclusive of the postscript, which accounts for the publication of the second piece in the collection. The former of these prefaces is dated March 1, 1649-50; the second April 1, 1650. As for the original author of the Fasciculus, we shall have occasion to mention him at large hereafter (15), but as for the author of the Arcanum, he was not known to Mr Ashmole, which is one good reason to suspect he was not one of the Adepts, as will be shewn in it's proper place. Before we quit this treatise it is requisite to observe, that before it there is a kind of Hieroglyphical frontispiece in several compartments. At the top there is the representation of a King (Phœbus), sitting on a lion, holding the resemblance of the sun in his hand at one end of the page, and opposite to him a lady (Diana) with the moon in one hand and an arrow in the other, sitting on a crab. Between them is the figure of Hermes, on a tripod, with the scheme of the heavens in one hand, and his caduceus in the other. These are intended to express the materials of the stone, and the proper season for the process. In the middle of the page is an altar, with the bust of a man, to the middle of his neck, his head being covered by an astrological scheme, dropped by a hand from the clouds. In the middle of this scheme are these words, *Astra regunt homines*, i. e. The stars mankind command. On the altar are these words, *Mercurio-philus Anglicus*, i. e. The English lover of Hermetick philosophy. On the right side of the frontispiece is the sun, moon, and crows, in conjunction, and from them hangs down a scrowl with these words, *Quod est superius, est sicut inferius*, i. e. What is above, is as what is beneath. Under this scrowl is a tree, and a creature knowing the root. On one side is a pillar adorned with musical instruments, rules, compasses, and mathematical schemes; on the

other, a pillar of the like kind, with all sorts of martial musick, and instruments of war. At the bottom of the page, this tetrastick stands by way of explication.

These Hieroglyphicks vaile the vigorous beames
Of an unbounded soul; the scrowle and schemes
The full interpreter: But how's conceal'd,
'Who thro' Ænigmaes lookes, is fo reveal'd.'

T. W. M. D.

These letters signify Thomas Wharton, Doctor of Physick. Anthony Wood (16), gives a large but incorrect account of this picture, in which we find assembled all the learned fooleries of that age, which because untouched by Wood, I will endeavour to explain. The scrowl from above, and the mole at the foot of the *ab*-tree, express the author's name, which is also anagramized in *James Hasolle*, i. e. *Elias Ashmole*. The column on the right hand refers to his proficiency in Musick, and his being a Free-Mason, as that on the left does to his military preferences; and thus with Dr Wharton's leave, these Ænigma's, as he calls them, are revealed.

(16) *Ath. Oxon.*
Vol. II. col.
891.

[G] *Prevailed among the lovers of that art.* As to this gentleman's kindness to our author, he mentions it frequently in his Diary, and tells us expressly, that after revealing to him so many of his secrets, Mr Backhouse told him, he must needs be his son. Yet somewhat he long concealed, for we find this entry in Mr Ashmole's Diary after this (17). '1653 May, 13. My father Backhouse, lying sick in Fleet-street, over-against St Dunstan's church, and not knowing whether he should live or die, about eleven of the clock, told me in syllables, the true matter of the philosopher's stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.' The nature of this kind of philosophick adoption, is very copiously explained by our author himself, in his Notes on Norton's Ordinal (18), and perhaps the passage may not be disagreeable the reader.

(17) Page 29.

There has ever been a continued succession of Philosophers in all ages, altho' the heedless world hath seldom taken notice of them, for the antients usually (before they died) adopted one or other for their sons, whom they knew well fitted with such like qualities, as are set down in the letter that Norton's master wrote to him, when he sent to make him his heir unto this science, and otherwise than for pure virtue's sake, let no man expect to attain it, or, as in the case of Tonfile,

(18) *Theatrum Chemicum Britan.* p. 440.

(19) ' — For almes I will make no store,
Plainly to disclose it, that was never done before.

(19) Norton's Ordinal. *apud* *Theatr. Chemic.* p. 41.

Rewards nor terrors (be they never so munificent or dreadful) can wrest this secret out of the bosom of a philosopher, amongst others, witness (20) Thomas Daulton.

(20) Norton's Ordinal, p. 35.

Now under what ties and engagements, this secret is usually delivered (when bestowed by word of mouth), may appear in the weighty obligations of that oath, which Charnock took before he obtained it: For thus spake his master to him (21),

(21) *Breviary of Philosophy*, chap. v.

'Will you with mee to-morrow be content,
'Faithfully to receive the Blessed Sacrament,
'Upon this oath that I shall here you give;
'For ne gold, ne silver, as long as you live:
'Neither for love you bear towards your kinne,
'Nor yet to no great man, preferment to winn,

'That

(14) *Prolegom.*
p. 1-6.

(15) See D E E
(A R T H U R) in
this Dictionary.

in acquiring the art of engraving seals, casting in sand, and the mystery of a working Goldsmith (x), but all this time, his great work of publishing the ancient English writers in Chemistry, went on, and finding that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, was absolutely necessary for understanding and explaining such authors as had written on the Hermetick science, he had recourse to Rabbi Solomon Frank (y), by whom he was taught the rudiments of the sacred tongue, which he found very useful to him in his studies. At length, towards the close of the year 1652, his *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum*, appeared, which gained him great reputation in the learned world, as it shewed him to be a man of a most studious disposition, indefatigable application, and of wonderful accuracy in his compositions; and as it was then very much admired, so it is still highly esteemed, by such as are addicted to that kind of learning (z) [H]. The reputation this

(x) Diary, p. 24.

(y) Memoirs, p. 71.

(z) See his Character from foreign writers in a succeeding note.

‘ That you disclose the secret that I shall you teach
 ‘ Neither by writing, nor by no fytw speech;
 ‘ But only to him which you be sure,
 ‘ Hath ever searched after the secrets of nature;
 ‘ To him you may reveale the secret of this arte,
 ‘ Under the covering of Philosophie, before this
 ‘ world yee depart.

‘ And this oath he charged him to keep faithfully,
 ‘ and without violation, as he thought to be
 ‘ saved from the Pit of Hell.

‘ And if it so fell out, that they met not with
 ‘ any, whom they conceived in all respects worthy
 ‘ of their adoption (22) they then resigned it into
 ‘ the hands of God, who best knew where to bestow
 ‘ it. However, they seldom left the world, before
 ‘ they left some written legacy behind them, which
 ‘ (being the issue of their brain) stood in room and
 ‘ place of children, and becomes to us both parent
 ‘ and schoolmaster, throughout which they were so
 ‘ univerfally kind, as to call all students by the dear
 ‘ and affectionate tytle of Sons (23), (Hermes, giving
 ‘ the first precedent) wishing all were such, that take
 ‘ the true pains to tread their fathers steps, and
 ‘ industriously to follow the rules and dictates they
 ‘ made over to posterity, and wherein they faithfully
 ‘ discovered the whole mystery.

‘ As lawfully as by their fealty they may,
 ‘ By lycence of the dreadful Judge at domesday (24).

‘ In these legitimate children, they lived longer
 ‘ than in their adopted sons; for though these certainly
 ‘ perished in an age, yet their writings (as if
 ‘ when they dyed, their souls had been transmigrated
 ‘ into them) seemed as immortal, enough at least to
 ‘ perpetuate their memories, ’till time should be no
 ‘ more: And to be the father of such sons, is (in
 ‘ my opinion) a most noble happiness.’ Our author’s
 ‘ Commentary making this point quite clear, there is
 ‘ no necessity of insisting farther upon it, only it may
 ‘ be proper to observe, that Mr Ashmole’s father,
 ‘ Backhouse, did not die ’till May 30, 1662, as ap-
 ‘ pears by our author’s Diary (25). He was esteemed
 ‘ a very great Chemist, and admirably versed in what
 ‘ was stiled the Rosicrucian learning, and he was so;
 ‘ but it appears plainly from Mr Ashmole’s writings,
 ‘ that he understood his father Backhouse, in too literal
 ‘ a sense, and did not discover the confusion occa-
 ‘ sioned by applying a method of removing all the
 ‘ imperfections of metals to Physick, and thereby mis-
 ‘ leading people on that subject, by the promises of
 ‘ an universal medicine, true perhaps in the less obvious
 ‘ sense, and false in the other, in which however it
 ‘ is generally taken. This I only hint, and that for
 ‘ a reason which will be more fully insisted on in the
 ‘ ensuing note.

[H] By such as are addicted to that kind of learning.
 There are very few Books that have been printed in our language, which have made so much noise abroad, and yet are so little known at home, as this piece of our author’s, which however brought him into esteem and credit with all the Virtuosi, who were living at the time of it’s publication. The title at large ran thus:

II. *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum, containing several poetical pieces of our famous English Philosophers, who have written the Hermetique Mysteries, in their own ancient language. Faithfully collected into one Volume, with Annotations thereon, by Elias Ashmole, Esq; Qui est Mercatorophilus Anglicus.* London 1652, 4to.

The authors published in this collection are, I. Thomas Norton’s Ordinal of Alchemie. II. George Ripley’s Compound of Alchemie. III. *Pater Sapientie*, i. e. the Father of Wisdom, by an anonymous writer. IV. Hermes’s Bird, written originally in Latin, by Raymund Lully, and done into English verse by Abbot Cremer, of Westminster. V. Sir Geoffrey Chaucer’s Chanons Yeoman’s Tale. VI. Daffin’s Dream, which seems to be a version of the Latin Poem of John Daffin, entitled his Vision. VII. Pearce, the Black Monk, on the Elixir. VIII. Richard Carpenter’s work, which some think, and not without some colour of reason, ought rather to be ascribed to John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, who was one of the best Chemists of his time. IX. Hunting of the Green Lion, by Abraham Andrews; but there is also a spurious piece, with the same title. X. Breviary of Natural Philosophy, by Thomas Charnock. XI. *Ænigmas* by the same Person. XII. Bloomefield’s Blossoms, which is likewise entitled the Camp of Philosophy, by William Bloomefield. XIII. Sir Edward Kelle’s Work. XIV. His Letter to G. S. Gent. It is somewhat strange, that this gentleman’s name, even by Mr Ashmole, is written Kelley, though Sir Edward himself, wrote it Kelle. XV. Dr John Dee’s Testament, which appears to be an Epistle to one John Gwin, written A. D. 1568, and a third letter, the two first being wanting. XVI. Thomas Robinson, of the Philosopher’s Stone. XVII. Experience and Philosophy, by an anonymous author. XVIII. The Magistery by W. B. i. e. William Bloomefield. XIX. John Gower, on the Philosophers stone. XX. George Ripley’s Vision. XXI. Verses belonging to Ripley’s scrowle. XXII. Mystery of Alchymists. XXIII. Preface to the Medulla of George Ripley. XXIV. *Secreta Secretorum*, by John Lydgate. XXV. *Hermits Tale*, anonymous. XXVI. Description of the Stone. XXVII. The standing of the glass, for the time of the putrefaction and congelation of the medicine. XXVIII. *Ænigma Philosophicum*, by William Bedman. XXIX. Fragments by various authors.

Our learned author, in his Prolegomena to this work, having first magnified the Science of Alchymy, as it is called, proceeds next to an historical account of English writers, on that subject which is extremely to our purpose, as containing many curious strockes not to be found elsewhere. His words are these:

‘ Our English Philosophers generally (like Prophets) have received little honour (unless what has been privately paid them) in their own country, nor have they done any mighty works amongst us, except in covertly administering their medicine to a few sick, and healing them (for greater experiments than what it performs in Physick, they never publicly made shew of). Thus did I. O. (one of the first four fellows of the Frates R. C.) in curing the young Earl of Norfolk of the Leprosy, and Dr B, in carrying off the virulency of the small-pox, twice from Queen Elizabeth; insomuch that they never appeared: But in parts abroad, they have found more noble reception, and the world greedy of obtaining their works, nay, (rather than want the sight thereof) contented to view them through a translation, witness what Maierus, Hermannus, Combachius, Faber, and many others have done; the first of which came out of Germany, to live in England, purposely that he might so understand our English tongue, as to translate Norton’s Ordinal into Latin verse, which most judiciously and learnedly he did: yet (to our shame be it spoken) his entertainment was too, too coarse for so deserving a scholar.

‘ How

(22) Norton’s Ordinal, chap. ii. in the story of Thomas Daulton a famous Hermetick Philosopher, who flourished under the reign of Edward IV.

(23) Hermes in Pimandro.

(24) Norton’s Ordinal, in his Introduction.

(25) Page 28.

work gave him, extended his acquaintance considerably, insomuch, that the great Mr Selden took notice of him in the year 1653, encouraged his studies, and lived in great friendship with him to the day of his death (a). He was likewise very intimate with

(a) Diary, p. 29.

‘ How great a blemish is it then to us, that refuse to read so famous authors in our natural language, whilst strangers are necessitated to read them in ours, to understand them in their own; yet think the subject much more deserving than their pains. If this we do but ingenuously consider, we shall judge it more of reason, that we look back upon, than neglect such pieces of learning as are natives of our own country, and by this inquisition, find no nation has written more or better, although at present (as well through our own supineness, as the decrees of fate) few of their works can be found. John Leland took very much pains, even at the yielding up of the ghost of our English learning, to preserve it’s latest (but weakest cause almost spent) breath; and from him John Bale, with John Pitts, (who indeed is but Bale’s plagiarist) hath left us a catalogue of the writers of this nation, and that’s near all: Yet posterity for this is deeply obliged. What punishment then did their pestilent malice deserve, who robbed us of their whole works?’

‘ A judicious author speaking of the dissolution of our monasteries, saith thus, Many manuscripts, guilty of no other superstition than the red letters in their front, were condemned to the fire, and here a principal key of antiquity was lost to the great part of posterity, (such was learning’s misfortune at that great devastation of our English libraries that) where a red letter or a mathematical diagram appeared, they were sufficient to entitle the book to be Popish or Diabolical.’

Our author then strikes out into the praises of the Druids among the Britons, the learned Philosophers among the Saxons, and the politer writers amongst the Normans. He next turns to the particular subject of Hermetick philosophy, and though he intimates he never adventured to practise it, he seems confident, that he knows what he speaks of thus:

‘ I must profess, I know enough to hold my tongue, but not enough to speak; and the no less real than miraculous fruits I have found, in my diligent enquiry into these Arcana, lead me on to such degrees of admiration; they command silence, and force me to lose my tongue. Yet as one greatly affecting my native country, and the satisfaction of all ingenious artists, I have published (for their use) these ensuing collected Antiquities, and shall here say something more than they speak of.

‘ He who shall have the happiness to meet with St Dunstan’s work *de Occulta Philosophia*, (a book which E. G. A. I. made much use of, and which shall chiefly back what here I am about to say) may therein read such stories as will make him amazed, to think what stupendious and immense things, are to be performed by virtue of the Philosopher’s mercury, of which a taste only and no more.

‘ And first of the mineral stone, the which is wrought up to a degree only, that hath the power of transmuting any imperfect earthy matter into it’s utmost degree of perfection; that is, to convert the basest metals into perfect gold and silver, flints into all manner of precious stones, (as rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and diamonds, &c.) and many more experiments of the like nature. But as this is but a part, so it is the least share of the blessing which may be acquired by the philosopher’s materia if the full virtue thereof were known. Gold I confess is a delicious object, a goodly light which we admire and gaze upon, *ut pueri in Junonis avem*, but as to make gold (saith an incomparable author) is the chiefest intent of the Alchemists, so was it scarce any intent of the ancient philosophers and the lowest use the adepts made of this materia.

‘ For they being lovers of wisdom more than worldly wealth, drove at higher and more excellent operations, and certainly he to whom the whole course of nature lies open, rejoiceth not that he can make gold and silver, or the Devils, to become subject unto him, as that he sees the heavens open, the Angels of God ascending and descending, and that his own name is fairly written in *the book of life*.

‘ Next to come to the vegetable, magical, and angelical stones, the which have in them no part of the mineral stone, (*quatenus* stone fermented with metalline and earthly nature) for they are marvelously subtil, and each of them differing in operation and nature, because fitted and fermented for several effects and purposes. Doubtless Adam (with the fathers before the flood and since) Abraham, Moses, and Solomon, wrought many wonders by them, yet the utmost of their virtues they never understood, nor indeed any but God the maker of all things in heaven and in earth, blessed for evermore.

‘ For by the vegetable may be perfectly known the nature of man, beasts, fowls, fishes, together with all kind of trees, plants, flowers, &c. and how to produce and make them grow, flourish, and bear fruit. How to increase them in colour and smell, and when, and where we please, and all this not only at an instant, *experimenti gratia*, but daily, monthly, yearly, at any time, at any season, yea, in the depth of winter, and therefore not unlike the walnut-tree which antiently grew in Glassenbury’s church-yard, and never put forth leaves before St Barnabie’s-day, yet then was fully loaded with them, as also the hawthorn there, so greatly famed for shooting out leaves and flowers at Christmas; together with the oak in New Forest, that bore green leaves at the same season, may be some experiments made of the vegetable stone.

‘ Besides the masculine part of it which is wrought up to a solar quality, and through it’s exceeding heat will burn up and destroy any creature, plant, &c. That which is lunar and feminine (if immediately applied) will mitigate it with it’s extrem cold, and in like manner the lunar quality benumbs and congeals any animal, &c. unless it be presently helped and resolved by that of the Sun. For though they both be made out of one natural substance, yet in working they have contrary qualities, nevertheless there is such a natural assistance between them, that what the one cannot do, the other doth, can, and will perform. Nor are their inward virtues more than their outward beauties, for the solar part is of so resplendent transparent lustre, that the eye of man is scarce able to endure it. And if the lunar part be exposed abroad in a dark night, birds will repair to (and circulate about) it as a fly round a candle, and submit themselves to the captivity of the hand. And this invites me to believe, that the stone which the antient Hermit (being then 140 years old) took out of the wall in his cell, and shewed Cornelius Gallus, *An. 1602*, was of the nature of this vegetable stone, for (upon opening the golden box wherein it was inclosed) it dilated it’s beams all over the room, and that with so great splendor, that it overcame the light that was kindled therein, besides the Hermit refused to project it upon metal (as being unworthy of it) but made his experiment upon veronica and rue.’

It is very strange, that a Person of such admirable natural parts, and of so much acquired learning, should express himself with so great vehemence, and venture his reputation so boldly in a matter of this nature, which he very well knew, laboured under so many suspicions; but he was so led away by the exterior appearances, and relied so entirely on what the fages he had read delivered, that he never once suspected that this universal medicine acted only within it’s own kingdom, and that what he represents as the lowest, was in truth it’s highest effect. But it may justly be alledged, in favour of Mr Ashmole, that he studied the history of the science, rather than the science itself, and knew more of the Philosopher’s stone by reading than practice, which however it might shew his own wisdom, contributed very little to that of his reader. This preface is dated January 26, 1651-2, but the book itself did not appear till about that time twelve-month, and was then extremely well received by the Virtuosi, who grew wonderful well pleased with our author, and offered him all manner of encouragement for the completing his design, by publishing the prose as well as poetick authors.

with Mr Oughtred, the famous Mathematician, and with Dr Wharton, a Physician of great character and experience (b). His marriage with Lady Mainwaring involved him first in abundance of law-suits with other people, and at last produced a dispute between themselves, which came to a hearing on the eighth of October, 1657, in the Court of Chancery, where Serjeant Maynard having observed, that in eight hundred sheets of depositions taken on the part of the Lady, there was not so much as a bad word proved against Mr Ashmole, her bill was dismissed, and she delivered back to her husband (c). He had now for some time addicted himself to the study of antiquity and records, for which he had a wonderful genius. This recommended him to the intimate acquaintance of Mr, afterwards Sir William Dugdale, whom about this time he attended in his survey of the Fens, and was very useful to him in that excellent undertaking, the consequence of which shortly appeared to the world, in the most valuable performance that ever fell from the pen of that great writer, and indefatigable Antiquary, whose writings do so much honour to his country (d). Mr Ashmole himself soon after took the pains to trace the Roman road, which in Antoninus's Itinerary, is called Bennevanna, from Weedon to Litchfield, of which he gave Mr Dugdale an account, in a letter addressed to him upon that subject (e). It is very probable, that after his studies had thus taken a new turn, he lost somewhat of his relish for Chemistry, since he discontinued the *Theatrum Chemicum*, which according to his first project was to have made several volumes; yet he still retained, as most people do who dip into that kind of study, such a remembrance of it, as induced him to part civilly with the sons of art, which he did, by publishing a treatise in prose on the Philosopher's stone, to which he prefixed an admirable preface, wherein he seems to have apologized for taking leave of the subject, as he appears to have done by sending abroad this treatise (f) [I]. In the spring of the year 1658, our author

(b) Ibid. p. 25—31. Memoirs, p. 9.

(c) Diary, p. 34.

(d) The title of this work of Sir W. D's was, *The History of Imbanking and draining divers Fens and Marishes, &c. extracted from Records, &c.* London, 1662, fol.

(e) See a book intitled, *Miscellanies on several curious Subjects, published from their respective Originals*, Lond. 1714, 8vo.

(f) See that part of his Preface in the note.

applied

[I] *As he appears to have done by sending abroad this treatise*] It was with a view to continue and compleat his former design, that Mr Ashmole got this, and many other pieces of a like nature, into his custody, from such of the Literati as were his friends; as appears plainly, from the beginning of his preface to this very piece, the next book he published, which was, III. *The Way to Bliss in three Books, made publick by Elias Ashmole, Esq; Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus*. London 1658, 4to. He opens himself thus to the world on that occasion.

‘It is now somewhat above six years, since I published the first part of my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, immediately after which, my studies of that nature received most unfortunate interruptions from the commencement of several vexatious suits against me; but God, not only enabled me to endure those impetuous, multiplied storms, but some few months since, was pleased to sweeten my long sufferings with a fair and peaceful issue.’

How he came to alter his purpose of publishing several such volumes, and send this piece singly into the world, we are frankly told by him in these words.

‘All this while, I hoped to meet with one or other, who (inclined to advance the honour of Hermes his family) would have taken the pains of adding a second volume, to my said *Theatrum*, in regard those successive troubles (hanging so long, and heavily upon me) had denied me the leisure; nor were either my invitations to it wanting, or the free contributions of whatever I had so painfully collected unoffered, to the end (my design of letting the world, see what excellent men we had once of our nation, famous as well for that kind of philosophy as any other learning, and masters of so transcendent a secret) might have been furthered. Notwithstanding this, I hear of nothing (hitherto) done, nothing endeavoured: But instead thereof, I lately met with a pretended copy of the following discourse, ready fitted for the press, which (upon perusal) I found mutilated with many imperfections, much injured by several incongruous additions, and they, confessed to be only made up of some scattered threads and fragments, collected from the whole work, and besides intended, that the world should take it for the child of one Eugenius Theodidactus, being (by Re-baptization) called the *Wise-Man's Crown*, or *Rosie-cruftian Physick*, under which titles notice hath been given of it's coming abroad, by other books since published.

This person E. Theodidactus, was one John Heydon, a great pretender to Roficrufian knowledge, who married the widow of Nicholas Culpepper, the famous Quack, and published abundance of idle books, in some of which, he abused Mr Ashmole on this subject (22), though certainly there was no comparison between the

men, one being as despicable as the other was justly esteemed. In the same preface, Mr Ashmole gives us the following ingenious account of the original author of this treatise.

‘As for our author, he was without doubt an Englishman, but has hitherto passed with us among the anonymi, and the book (his off spring) shews itself sufficiently legitimate, though the true father thereof be as yet unknown. I have heard some notable stories, and those backed with persuasive circumstances, to make an easy faith think the providence very observable, that not only furnished a laborious searcher into this mysterious learning with the original itself, but most fortunately directed him to three grains of the powder closed up between two leaves thereof, with which he made projection; but I affect not to fly-blow the ears of my readers, only this I can modestly aver, that my copy was a transcript of that original.

‘The work seems to be written about the beginning of the last (or end of the former) century; the main drift of the author being from weighty and serious arguments and examples, to prove the possibility of such a thing as the Philosopher's stone, whereby is largely manifested, that nature has exhibited greater wonders to the view of the world; and as great things have been (and consequently may be) performed by other weaker and lesser means, where a due, friendly, and philosophical conjunction of art and nature is fully understood, and yet how be it (because such are familiar unto, and ordinary among us) we consider them not; 'tis a discourse fraught with variety of excellent rational matter, and fitted to the learned, as well as meaner capacities; nay, such as I boldly persuade myself, will fully satisfy both, beyond any thing yet extant of this nature. And I believe many captious arguments, heretofore used and urged against the truth of this so infallible a science, will here meet with satisfactory solutions, and henceforth find no further place in any discourse favouring but of sobriety.

‘I must also acquaint the reader, that this piece was of so high a value, with the industrious Doctor Everard, as it invited him to bestow his pains in the marginal notes; wherein (like a skilful Philosopher, whose first operation is to make hidden things manifest) he drew forth and discovered, that which our author's magisterial pen thought fit to conceal, and having obtained those notes (they being added to a transcript of this work, and both fairly written in the Doctor's hand) from a very intimate friend (one extraordinarily learned, and a great ornament of our nation) I was willing to make them publick also (23).’

This address to the reader, which is dated April 16, 1658, was a kind of farewell to Hermetick philosophy from Mr Ashmole. For though he afterwards

(23) Our author had this book from his father Backhouse, tho' he does not mention so much, and therefore to him we must refer the story of the powder between the leaves, and the projection.

(22) 4h. Oxon. Vol. Ucol. 89 r.

(g) See the preface to his Hist. of the Garter. Memoirs, p. 9. Diary, p. 35.

(h) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(i) Diary, p. 36.

(k) Memoirs, p. 10. Diary, p. 37.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887. Diary, p. 37.

(m) See his Majesty's Character, by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham.

(n) I have seen this letter which is without date, and the Lord Treasurer is told therein, that treating Mr Ashmole kindly, would be very acceptable to his Majesty.

(o) This Passage is omitted in By Kennet's Register, though he sets down so many minute Circumstances.

(p) Memoirs, p. 11.

(q) Diary, p. 37.

(r) Memoirs, p. 12. Diary, p. 37.

(s) Diary, p. 38.

(t) Diary, p. 38, 39.

(u) Memoirs, p. 40.

(24) Kennet's Register, p. 36.

applied himself to the collecting materials for his history of the Order of the Garter, which he afterwards lived to finish, and thereby rendered both the order and himself immortal, the just reward of the prodigious pains he took in searching records in the Tower, and elsewhere, comparing them with each other, and obtaining such lights, as were requisite to render so perplexed a subject clear, and to reduce all the circumstances of such a vast body of history into their proper order (g). In September following he made a journey to Oxford, where he was extremely well received, and where he undertook the making a full and distinct description of the coins given to the publick library by Archbishop Laud, which was of great use to him in the works which he afterwards composed (h). He had lodged and boarded sometimes at a house in South Lambeth, kept by Mr John Tredescant, whose father and himself had been physick-gardeners there for many years, and had collected a vast number of curiosities, which after mature deliberation, Mr Tredescant and his wife determined to bestow on Mr Ashmole, and accordingly sealed and delivered a deed of gift for that purpose, on the sixteenth of December, 1659 (i). Upon the happy restoration of King Charles II, Mr Ashmole was early introduced into the presence and favour of his Majesty, and on the eighteenth of June 1660, which was the second time he had the honour of discoursing with the King, he graciously bestowed upon him the place of Windsor Herald (k). A few days after he was appointed by the King to make a description of his medals, and had them delivered into his hands, and King Henry VIIIth's closet assigned for his use, being also allowed his diet at Court (l). On the twenty-first of August in the same year, he presented the three books which he had published to his Majesty, who as he both loved and understood Chemistry, received them very graciously (m). On the third of September he had a warrant signed for the office of Commissioner of the Excise, in consequence of a letter written by his Majesty's express command, to the Earl of Southampton, then Lord High-Treasurer, by Mr Secretary Morris (n). About this time, a commission was granted to him as incidental to the care of the King's medals, to examine the famous, or rather infamous Hugh Peters, about the contents of the royal library which had fallen into his hands, and which was very carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect (o) [K]. On the second of November he was called to the bar in Middle-Temple hall (p). On the fifteenth of January, 1661, he was admitted a Fellow, of the Royal Society (q). On the ninth of February following, the King signed a warrant for constituting him Secretary of Surinam in the West Indies (r). In the beginning of the year 1662, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for recovering the King's goods (s), and about the same time he sent a set of services and anthems to the cathedral church of Litchfield, in memory of his having been once a Chorister there, and he gave afterwards twenty pounds towards repairing the cathedral (t). On the twenty-seventh of June, 1664, the *White Office* was opened, of which he was appointed a Commissioner (u). On the seventeenth of February, 1665, Sir Edward Bylke sealed his deputation for visiting Berkshire, which visitation he began on the eleventh of March following (w). On the ninth of June 1668, he was appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, Accountant-General, and Country Accountant in the Excise (x). His second wife, Lady Mainwaring, dying on the first of April in the same year, he soon after made his

(w) Diary, p. 40.

(x) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887.

wards deposited many valuable MSS. relating to this science in a publick library for the benefit of posterity, yet he wrote nothing more upon the subject. The book itself, deserved the pains that both Dr Everard, and Mr Ashmole bestowed about it, for beyond all doubt, in this genuine edition of our author, it is the best and most sensible book in our language, containing as much truth, and much more learning and reason, than the boasted performances of Eugenius, or of Irenaeus Philalethes.

[K] *Carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect.* It was a thing notorious, that this enthusiastical buffoon, Hugh Peters, had got possession of the King's library and closet, in those times of rebellion and confusion, and it was no less notorious, that the most valuable curiosities in them, were embezzled and dissipated all over Europe, and therefore the parliament shewed an early care in this respect (24), and the King also issued the following warrant for obtaining the best account, that could be had of his royal father's effects.

CHARLES REX.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart. Lieutenant of our Tower of London.

OUR will and pleasure is, that you permit Thomas Rofs, and Elias Ashmole, Esquires; to speak with and examine Hugh Peters, concerning our books and medals, that have been embezzled, and this to be performed in your presence; for

which this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 10th day of September, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Upon this Mr. Ashmole, and Mr Rofs, who was Tutor to the D. of Monmouth, did accordingly take some pains with Hugh Peters, on this head, but with how small effect the following report shews.

An Account of what Mr Hugh Peters, gave upon his Examination before the Honourable Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of his Majesty's Tower, taken by Mr Rofs and Mr Ashmole, assigned thereunto 12 Sept. 1660.

The examinant saith, That about the year 1648, in August, he preserved the library in Saint James's, against the violence and rapine of the soldiers, and the same continued three or four months under his custody, and that he did not take there any thing, but left it unviolated as he found it. He doth confess that he saw divers medals of gold, silver, and brass, and other pieces of antiquity, as iron rings, and the like, but that he took nothing thence, and then delivered up the key and custody of them, to Major General Ireton; and further he saith, that he never had or saw any thing belonging thereto.

Given upon oath before me John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower (25).

HUGH PETERS.

(25) Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. I. p. 103, 104.

[L] One

addresses to Mrs Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to his good friend Sir William Dugdale, Knt. Garter King at Arms, and to this lady, who was his third wife, he was married in Lincoln's-Inn chapel on the third of November, by Dr Lloyd afterwards Bishop of Worcester (y). The university of Oxford, considering the many favours they had received from Mr Ashmole, on the nineteenth of July, 1669, created him Doctor of Physick by diploma, which was presented to him on the third of November following, by Dr Yates, Principal of Brazen-Nose college, in the name of the university (z). He was now courted and esteemed by the greatest people in the kingdom, both in point of title and merit, who frequently did him the honour to visit him at his chambers in the Temple, and whenever he went his summer progress, he had the same respect paid him in the country, more especially at his native town of Litchfield, to which, when he came, he was splendidly entertained by the corporation (a). On the eighth of May, 1672, he presented his laborious work on the most noble order of the Garter, to his most gracious master King Charles II, who not only received it with great civility and kindness, but soon after granted to our author, as a mark of his approbation of the work, and of his personal esteem for him, a privy seal for 400 pounds out of the custom of paper (b). This was his greatest undertaking, and indeed if he had published nothing else, it ought to have preserved his memory for ever, since it is in it's kind one of the most valuable books in our language [L]. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1675, he resigned his office of Windsor Herald, which, by his procurement, was bestowed on his brother Dugdale (c). It was with great reluctance that the Earl Marshal parted with him, and it was not long after, that he bestowed on him the character of being *the best officer in his*

(y) Diary, p. 42.

(z) Memoirs, p. 12.

(a) Diary, p. 45.

(b) Memoirs, p. 13.

(c) Diary, p. 53.

[L] *One of the most valuable books in our language.* The title of this excellent work at large runs thus. IV. *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most noble order of the Garter. Collected and digested into one body by Elias Ashmole, of the middle Temple, Esquire; Windesore, Herald at Arms. A work furnished with variety of matter relating to Honour and Noblesse.* Lond. 1672, Folio. It is, beyond comparison, the most finished piece that ever fell from the hand of our author, and contains a vast treasure of history and antiquities, which had they not been thus preserved, had been unquestionably lost to all posterity. As to the design of the performance, the preface, which is very short, and written in a much plainer and more correct stile, than any thing he had formerly penned in the same way, sufficiently informs us, as well as the manner in which it is disposed; and therefore we have transcribed two or three of the most remarkable and material paragraphs, in order to confirm these remarks to the reader.

As I ever had a great veneration for the most noble order of the Garter, so must it needs be imagined, that I was accordingly much concerned in the late unhappy times, to see the honour of it trampled on, and itself sunk into a very low esteem among us. That reflection put me upon thoughts, not only of doing something, that might inform the world of the nobleness of it's institution, and the glory which in process of time it acquired, both at home and abroad, but also of drawing up, in the nature of a formulary, both the legal and ceremonial part thereof, for the better conduct of such as might be therein afterwards concerned, in case the eclipse it then laboured under in our horizon, should prove of so long continuance, as that many occurrences, worthy of knowledge, might come to be in a manner forgotten.

Upon the first communication of my design, to the late Reverend Doctor Christopher Wren, Register of the said order, it received not only his approbation, but also his ready assistance in the use of the annals thereof, then in his custody. From these and other authentick manuscripts and autographs, particularly relating to the order, and a painful and chargeable search of our publick records, I had collected the greatest part of my materials before the happy restoration of his now Majesty, the present Sovereign of this most noble order; who being afterwards acquainted with what I had done, was most graciously pleased to countenance it, and encourage me in the prosecution thereof.

The work in general contains an historical account of the laws and ceremonies of the said most noble order; but more particularly it's institution, the manner and order observed in elections, investitures, and installations of Knights, the holding of chapters, celebration of festivals, the formality of proceedings, the magnificence of embassies, sent with the habit to stranger Kings and Princes, in sum

all other things relative to the order. In the illustration whereof, I have inserted (where they properly occurred) the most eminent and considerable cases, which have required and received discussion in chapters, the determination thereupon, becoming rules and laws; whence it may be observed, that the foundation and superstructures of the order, were laid and raised upon the exactest rules of honour. And to supply the failure and defects of the annals, I have been forced to make use of memorials and relations, yet such as were taken notice of and committed to writing, either by some of the officers of the order, or those of arms, during the times of their attendance on the service of the order, and consequently of sufficient authority for me to rely on.

To usher in those, I have given a prospect of knighthood in general, of the several orders of knighthood, as also of the antiquity of the castle and college of Windsor, and closed all with the honours, martial employments, and famous actions, the matches, and issues of the founder, and first knights-companions; as also a perfect catalogue of their successors to this very present. All which are adorned with variety of sculptures, properly relating to the several parts of the work.

He was not only so happy as to receive those extraordinary marks of the Sovereign's favour, mentioned in the text, but was complimented in an obliging manner, by his Royal Highness the Duke of York; who tho' then at sea against the Dutch, sent for his book by the Earl of Peterborough, and afterwards told our author he was extremely pleased with it (26). The rest of the Knights-companions of the most noble order, received him and his book with much respect and civility, and yet the regard shewn to it, and to it's author abroad, was much more singular (27). It was deposited by the then Pope, in the library of the Vatican. King Christiern of Denmark, sent him in 1674, by Thomas Henshaw, Esq; the King's Resident at Copenhagen, a gold chain and medal, which, with the King's leave, on certain high festivals he wore. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, sent him the like present, and ordered his book to be translated into High-Dutch (28). He was afterwards visited by the Elector Palatine's, the grand Duke of Tuscany's, and other foreign Princes Ministers, to return him thanks for this book, which he took care should be presented them, and thereby spread the fame of the Garter, the nation, and himself, all over Europe (29). Yet it does not appear, that this laborious and exquisite performance, advanced at all the design he had formed some years before, of getting himself appointed Historiographer to the order, to which proposal some objections were made, and by our author fully answered (30), although we find no mention of this circumstance in any memoirs of Mr Ashmole hitherto extant.

(26) Diary, p. 45, 47.

(27) Memoirs, p. 12.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 839.

(29) Christ. Gryphus de Scriptor. Hiftor. Sec. xvii. p. 355.

(30) This piece is amongst the MSS. of Mr Ashmole at Oxford, Cod. 7413.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 55. *his office (d)*. On the twentieth of February, 1677, Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, deceased, upon which a controversy grew between the King and the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-Marshal, about the right of disposing of his place, on which Mr Ashmole was consulted, who declared in favour of the King, but with so much prudence and discretion, as not to give any umbrage to the Earl Marshal (e); he afterwards refused this high office which was conferred on his father-in-law Sir William Dugdale, for whom he employed his utmost interest (f) [M]. About the close of the year

1677,

[M] *For whom he employed his utmost interest.* This was one of the noblest and most generous actions of our author's life, and he has left a particular account of it under his own hand, which not being included in the Diary of his life, that has been printed, seems the rather to deserve a place here (31). 1676-7 February 21, My Lord Bishop of Salisbury (Dr Seth Ward) having been at my house in Sheer Lane, (which then stood empty, having some time before retired into the country to dwell) and at my chamber in the Temple, but missing me at both places, heard at length I dwelt at South-Lambeth, whereupon, the next day he sent me an obliging letter (Feb. 22) to acquaint me, that as soon as he heard of Sir Edward Walker's death, he endeavoured to find me out, but being not able, he immediately spoke to the Duke of York, and some other Knights of the Garter, to move the King on my behalf to succeed him. But the Duke, wished him rather to move the matter to the King, because he was pre-engaged, *viz.* to the Earl-Marshal, and immediately gave him an opportunity to do it. The King gave him such an answer, as caused him to believe and hope his inclinations were very good to me; but it appeared after, that the Earl-Marshal had acquainted the King, with a claim himself had of the disposing of that office, which induced his Majesty to give the Bishop no positive answer.

(31) Ashmole's
Memoirs, p. 14
—20.

The letter his Lordship sent me by one of his gentlemen, who found me at home, under a fortnight's ill indisposition, by whom I returned my most humble thanks, and informed him I had no inclination to accept of the place, and therefore desired him to press it no farther, and that I would attend him as soon as I was able to stir out of doors, and then acquaint him with the reasons of my refusal.

March 3d, I went to give my Lord Bishop of Salisbury, my personal thanks, for so real a kindness, and told him I was retired into the country, with resolutions to take upon me no new employments, and had (to make my retirement more comfortable and easy) resigned my Herald's place, and thrown off all other kinds of business, (except the Comptrollership of the Excise) and for that reason was not willing to enter again upon any other whatsoever; and that in case his Majesty should enquire of him, why he did not present his suit on my behalf, he should be ready to answer, that my employment in the Excise, took up my whole time, and I was doubtful, least my attendance at White-Hall, the Heralds-Office, or elsewhere, upon matters relating to this office, might occasion me to neglect that service, which so nearly related to his Majesty's profit and advantage.

March 7th, This morning I went to wait upon my Lord Marshal, who told me, he heard I used means to the King, to obtain Garter's place, but conceived it was his right, as Earl-Marshal, to dispose of it. I repeated him the reasons I had before given his secretary, why I was of opinion it was the King's right, not his, and denied that I so much as looked after the place, and therefore acquainted him first with what the Bishop of Salisbury, out of kindness to me had done, (though without my knowledge) next that I had entreated him to proceed no further, and lastly gave his Lordship the same reasons for declining the employment, which I had before given to the Bishop. He thereupon desired me to give him leave to tell the King so much, which I readily did. He then told me, he heard Sir William Howard made means to the King for it, and asked my opinion whether he could be Garter, who was not of the Office of Arms. I answered, there had antiently been two persons made Garter, who had not been officers of Arms, but I hoped the King would not so far discourage the present officers, as to chuse a stranger in the

place. Whereupon he asked me leave, to let the King know this was my sense, which he did; then I acquainted him, that the King had commanded me to assist the Chancellor, in making out his right to the nomination of Garter, and though I refused the place, yet I durst not deny him that service: This he did not very well like, but I told him I knew not which way to avoid it.

March 31, 1677. The next morning after the Earl-Marshal's pretensions to the right of nominating Garter, had been heard before the committee appointed for that purpose, I had occasion to attend my Lord Treasurer Danby, about some business in the excise-office. Mr Ch. Bertie, his secretary, seeing me there, asked me why I did not seek after the place? and intimated that my Lord Treasurer, thought me the fittest person for it; but I told him I had no ambition towards it, and feared that my attendance about this place, might occasion some neglect in the excise-office; and tho' this excuse stood me in some stead, and seemed considerable to others, to whom I had made use of it, yet he presently replied, my Lord Treasurer would give me leave to execute my comptroller's place by deputy. To which I had nothing to reply, but that I had many other reasons that induced me to wave the employment; upon this he told me, my Lord would speak with me in the Park, where I attended till he came thither. When he came, he began to ask me some few questions about the preparations he was to make against his Installation, and who he should send for to inform him therein. I answered it was the duty of Garter to inform him; and that this affair being debated the night before, (where his Lordship was, and of the Committee) I presumed would be known ere long what was then determined. He answered, the matter had that night before the Committee rose, been determined on the King's side against my Lord Marshal; upon which I told his Lordship, I presumed within a few days, Garter would be nominated, and in regard, it was above a fortnight to the day of his Installation, it would be time enough to attend him, and make all things ready against that time. And here I presume (by what I gathered from Mr Bertie's pressing me to make friends to obtain Garter's place) his Lordship expected I would have moved him to have spoke to the King for me, and pausing a little while, asked me, if I had any thing to say to him, I answered no, and so took my leave.

In the Afternoon Mr Bertie meeting me again, asked me what discourse passed between his Lordship and me. I told him, who wondered I would not move him to speak for me, and used many arguments to induce me yet to do it, and told me how unfit Mr Lee (whom my Lord Marshal intended for the place) was for it, nor was capable of it, not being a Gentleman of Blood; as he heard the constitution of the Order required. I still shewed my unwillingness and left him: Notwithstanding which, on Monday morning April the 1st, after he fat more earnestly again upon me, and told me he heard the place must speedily be disposed of, because the day appointed for Installation approached; and most earnestly pressed me to apply myself to the King to obtain it, but I told him, I was unfit for the place; at which he wondered I should alledge that, when it appeared by my Book of the Garter, there was no Man fitter. I answered, my unfitness grew from deafness increasing upon me, from decay of my cyefight, and greater decay in my memory, all which considered, did very much incapacitate me from that service, to which he replied, he never knew any man discommend himself before, when so fair a way lay open for his preferment; I then gave

1677, a propofal was made to Mr Afhmole to become a candidate for the city of Litchfield, with which it was with fome difficulty that he clofed, and when he did, he found the magiftrates and fome other leading perfons of the place, notwithstanding both their obligations and their invitations, fo far from being cordial, that he thought it prudent to draw off in time (g). On the twenty-fixth of January, 1679, about Ten in the morning, a fire began in the Middle Temple, in the next chambers to Mr Afhmole's, by which he loft a library he had been collecting thirty-three years, but his MSS escaped, by their being at his houfe in South Lambeth; he likewife loft a collection of 9000 coins, ancient and modern, but his more valuable collection of gold medals were likewife preferred by being at Lambeth; his vaft repository of feals, charters, and other antiquities and curiofities, perifhed alfo in the flames (h). In 1683, the univerfity of Oxford having finished a noble repository near the Theatre, Mr Afhmole fent thither that great collection of rarities which he had received from the Tredescants beforementioned, together with fuch additions as he had made to them, and to this great benefaction he afterwards added that of his MSS and Library (i), which ftill remain a monument of his generous love to learning in general, and to the univerfity of Oxford in particular [N]. In the

(g) Diary, p. 59.

(h) See an extract of Dr Plott's letter, giving an account of this lofs, in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. c. l. 839.

(i) Memoirs, p. 22.

him many hearty thanks for his kind inclinations to me, and fo parted.

April the 2d, The next morning my Lord Marfhal coming out of the Lords houfe, he told me, the King had pitched upon my Father Dugdale to be Garter, and believed it would not difpleafe me. I answered, I was very glad of it, and I thought it was the beft choice; but he being in Warwickfhire, his Lordfhip added, he would fend for him up by that night's poft.

I have been thus particular, becaufe after this time, fome of the officers of Arms, (Mr Holdford, &c.) afferted, my Lord Marfhal had faid, (and it was moft certain) I fought underhand to get Garter's place, though openly I feemed to decline it; which I could not but wonder at, becaufe I had been fo clear with his Lordfhip, in averring the contrary; and alfo becaufe his Lordfhip had told my father, upon his coming to town, that I had carried myfelf very fairly in the managing the bufinefs againft him. Though both honour and profit lay on this occafion before me; yet God having taken from me both ambition and covetoufnefs, I fet more value upon the retired life I was entered into, than all the advantage and honour I fhould reap by that office.

[N] To the univerfity of Oxford in particular.] The reason why our author had fo warm an affection for Oxford, was plainly from his becoming a member thereof, in thofe dreadful times of publick confufion, when all who were loyal reforted to Oxford, and that moft tender mother of arts, and nurfe of all virtues, opened her arms to embrace all who were loyal, let their circumftances be what they would. This correpondence begun in difficult, continued in difmal times, begat on one fide regard for fo eminent a perfon, as appears by the notice taken of him among the writers of Brazen-nofe college (32), and on the other, the deepeft refpect for fo venerable a body in a happier age, when peace, profperity, and learning, returned with the King. Thefe fentiments difcovered themfelves on both fides, by a variety of publick acts, which are mentioned in the text, and were clofed by this. It was towards the latter end of October 1677, that he made an offer to the univerfity, of beftowing on it all that valuable collection of the Tredescants, which was fo well known to the learned world, and which had been exceedingly improved fince it came into his poffeffion, together with all the coins, medals, and manufcripts of his own collecting, provided they would erect a building fit to receive them; to which propofition the univerfity willingly affented (33). Accordingly on Thurfday the 15th of May 1679, the firft ftone of that ftately fabrick, afterwards called *Afhmole's Mufeum*, was laid on the weft fide of the theatre, and being finifhed by the beginning of March, 1682, there were put therein on the 20th of the fame month, about twelve cart-loads of rarities, fent to Oxford by Mr Afhmole, which being fixed in their proper places, by Robert Plott, L.L.D. who before had been intrufted with the custody of the faid Mufeum, were firft of all publickly viewed on the 21ft of May following, by his Royal Highnefs James Duke of York, his royal Confort Jofepha Maria, Princefs Anne, and their attendants, and on the 24th of the fame month, by the Doctors and Mafers of the univerfity. In a convocation held on the 4th of June following (1683)

were letters openly read, whereby Mr Afhmole gave for ever to the univerfity of Oxford, all the faid rarities, notwithstanding he had been courted by fome to beftow them elfewhere, and that others had offered great fums for them. Whereupon a Latin letter of thanks, penned by him who was then deputy orator, being publickly read, was forthwith fent to Mr Afhmole at South Lambeth (34). In July 1690, he vifited the univerfity with his wife, and was received with all imaginable honour, and entertained at a noble dinner in his Mufeum; upon which occafion Mr Edward Hannes, A. M. the Chemical Profefor, afterwards an eminent phyfician, made an elegant oration to him (35). His benefaction to the univerfity was very confiderably enlarged at his death by the addition of his library, which confifted of one thoufand feven hundred and fifty eight books, of which fix hundred and twenty were manufcripts, and of them three hundred and eleven folio's, relating chiefly to Englifh Hiftory, Heraldry, Aftronomy, and Chemistry, with a great variety of pamphlets, part of which had been fortified by himfelf, and the reft are methodized fince, and a double catalogue made, one claffical, according to their various fubjects, and another alphabetical (36). He bequeathed alfo to the fame place, two gold chains and a medal, the one a philigreen chain of ninety links, weighing twenty-two ounces, with a medal of the Elektor of Brandenburg, upon which is the effigies of that Elektor, and on the reverse, a view of Straelfund, ftuck upon the furrender of that important city, a Collar of S.S. with a medal of the King of Denmark, and a gold medal of the Elektor Palatine, and a George of the Duke of Norfolk, worn by his grandfather, when he was ambafador in Germany. All thefe he had received as acknowledgments of the honour which he had done the Garter, by his labours on that fubject (37). Over the entrance to the Mufeum, fronting the ftreet is the following infcription in capital letters:

(34) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 839.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Memoirs, p. 23.

(37) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 839.

Mufeum Afhmoleanum, Schola Naturalis Hiftoriae, Officina Chymica.

That is,

Afhmole's Mufeum, the Natural Hiftory School, the Chemical Laboratory.

Over the door of Mr Afhmole's library, at the top of the ftairs is the following infcription in letters of gold. *viz.*

Libri impreffi et manufcripti e donis clariff. viro-rum D. Elia Afhmole, et Martini Lifter; Quibus non paucos addidit Vir induftrius, nec infime de Re Anti-quariâ Promeritus D. Joannes Aubrey, de Eafton Peirce, apud Wiltonienfes, Arm. et Soc. Reg. Socius.

In Englifh thus,

The printed and manufcript books beftowed by thofe moft famous men Elias Afhmole, and Martin Lifter; to which not a few were added by that indurious man, and no mean deferver in things relating to antiquity, John Aubrey, of Eafton Peirce, in Wiltfhire, Efq; and F. R. S. (38).

(38) Diary, p. 82.

(32) Hift. & Antiquit. Oxon. P. II. p. 224.

(33) Memoirs, p. 22.

beginning of the year 1685, he was invited by the magistrates, and by the Dean of Litchfield, to represent that corporation in Parliament, but upon King James's intimating to him by the Lord Dartmouth, that he would take it kindly if he would resign his interest to Mr Lewson, he waited upon his Majesty and told him, that he was all obedience (k). On the tenth of January, 1686, died his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale, on which occasion Mr Ashmole declined a second time the office of Garter King at Arms, and did all that was in his power to recommend his brother Dugdale, in which, tho' he did not fully succeed, yet he procured him the place of Norroy (l), and this was one of the last publick acts of his life, the remainder of which was spent in an honourable retirement to the day of his demise, which happened on the eighteenth of May, 1692, in the seventy-sixth year of his age (m). He was, beyond a question, one of the greatest men, and one of the greatest patrons of learning in the last century. He was a great lover of Chemistry, and by his care and diligence, preserved many valuable MSS relating to that science, besides those that he caused to be printed and published [O]. He had a great genius for history and antiquities, as sufficiently appears by his learned and laborious works, both printed and manuscripts [P]. He was likewise a generous

(k) Diary, p. 73.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

[O] Besides those he caused to be printed and published.] After Mr Ashmole once added himself to the study of antiquities and records, he never deserted it, or could he be prevailed upon to resume his design of sending abroad the works of the other English Adepts, though he had made large collections towards it. I have a very good authority for what I say. Mr William Cooper in his preface to one of Philalethes's pieces, which he published in 1678, speaking of our author's Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum, says

(39) See his advertisement to the reader before Ripley revived, or an Exposition on Sir George Ripley's Hermetic-Poetical works. Written by Eyræ-næus Philalethes, London, 1678, 8vo.

(39) I heartily wish that the learned Philosophers of our age, could prevail with him to publish his second volume of that collection, which he had almost finished almost twenty years since (as I had it from his own mouth) and hath lain a-sleep ever since, and likely so to lie; for to the perfecting thereof, he is now unwilling to be brought, unless some worthy friend of his can be wrought upon to prevail with him, before the sleep of death seizes him, and leaves these rare pieces of antiquity to be inevitably lost, to the prejudice of all philosophers, and great dishonour to the English nation. This very complaint, shews how well (even then) he stood with the Hermetick tribe, of whom this Mr Cooper, was the most zealous encourager, and yet no reason is assigned for his remissness, which suits so little with the character of the indefatigable Mr Ashmole, that I am convinced he was with-held by some more worthy motive. In short, I am persuaded some of the abler Alchemists shewed him his mistakes, as to what he had already published, particularly as to the Arcanum before-mentioned, which he calls the work of a concealed author, though in what seems to be the motto, viz. the words *Penes nos unda Taji*, the very name of the author was expressed, viz. *Jean Espagnet*. He was President of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and is esteemed the ablest writer on this sort of learning, whose works are extant. But this piece published by Mr Ashmole, was only the second part of Espagnet's work, the first being published under this title, *Enchiridion Physicæ resitutæ cum Arcano Philosophiæ Hermeticiæ*. Paris. 1623, 8vo. i. e. The Enchiridion of revived Physick, with the secret of the Hermetick Philosophy. In the title of this work, the author's name is concealed under another anagrammatical motto, viz. *Spes mea in agno est*. The second part was entitled, *Enchiridion Philosophiæ Hermeticiæ*. Paris. 1628, 8vo. It was printed again in 1647, and a third time in 1650, and from this last edition our author translated it. The truth is, and the Abbé Fresnoy, has very justly observed it, our author was never an Adept, and began to write when he was but a disciple (40). He grew afterwards more cautious, and though he never missed any opportunity of purchasing chymical MSS, yet he was cured of the itch of publishing them, and held it sufficient to deposit them in the Bodleian library for their greater security, and for the benefit of society. As this has not been taken notice of at all by any of the writers of his life, I imagine, I may do some service to the lovers of Chemistry, if I just mention a few of those pieces, thus preserved by the care of Mr Ashmole. 1. *Geberii, super Artem Alchymicæ*, lib. vi. i. e. Geber's Art of Alchemy in six books, a quarto MS. on parchment. 2. *Albohali, i. e. Avicennæ liber de rebus Alchymicis*. i. e. Albohali, that is, Avicenna's Treatise on Chemical Matters. This piece is highly valuable and curious.

(40) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, Tom. III. p. 105, 106.

3. *De distinctione Mercurii Aquarum, liber unus*. i. e. Of the Distinction of the Mercury of Waters. This piece is ascribed to Morienus, a Roman Hermit, who flourished in the XIIth century. 4. *Pupilla oculi*, i. e. The Apple of the Eye; by Sir George Ripley. This was to have been included in the second volume of his *Theatrum*, and this copy he had prepared for the prefs. 5. *De Regimine Ignium Philosophorum Et quibusdam Experimentis probatissimis*, i. e. Of the management of the Philosophers Fires, together with some approved Experiments. This treatise was written also by Sir George Ripley, and was to have made a part of the same collection. I might add to these, a noble copy of the Chemical works of Raymond Lully, in two folio's, and many others, but these are more than sufficient to shew the curious and intelligent reader, how industrious and careful, and, at the same time, how capable, and how accurate, a collector he was of treatises of this kind, having wonderfully improved himself in this knowledge, after he declined writing more upon it, or at least the publishing of what he wrote. In foreign countries he was highly extolled for the pains he took in collecting, publishing, and explaining, the English authors on Hermetick Philosophy, and when his work of the Garter made him still more known to the Princes of Germany, he received their complements on his former performance (41). Neither has his reputation abroad been at all injured by time; for since the very learned Olaus Borrichius, Morhoff, Boerhaave, and other great men, have shewn the ignorance of such as ran down Chemical writers without distinction, and have revived, very deservedly, the reputation of some of these old authors; Mr Ashmole, who saved so many of the best of them from oblivion, has been justly mentioned, as a great preserver, patron, and protector of learning, which indeed was a character he very justly merited, since no man ever shewed in this respect, either more zeal, diligence, or publick spirit. If therefore we consider him in this light, we must allow that he very worthily filled that post which he assigned himself, when declining the arduous labours which were necessary to the gaining his father Backhouse's legacy, and becoming an Adept, he modestly and truly stiled himself *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*; a title so just, and so expressive of his real deserts, that one would have thought he had exerted his skill as a Herald, in devising it, if we had not known that Chemistry was his first, and to his last continued his favourite study.

(41) Theop. Siner. Narichten. p. 190.

[P] Laborious works both printed and manuscripts.] We have already given an exact account of all the works that were published by our author in his lifetime; it remains therefore, that we say something of such as were published after his decease, and of those that still continue in MS. V. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Fenestral Inscriptions, with the Draughts of the Tombs, &c. in all the Churches in Berkshire*. It was penned in 1666, and the original visitation taken in the two preceding years, in virtue of his deputation from Sir Edward Byrhe, Clariencieux King at Arms, which makes another folio volume, stands next to this in Mr Ashmole's collection of MSS, but both have been published to the world within these few years, under another title than their author ever designed them. VI. *Familiarum illustrium Imperatorumq; Romanorum Numismata Oxoniæ in Bodleianæ Bibliothecæ Archievis descripta Et explanata*; that is, The Medals

a generous encourager and protector of such ingenious and learned men, as were less fortunate in the world than himself, as appears by his kindness to Sir George Wharton in the worst of times (n), his respect to the memory of his friend Mr John Booker (o), and the care he took in the education of the late eminent Dr George Smalridge (p), as will be shewn in our article of him. His corps was interred in the church of Great Lambeth in Surrey, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1692, and a black marble stone laid over his grave, with a Latin inscription, in which, tho' there is much to his honour, there is nothing which exceeds the truth [2]. It was the peculiar happiness of Mr Ashmole, that, living and dead, a due respect was paid to his learning, virtue, and publick spirit. His unshaken loyalty to his Royal Master, in the worst of times, recommended him to the worthiest men in the kingdom, as his application to the Sciences then most in esteem, gained the friendship of the powerful and considerable amongst the other party, by which he secured peace, and the leisure necessary to follow his private studies, when it

(n) Diary, p. 23.

(o) Lilly's Hist. of his own Life and Times. Diary, p. 44.

(p) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1065. Diary, p. 67. Memoirs, p. 24.

was

Medals of the illustrious Families and Roman Emperors, preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, described and explained. This work was finished by the author in 1659, and given by him to the Publick Library in Oxford, in 1666, in three volumes in folio, as it was fitted for the press. VII. *A Description and Explanation of the Coins and Medals, belonging to King Charles II.* a folio MS. in the King's cabinet. VIII. *A brief Ceremonial of the Feast of St George, held at White-hall 1661, with other papers relating to the Order.* IX. *Remarkable Passages in the Year 1660, set down by Mr Elias Ashmole.* X. *An Account of the Coronation of our Kings, transcribed from a MS. in the King's private closet.* XI. *The Proceedings on the Day of the Coronation of King Charles II,* mentioned by Anthony Wood, as printed in 1672, but he owns he never saw it (42). XII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, &c. in some Churches and Houses in Staffordshire,* taken when he accompanied Sir William Dugdale in his Visitation. XIII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, &c. in Cheshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, &c.* taken at the same time. Bishop Nicholson, tells us something of his intention to write the *History and Antiquities of his native Town of Litchfield,* which it may be presumed his Lordship took upon memory, since in the same paragraph, he calls Mr Ashmole, Garter King at Arms, which shews no great attention to what he was writing (43). XIV. *Answers to the Objections urged against Mr Ashmole's being made Historiographer to the Order of the Garter,* A. D. 1662. XV. *A Translation of John Francis Spina's Book of the Catastrophe of the world,* to which was subjoined *Ambrose Merlin's Prophecy.* Mr Wood tells us, that he was not informed by Mr Ashmole's letter (44), when or where this translation was published, and indeed I make some doubt, whether it was published at all. Father Niceron (45), in his short account of the life of Ashmole, which is entirely transcribed from Wood, mentions none but the books published in his life-time, and is not very correct even as to these; but we have fully shewn that which he printed, was but a very small part of what he wrote, and indeed there is scarce any branch of our English history and antiquities, on which he has not left us something valuable, of his own composing, in that vast repository of papers, which make several folios, in his Collection of MSS, under the title of, XVI. *Collections, Remarks, Notes on Books, and MSS,* which is a noble proof of his industry and application. To close this account, and to give the reader some notion of a piece which we have so often cited, we shall lastly mention, XVII. *The Diary of his Life,* written by himself was published at London 1717, in 12mo. with the following title. *Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary, Elias Ashmole, Esquire, drawn up by himself by way of Diary, with an Appendix of Original Letters. Published by Charles Burnan, Esquire.* The editor tells us in the preface, 'That the copy from whence these papers were published, was in the hand-writing of Dr Robert Plott, chief keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and Secretary of the Royal Society, and was transcribed by him for the use of a near relation of Mr Ashmole's, a private gentleman in Staffordshire. That they had been collated a few years before, by David Perry, M. A. of Jesus College, in Oxford, and chief keeper to the Museum, who corrected from the original manuscripts (46), some few literal errors.' The editor concludes with observing, *that he shall not dissent upon the usefulness of this kind of works,*

but only say thus much, *That they let us into the secret history of affairs of their several times, discover the springs of motion, and display many valuable, though minute circumstances, overlooked, or unknown to our general historians; and, to conclude all, satiate our largest curiosity.* The appendix contains a letter of thanks, dated January 26, 1666, from the corporation at Litchfield, upon the receipt of a silver bowl presented to them by Mr Ashmole. A preface to the catalogue of Archbishop Laud's medals, drawn up by Mr Ashmole, and preserved in the publick library at Oxford. A letter from Dr Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr Ashmole, dated December 28, 1668, on the present of his books, describing Archbishop Laud's cabinet of medals. A letter from John Evelyn, Esq; to recommend Dr Plott to him for reader in Natural Philosophy, and another from Mr Joshua Barnes, dated from Emanuel college, Cambridge, October 15, 1688, wherein he desires Mr Ashmole's pardon, for having reflected upon his Order of the Garter, in his own history of King Edward III, with Mr Ashmole's answer to that letter, dated October 23, following. How dry and unentertaining soever the perusal of such a note-book may be in itself, yet as a support in regard to facts and authorities, it is certainly impossible to find one that deserves greater credit.

[2] *There is nothing which exceeds the truth.* This truly worthy and great man, lies buried in the fourth aisle, at the east end, and on the north side of the aisle, in South Lambeth church, and the inscription above referred to, runs thus (47):

Hic jacet inclytus ille & Eruditissimus
ELIAS ASHMOLE Leichfeldensis Armiger,
Inter alia in Republica Munera,
Tributi in Cervisia contra Rotulatur,
Fæcialis autem Windforiensis titulo
Per annos plurimos dignatus,
Qui post duo conubia in uxorem duxit tertiam
ELIZABETHAM GULIELMI DUGDALE
Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum filiam;
Mortem obiit 18 Maii, 1692. anno ætatis 76.
Sed durante Musæo ASHMOLEANO, Oxon.
Nunquam moriturus.

In English thus:

Here lies the celebrated and most learned
Elias Ashmole of Litchfield, Esq;
Amongst other publick offices
Those of Comptroller of the Excise
And Windsor Herald at Arms
For many years he worthily discharged,
Who after two marriages took for his third wife
Elizabeth, of William Dugdale
Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms, the daughter.
Breath'd his last, 18 May, 1692, in the 76 year of his age.
But while the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford stands
He shall never die.

Near it is an achievement set up for the same person, whereon is the following coat of arms, viz. Quarterly Sable and Or, the first quarter on a Fleur de lis; of the second: Ashmole impaling Dugdale, viz. Argent, a Cross Malines Gules, and a Torseau with this motto—*Ex una omnia.*

[R] That

(47) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey. Maidland's Hist. of London, p. 790. Ashmole's Memoirs, p. 24.

(42) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(43) English Historical Library, p. 132.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(45) Histoire des Hommes illust. Tom. XXII. p. 363.

(46) In Mr Ashmole's Collection at Oxford the original stands, Cod. 1136.

was no longer possible for him to serve the Publick. But notwithstanding he concealed; he never changed, or made a shew of changing, his principles; so that on the Restoration of King Charles II, he stood so clear in his Majesty's opinion, that, by his order, Mr Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lord High-Treasurer, Southampton, that Mr Ashmole was a person that his Majesty had a *more than ordinary desire to prefer*, adding, on his own knowledge, that he was a very deserving person, and a man of more than ordinary parts. The learned Dr Plott, thought our author an honour to the country in which he was born, and therefore places him amongst the most eminent men it had produced, and to justify this, gives him the following character (q). 'The worshipful Elias Ashmole, Esq; of Brazen-Nose college, Oxon. was born at Litchfield in this county, who for his general skill in all the politer sorts of learning, such as Heraldry, Antiquities, Chemistry, Astrology, Natural Philosophy, &c. was made first Windsor Herald, and had the supervising and ordering the King's cabinet of coins, and made catalogues of those in the university of Oxford, which university, upon his extraordinary merit, sent him a diploma, for his Doctor's degree in the faculty of Physick, *ex mero motu*, without his knowledge or seeking; he was also honoured in the Inns of Court, with the title and degree of Barrister at Law. Lastly, our late dread Sovereign, King Charles II, being conscious of his great knowledge, industry, and fidelity, made him Comptroller of all the Excise in England and Wales; he hath obliged the learned world with many curious books, and lately the university of Oxford, with the best History of Nature, Arts, and Antiquities, to be seen any where in the world, not in print or sculpture, but in a generous donation of the real things themselves, where with they have furnished the new Musæum, lately there erected, and gratefully stiled it, (as a perpetual memorial of so noble a benefaction) the *Musæum Ashmoleanum*.' It is true, Dr Plott had great obligations to our author, and therefore it may be suspected (especially as Mr Ashmole was living at the time of his publishing that work) that his gratitude had a large share in his eulogium, but nothing of this sort can be objected to Anthony Wood who wrote after Mr Ashmole's decease, and seldom erred on the side of panegyrick. He says, speaking of our author, 'I must take leave to tell the reader, he was the greatest Virtuoso or Curioso that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor solis* took up it's habitation in his breast, and in his bosom the great God did abundantly store up the treasures of all sorts of wisdom and knowledge (r).' This we must allow an extraordinary commendation from so splenetick a writer, who has not failed giving place to every thing he had heard, that might abate the reputation of this worthy person [R], as well as to these just praises, which envy herself could not refuse him. But the university of Oxford more courteous than her Antiquary, expresses our author's merit in few words, in the diploma, by which without his sollicitation (or so much as his knowledge) she created him Doctor in Physick, for there his profound learning, as well as his benevolence to that learned body, is said to have rendered him most dear to the university, *ab eruditione recondita & benevolentia in academia propensa nobis charissimus* (s), are their words, and for the same causes should his memory remain dear to latest posterity; since to them have descended not only the testimonials he gave of his, deep science, but also those mighty helps, which by his pains he procured, and by his bounty bestowed, where they might best answer the ends of judicious enquirers through all succeeding ages.

(q) Natural Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 276, 277.

(r) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 389.

(s) Fasti Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 18c.

[R] *That might abate the reputation of this worthy person.* After mentioning the rarities, coins, medals, books, and manuscripts, given by Mr Ashmole in his life-time, and at his death, to the university of Oxford, he very abruptly proceeds thus (48), 'But the best *elixir* that he enjoyed, which was the foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchased books, rarities, and other things, were the lands, and jointures, which he had with his second wife, Mary, &c. widow of Sir Thomas Manwaring, of the Inner Temple, Knt. some time Steward of Reading: After whose death Mr Ashmole taking her to wife, Nov. 16, 1649, enjoyed her estate, though not her company, for altogether, to the day of her death, which happened April 1, 1668.' In this jumbled and unconnected paragraph, there is a large proportion of malice, and a very small mixture of truth, as the reader will easily discern from a short examination. 1. There is a *bale innuendo*, as if Mr Ashmole had studied Chemistry to little purpose, since without his wife, he had missed of the *elixir*, whereas in fact, he was a *lover* of Chemistry, only never wrought with his hands, and consequently never fought the *elixir*, which indeed he never needed. 2. It is insinuated that from this marriage Mr Ashmole obtained all that he had, and that if he was a great benefactor to the university of Oxford, it came all out of his lady's, lands, and jointures: But is this true? A very large part of his collection was bequeathed to him by Mr John Tredescant, and consequently did not come by his wife. Besides a prodigious share of what curiosities, &c. he might have purchased in that wife's time, were burned in the fire, which con-

(48) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 89r.

sumed his chambers in the Temple, and so were lost to him and the university too. Lastly, after this lady's decease, Mr Ashmole remained Windsor Herald, Keeper of Rarities to the King, Commissioner for recovering King Charles the first's goods, Secretary of Surinam, and Comptroller of the Excise, which places one would imagine, might furnish occasion and money too, for buying books and curiosities, as well as Lady Manwaring's jointure; so that after all, there is as little of veracity, as of decency or gratitude, in these remarks of our Antiquary of Oxford. 3. But the feverest stroke of all, is as to the separation of him and his wife, which might induce an unwary reader, to believe Mr Ashmole used this lady very ill, who brought him all this money; whereas in fact, she used him so, or the Court of Chancery had never sent her back to him again, after her complaint to that Court, as it had been before shewn was actually done.

But what is still more extraordinary in Mr Wood's manner of penning this life, is his taking an opportunity at the close of it, to shew his distaste in very unmannerly terms, towards the widow of Mr Ashmole, of whom he gives us this account (49). 'Soon after Mr Ashmole's death, his widow, Elizabeth, who seemed to have had a great love and fondness for her husband (which was sometimes before company expressed) married a lusty man, called John Reynolds, a Stone-Cutter, but had no issue by him.' These are particulars, which no way deserve the notice of posterity, and are quite below the dignity of a Biographer, who ought to have no other view, than to serve the publick, by recording what succeeding generations ought either to follow, or to shun.

(49) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

A S H T O N (T H O M A S), a clergyman in the time of the Usurpation, was the son of Thomas Ashton, and born at Teucredley in Lancashire, in 1631 (a). At sixteen years of age, he was admitted a Servitor of Brazen-Nose college in Oxford, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 7, 1650 (b). He was chosen fellow of his college, and took holy orders. Mr Wood tells us (c), he was a 'forward and conceited scholar,' and 'became a malapert preacher in and near Oxford.' Being appointed to preach at St Mary's, on Tuesday (a lecture-day) July 25, 1654, he gave so great offence by his sermon [A], that he was in a fair way of expulsion; but, by the intercession of friends, the matter was compromised: nevertheless he was obliged, about two years after, to quit his fellowship upon some quarrel which he had with Dr Greenwood Principal of his house. In 1656, he was intrusted with a commission from the Protector to be chaplain to the English forces in the island of Jersey; but was soon after displaced upon the arrival of a new Governor. After the King's Restoration, he was beneficed somewhere near Hertford in Hertfordshire; where, Mr Wood says, 'he soon after finished his restless course.' He published two pieces [B], mentioned below.

I find another THOMAS ASHTON (d), a Knight, of an antient and wealthy family in Lancashire; who lived in the reign of King Henry VI, and was famous for his skill in Chemistry [C].

[A] He gave great offence by his sermon.] His Text was, these words of Job (xxxvii. 22). *With God is terrible majesty*; from whence taking occasion to speak of the attributes of God, particularly that of the text, he observed, that *terribilis* might signify *terra bilis*; and concluded, that God was a melancholy God, and that those who had no teeth to gnash, should gnash their gums, &c. (1).

(B) He published two pieces.] I. *Blood-thirsty Cyrus, unsatisfied with blood. Or, The boundless Cruelty of an Anabaptist's Tyranny, manifested in a Letter of Colonel John Mason, Governor of Jersey, 3 Nov. 1659; wherein he exhibits seven false, ridiculous, and scandalous articles against Quarter-Master William Swan, &c. London 1659, in one sheet 4to.* II. *Satan in Samuel's Mantle, or, the Cruelty of Germany, acted in Jersey; containing the arbitrary, bloody, and tyrannical Proceedings of John Mason, of a baptized Church, commissioned to be a Colonel, and sent over into the island of Jersey, Governor, in July 1656, against several Officers and Soldiers in that small place, &c. London 1659, in four sheets in 4to (2).*

[C] Sir Thomas Ashton — was famous for his skill in Chemistry.] This appears from the following patent (transcribed by Dr Fuller (3) from the original in the Tower, granted by King Henry VI, in the 24th year of his reign, to Sir Thomas Ashton, and Sir Edmund Trafford. *Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod cum dilecti et fideles nostri, Edmundus de Trafford Miles, et Thomas Ashton Miles, nobis per quandam supplicationem monstraverint, quod quamvis ipsi super certis metallis, per artem sive scientiam philosophicam, operari velent, metalla imperfecta de suo proprio genere transferre, et tunc ea per dictam artem sive scientiam, in aurum sive argentum perfectum transubstantiare, ad omnimodas probationes et examinationes, sicut aliquod aurum sive argentum in aliqua minera crescens, expectandum et indurandum, ut*

dicunt; Nihilominus certæ personæ illis malevolentes et malignantes, supponunt ipsos per artem illicitam operari, et sic ipsos in probatione dictæ artis sive Scientiæ impedire et perturbare possunt: Nos præmissa considerantes, ac conclusionem dictæ operationis sive Scientiæ, scire volentes, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam dedimus ipsi Edmundo et Thomæ, et ipsorum servientibus, quod ipsi artem sive scientiam prædictam operari et probare possent licite et impune, absque impetitione nostra vel Officiariorum nostrorum quorumcumque; aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, sive Provisione in contrarium facto ordinat. sive provis. non obstante. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Westmon. septimo die Aprilis. Thus translated by Fuller, 'The King to all whom, &c. Greeting. Know ye, that whereas our beloved and loyal Edmund de Trafford, Knt. and Thomas Ashton, Knt. have by a certain petition shewn unto us, that although they were willing by the art or science of philosophy to work upon certain metals, to translate imperfect metals from their own kind, and then to transubstantiate them by the said art or science, as they say, into perfect gold or silver, unto all manner of proofs and trials, to be expected and indured, as any gold or silver growing in any mine; notwithstanding certain persons unwilling and maligning them, conceive them to work by unlawful art, and so may hinder and disturb them in the trial of the said art and science: We, considering the premises, and willing to know the conclusion of the said working or science, of our special grace have granted and given leave to the fame Edmund and Thomas, and to their servants, that they may work and try the aforesaid art and science lawfully and freely, without any hindrance of our's, or of our officers whatsoever; any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, made, ordained, or provided to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof, the King at Westminster, the 7th day of April.'

(a) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(b) Ibid. col. 93.

(c) Ibid. col. 102.

(d) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lancashire, p. 122.

(1) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Worthies of England, Lancashire, p. 122.

A S H W E L L (G E O R G E), Rector of Hanwell, near Banbury in Oxfordshire, was the son of Robert Ashwell of Harrow on the Hill in Middlesex, and was born in the parish of St Martin near Ludgate in London, November the 8th, 1612. He was admitted a scholar of Wadham college in Oxford in 1627, took the degrees in arts, was elected fellow, and became a celebrated tutor in that house. In the time of the Grand Rebellion he continued in Oxford, and preached several times before the King, Court, and Parliament. A little before the surrender of the garrison of Oxford, he had the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity conferred on him (a). About the latter end of the year 1658, he was presented to the living of Hanwell, vacant by the death of Dr Robert Harris, having been before (as Mr Wood thinks) chaplain in the family of Sir Anthony Cope, Lord of the Manour of Hanwell (b). He had the character of a very peaceable and religious man, and was well versed in Logic, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers. He wrote the following books. I. *Fides Apostolica, or A Discourse asserting the received Authors and Authority of the Apostles Creed.* Oxon. 1653, 8vo. II. *A Double Appendix, the first touching the Albanian, the second touching the Nicene Creed,* printed with the *Fides Apostolica* [A]. III. *Gestus Eucharisticus, concerning the Gesture to be used at the receiving*

(a) Wood, Fasti Oxon. June 23, 1646.

(b) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911, 912.

[A] *A double appendix, &c.*] Mr Richard Baxter having, in his *Gildas, Salvianus, or Reformed Pastor*, censured some things in Mr Ashwell's *Fides Apostolica*,

thought fit to recant in the Preface to his *Catholic Theology*, and expressed his regret for having said any thing against that book (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911.

receiving of the Sacrament. Oxon. 1663, 8vo. IV. *De Socino et Socinianismo. i. e. A Treatise concerning Socinus and the Socinian Heresy* [B]. V. *De Ecclesia Romana Dissertatio, pars operis multo majoris De Judice Controversiarum. i. e. A Dissertation concerning the Church of Rome, being part of a much larger Work concerning the Judge of Controversies.* Oxon. 1688, 4to. This piece was published at the request of Dr Gilbert Ironside, Warden of Wadham college. VI. *An Answer to Plato Redivivus, written by Henry Nevil.* This is in manuscript in the author's own hand. VII. He also translated out of Latin into English, *Philosophus Autodidactus, sive Epistola Abi Giaaphar Ebn Topbail de Hai Ebn Yokdan, &c.* London 1586, 8vo [C]. Our author died at Hanwell, the eighth of February 1693, and was buried in the church of that place, having been thirty-five years Rector thereof [D].

[B] *De Socino et Socinianismo.*] This was but a part, and that the least, of a much greater work, entitled *De Judice Controversiarum, et Catholicæ veritatis regula. i. e. 'Of the Judge of Controversies, and the Rule of Catholic Truth;'* which the author had finished, and kept by him in manuscript. He published the *Dissertation* as a specimen of his performance, and to try what success he might reasonably expect from the publication of the whole (2).

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

[C] *Philosophus autodidactus, &c.*] In this Epistle (Mr Wood tells us) is demonstrated by what steps

and degrees human reason, improved by diligent observation and experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the discovery of super-naturals, more especially of God, and the concerns of another life. It was published in Arabick and Latin, by Edw. Pocock, A. M. of Christ-church in Oxford 1671, 4to (3).

(3) Wood, *ibid.* col. 912.

[D] *He was thirty-five years Rector of Hanwell.*] This we learn from his epitaph, which begins thus: *Deposuit Geo. Ashwell, S. S. Theol. Bac. & hujus Ecclesie 35 annos rectoris, &c.*

ASSHETON (WILLIAM), Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Beckenham in Kent, was the son of the reverend Mr Asheton Rector of Middleton in Lancashire, of the antient family of the Baronets of that name and place (a). He was born in the year 1641, had his education in a private country school, and was from thence removed to Brazen-Nose college in Oxford, July 3, 1658 (b). Here he imbibed the strongest principles of true religion and loyalty [A], and made so quick a progress in every branch of good literature, that he soon merited a fellowship, into which he was elected in 1663, being then Bachelor of Arts (c). After he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, he went into orders, and was a preacher for some time in the parts about Oxford (d). He was appointed chaplain to James Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that university, whom he served in that capacity both in England and Ireland. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in January 1673; and, the February following, he succeeded Dr Benjamin Parry, in the Prebend of Knaresburgh, in the church of York (e). His attendance on his patron brought him to London, where he obtained the living of St Antholin (f); and in 1676, by the Duke's interest with the family of the St Johns, he was presented to the rectory of Beckenham in Kent. He was frequently and unanimously chosen Proctor for Rochester in Convocation [B]. This worthy Divine was the first projector of the scheme for providing a maintenance for clergymen widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company [C]. He wrote several pieces against the

(a) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Asheton.* Printed at London, 1714.

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1025.

(c) *Life, &c.* p. 8. See also Wood, *ubi supra.*

(d) Wood, *ibid.*

(e) Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 1026.

(f) *Life, &c.* p. 14.

[A] *He imbibed, at Oxford, the strongest principles of true religion and loyalty.*] Mr Wood pretends (1), he was, at his first admission in the college, put under a Presbyterian tutor; by which means he was very early tainted with the principles of that sect; inasmuch that (as our Antiquarian expresses it) *he frequented, with Sam. Parker, the religious meetings in the house of Bessè Hampton, an old decrepid laundress, living in Halywell in the north suburb of Oxford;* but that he changed his principles after the Restoration of King Charles II. This is not easily reconciled with what the author of his *Life* tells us, that 'He was providentially blessed in some orthodox and loyal instructors, such as secured him from the general contagion (2).' It is true, the same author confesses, 'He fell into some dangerous hands at school and the university, and lay under many temptations, where the leavens of error and hypocrisy prevailed;' but at the same time he argues against the probability of his having ever fallen in with the Presbyterian party. Besides, (says he) as it pleased God to endow him with a most towards disposition, a most compassionate good nature, a very studious humble mind, and modest behaviour, as with all virtuous inclinations and special graces; so he could never be so much as tainted with ill notions of any kind, nor ever be drawn into the party of any furious zealots, libertines, &c. whom he wanted not spirit to oppose on all due occasions, and in proper seasons throughout his life (3).

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1025.

(2) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Asheton,* p. 6.

(3) *Id. ibid.* p. 7.

[B] *He was frequently and unanimously chosen Proctor for Rochester in Convocation.*] He was so often elected into this office, that at length he begged leave to decline the favour; as he found the distem-

pers of his studious sedentary life, the gravel and stone, growing upon him, which disabled him for attendance and fatigues. However he was prevailed upon to continue in that function, his great abilities and integrity rendering him the fittest person to represent those of his order (4).

(4) *Id. ibid.* p. 41.

[C] *He projected the scheme for providing for clergymen widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company.*] Dr Asheton gave the publick an account of this scheme, in a book entitled, *A full account of the rise, progress, and advantages of Dr Asheton's Proposal, &c.* (5). In the Preface we are told, that 'As Dr Asheton did not project this Proposal for his own private advantage, but doth sincerely design a public good; in like manner, the worthy members of the Mercers company have undertaken to manage this Proposal, not from any prospect of advantage to their own private persons, but only out of a generous design to make the company more capable to answer the end and reason of their charter; which is to establish and manage public charities, and thereby to enlarge their capacity of doing good.' An Advertisement, which follows the Preface, informs us, that 'This Proposal being first projected for the benefit of those who have small estates, the words *poverty* and *poor* do sometimes occur in the explication of it; and therefore, that persons of honour and quality may not be prejudiced against it, as if it nothing concerned them; they may please to be informed, that this Proposal, as now modelled and improved, may be serviceable to those of quality and estate: 1. By enabling them to settle or enlarge jointures, without clogging their lands: 2. By encouraging them to demand larger portions

(5) See the remark [D].

the Papists and Dissenters, and some practical and devotional tracts [D]. A few years before

tions than otherwise, without the help of this Propofal, they could rationally expect.' The bringing this scheme to perfection, took up Dr Afsheton's thoughts many years. For though he was encouraged by many judicious persons, in the prosecution of the design, yet where to fix it, or how to provide such a fund as might secure the Subscribers, was a matter of some difficulty. However, he resolved to go on, and, if possible, to finish what he had so long projected. His first address was to the Corporation of the Clergy, who declared, they were not in a capacity to accept the Propofal. His next Application was to the Royal Bank of England, where he met with no better success. Whereupon the Doctor applied himself to the Mercers company; who, after full debates in their general Courts and Committees, agreed with him upon certain rules and orders; out of which I shall extract the following particulars. 1. That the Company will take in subscriptions at any time, till the sum of 100,000 l. be subscribed, but will never exceed that sum. 2. That all married men, at the age of thirty years or under, may subscribe any sum not exceeding 1000 l. That all married men, not exceeding the age of forty years, may subscribe any sum, not exceeding 500 l. And that all married men, not exceeding the age of sixty years, may subscribe any sum, not exceeding 300 l. And that the widows of all persons, subscribing according to these limitations, shall receive the benefit of 30 per cent. per annum, according to the former Propofal, free of all taxes and charges, at the two usual Feasts of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and St Michael the Archangel; and that the first of these payments shall be made at the first of the said Feast days, which shall happen four months or more after the decease of the person or persons so subscribing; excepting such as shall voluntarily make away with themselves, or by any act of theirs occasion their own death; either by duelling or committing any crime, whereby they shall be sentenced, and put to death by justice: In any, or either of these cases, the widows to receive no annuity; but, upon delivering up the Company's bond, to have the subscription money paid to them. 3. That no sea-faring men may subscribe, who follow it is as their business or vocation; nor others, who go farther than Holland, Ireland, or the coasts of England; and that any person may subscribe for any others, whom he shall nominate in his last will, during the natural life of his wife, if she survive, and his intention be declared in his subscription.' The Company had several meetings in Committees with the Doctor, about settling a sufficient security; in which they satisfied him that their estates, being clear rents, amounted to 2888 l. 8 s. 10 d. besides the payments of the benefactors, to be paid out of the same; which, by a moderate calculation, would yield, when the leases came out, above 13500 l. per annum. All things being agreed upon, the Deed of Settlement was executed by the Company and Trustees, at a general Court of the said Company, held on Wednesday the 4th of October, 1699. This Deed is enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and an authentic copy of it kept by the Company (6).

[D] He wrote several pieces against the Papists and Dissenters, and some practical and devotional tracts.] I shall here give the reader a compleat Catalogue of Dr Afsheton's works, extracted from the author of his Life. I. TOLERATION disapproved and condemned by the authority and convincing reasons of, 1. That wife and learned King JAMES, and his Privy-council, Anno Reg. II^{do}. 2. The honourable Commons assembled in this present Parliament, in their Votes, &c. Feb. 25, 1662. 3. The Presbyterian Ministers in the City of London, met at Sion college, Decem. 18, 1645. 4. Twenty eminent Divines, most (if not all) of them members of the late assembly; in their Sermons before the two Houses of Parliament on solemn occasions. Faithfully collected by a very moderate hand, and humbly presented to the serious consideration of all Dissenting Parties. Printed at Oxford, in the year 1670. He published a second edition of this book, the same year, with his name, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Ox-

ford's *Imprimatur*, prefixed to it. The title was the same as that of the first edition, only with this addition to it: *Faithfully collected by William Afsheton, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Brazen-nose college in Oxford. The second Edition corrected and enlarged, with an additional Preface; wherein the nature of Persecution in general, and the unjust complaints of the dissenting parties concerning it in particular, are distinctly considered.* Printed likewise at Oxford, in 1670. II. *The Cases of Scandal and Persecution; being a seasonable enquiry into these two things: 1. Whether the Nonconformists, who otherwise think subscription lawful, are therefore obliged to forbear it, because the weak brethren do judge it unlawful? 2. Whether the execution of penal laws upon Dissenters, for non-communion with the Church of England, be persecution? Wherein they are pathetically exhorted to return into the bosom of the Church, the likeliest expedient to stop the growth of Popery.* Printed at London, in the year 1674. This piece, Mr Wood tells us (7), is reflected upon by Mr Richard Baxter, in his *Apology for the non-conforming Ministry*, &c. London, 1681. There is an occasional Postscript to it, concerning a gentlewoman, who was perverted from Protestantism to Popery, by the arguments of some Presbyterian Divines. III. *The Royal Apology: Or, An Answer to the Rebel's Plea; wherein are the most noted Anti-monarchical Tenets, 1st published by Doleman the Jesuit, to promote a Bill of Exclusion against King James I. 2^{dly}, Practised by Bradshaw, and the Regicides, in the actual murder of King Charles I. 3^{dly}, Republished by Sidney, and the Associates to depose and murder his present Majesty, London, 1685. The second Edition. IV. A seasonable Vindication of their present Majesties; Printed at London. In this piece, the author published to the world the reasons, which induced him to swear allegiance to King William, and Queen Mary. V. *The Country Parson's Admonition to his Parishioners against Popery; with directions how to behave themselves, when any one designs to seduce them from the Church of England.* London, Printed in the year, 1686. VI. *A full Defence of the former Discourse against the Missionaries Answer: Being a farther Examination of the pretended Infallibility of the Church of Rome: or, as it is intuled in the first impression, A Defence of the Plain Man's Reply to the Catholic Missionaries, &c.* To this is prefix'd an *Imprimatur*, signed by William Needham, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. March 29, 1688. VII. *A short Discourse against Blasphemy*, 1691. VIII. *A Discourse against Drunkenness*, 1692. IX. *A Discourse against swearing and cursing*, 1692. These three last pieces were written and published in pursuance of their Majesties injunctions, against all sorts of prophaneness; and, that they might be the more generally read, they were sold for no more than 2 d. each discourse. X. *Directions in order to the suppressing of Debauchery and Prophaneness*, 1693. XI. *A Conference with an Anabaptist; Part I. Concerning the Subject of Baptism: Being a Defence of Infant-Baptism.* This book is authorized with the *Imprimatur* of Ralph Barker, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 6, 1694. It was occasioned by a separate congregation of Anabaptists, being set up in Dr Afsheton's Parish; but the Meeting soon breaking up, the author never published a second Part. XII. *A Discourse concerning a Death bed Repentance.* This is the substance of a Sermon preached at Court before Queen Mary, enlarged and dedicated to the King, after her Majesty's death. XIII. *A Theological Discourse of last Wills and Testaments.* London, 1696. XIV. *A seasonable Vindication of the blessed Trinity: Being an Answer to this Question, Why do you believe the Doctrine of the Trinity? Collected from the Works of the most Reverend Doctor John Tillotson, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Reverend Dr Edward Stillingfleet, now Lord Bishop of Worcester, London, 1679.* XV. *A brief State of the Socinian Controversy, concerning a Trinity in Unity; collected from the Works of Dr Isaac Barrow.* London, 1698. XVI. *The Plain Man's Devotion, Part. I. In a method of daily Devotion; and, a method of Devotion for the Lord's day. Both fitted to the meanest capacities*, 1698. XVII. *A full Account of the Rise, Progress, and Advantages of**

(7) Athen. Ozob.
Vol. II. col.
1026.

(6) Life, &c. p.
84, &c.

(g) *Life*, &c.
P. 8.(b) *Ibid.*, p. 193.

before his death, he was invited to accept of the headship of his college, then vacant; which offer he modestly declined (g). He died at Beckenham in September 1711, in the seventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of that church (b). I shall give an extract of his character from the author of his *Life* [E], printed at London in 1714.

A S T L E Y

Dr Afsheton's Proposal, (as now improved and managed by the worshipful company of Mercers, London) for the benefit of widows of clergymen, and others, by settled jointures and annuities, at the rate of thirty per cent. With Directions for the widow how to receive her annuity, without any delay, charges, or deductions. Plead for the Widow. Isa. i. 17. Printed by W. P. Given Gratis at Mercers-hall, and by J. Baker, Bookseller at Mercers-chapel, 1713. XVIII. A Vindication of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State, London, 1703. XIX. A Brief Exhortation to the Holy Communion, with the nature and measures of Preparation concerning it: Fitted to the meanest capacities, 1705. XX. A method of Devotion for sick and dying persons: With particular Directions from the beginning of Sickness to the Hour of Death. London, 1706. XXI. The Possibility of Apparitions: Being an Answer to this question; 'Whether can departed Souls (Souls separated from their bodies) so appear, as to be visibly seen, and converse here on earth?' This book was occasioned by the remarkable Story of one dying at Dover, and appearing to her friend at Canterbury (8). XXII. Occasional Prayers from Bishop Taylor, Bishop Cosins, Bishop Kenn, &c. and, A Devout Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems, on several Occasions. London, 1708. XXIII. A Seasonable Vindication of the Clergy: Being an Answer to some Reflections in a late book, entitled, The Rights of the Christian Church asserted, &c. Humbly submitted to the serious consideration of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain. By a Divine of the Church of London, 1709. XXIV. Directions for the Conversation of the Clergy: Collected from the Visitation Charges of the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Worcester. London, 1710. XXV. Two Sermons: One preached before the Sons of the Clergy, at St Paul's, December 6, 1699; the other before the Honourable Society of the Natives of the County of Kent, at St Mary le Bow, Nov. 21, 1700. Mr. Wood (9) mentions another Sermon on the Danger of Hypocrisy, preached at Guild-hall chapel, Aug. 3, 1673.

(8) This Story is prefixed to the English Translation of Drelincourt on Death.

(9) *Ubi supra.*

(10) From page 155 to 186.

[E] An Extract of Dr Afsheton's Character from the Author of his *Life*. (10) 'He was very regular and assiduous in private Devotion, Meditation, and Reading. History and Philosophy, he justly used as the proper handmaids to Divinity, which was his business and delight, his Study indeed. He readily subscribed to the publishing all critical, learned, and laborious works. Thus he completed one of the best Libraries any Clergyman can desire, having the blessing of a sufficient revenue, out of which he laid out at least 10*l.* per annum, to improve and increase his first stock of books; whereof he sent many duplicates, upon request, for Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland. Among all his books, those of devotion were intermixed, or at hand, to begin and end with. His zeal in and for the Church, was ever conspicuous. He preached twice every Sunday, to keep the people from straggling, and engage them to frequent the church; otherwise he knew, and lamented, that we have but too much preaching in the nation. At length he found his labour too great for him; which yet rather than lessen, (though in a small parish) he was willing to keep an assistant before he died; to whom he committed the catechizing part in his declining age, allowing him 5*s.* per Sunday, over and above 30*l.* per annum, and the benefit of his table all Church-days, &c. with several gifts and advantages that made up the whole about 50*l.* per annum. He watched diligently over his flock, and never neglected to pray for them, and bless them; neither would he suffer any to perish for want of admonition or reproof; as well in the spirit of meekness, as with all authority; though he never sued, cited, or prosecuted the most injurious and obdurate offenders; yet he rebuked and avoided the unruly, and kept the impertinently censorious, and perverse, at a due distance. He knew, and did his own duty well;

and would have all his people mind theirs, who were not to tell him what to preach, &c. however offended at his just reproofs and warnings; of which he had an instance in a wilful profaner, and absenter from the Church sometimes, and from the Lord's Table always; pretending that the Doctor had preached against him, and told him, he should be damned, before all the congregation. — He so much the more deserved of his parish, as he was more generous and charitable among them, than just to himself, in disregarding often his small tythes and perquisites, taking quietly what some left him, and helping all; wherein, to make all just and easy too, he tried all possible fair ways without contention, by letting out the whole, and letting every man his part; and at last taking all in kind, when they would not come near the value. He persisted in taking his tenths many years, till his death, with all imaginable ease to his people, and too much loss and expence to himself; who yet always observed and declared, that the worst tythe was better than the best composition he could make; most country-men being too hard at bargains, and often so unreasonable, as to stand in their own light, as they call it. — He kept a constant good table, and seemed glad of daily guests, excepting on Fast-days, &c. otherwise the more frequent visits were to him, the more welcome. — He kept up the true moderate English hospitality, genteely managed by an excellent Virgin-sister, (who lived and died with him, while he continued single) and some few years by a truly virtuous wife, though sickly, for whom he set up his coach, being most tender of her, and sorrowful at her death. — As he was a most affectionate, tender husband, and brother; so he was a just indulgent master, and had generally careful and honest servants, whom he took pains to make religious, peaceable, and sober. — He daily observed the good old religious way of Family-devotions, and Sunday-repetitions, &c. in the evening, for heavenly knowledge, grace, and protection hourly. — He sometimes used extempore Sermons, (having a body of Divinity in his head) until he was disturbed, and put into consternation with his congregation, by a woman swooning away in the church, who was soon carried out, and the people became silent; yet he could not recover his subject, nor recollect any thing he had said before; which obliged him to make an apology and come down. This he took as a warning, never to presume upon the strength of his parts or memory any more; neither would he ever after venture into any pulpit without notes. — He was easy of access, most courteous and affable, meek as a lamb, harmless as a dove; but withal, wise to distinguish persons, times, and places. His table-talk was both delightful and improving; he diverted sad stories, and decried false ones; he would not willingly know a wicked person, nor suffer a liar or tale-bearer in his sight. He never looked so frowning, as when a certain gentleman was backbiting another, and telling them a scandalous story; he started up, and with emotion asked him, if he could face the absent? which soon confounded the whisperer. In this extract the reader will perceive, that I have selected only those particulars, which most strongly mark Dr Afsheton's character; which I shall sum up in the words of an ingenious writer, quoted by the author of his *Life*, (11). (11) Page 187, 188. *Tho' low of stature, and mean aspect, yet truly reverend; his countenance was full of mildness and courtesy; his eyes more smiling than his mouth; his discourse grave and sober; words smooth and proper, distinctly uttered, with due respect to time, place, and person. His religion was legible in the innocency of his life, exactness of his morals, integrity and truth of his words, and the justice and honesty of his conversation. He abstained from offending, as if none ever pardoned; yet pardoned, as if he daily offended. His passions he made servants to his reason and religion; and if they rebelled, first concealed, and then suppressed*

suppressed their mutiny. He generally spake little; saw others tempers, without discovering his own; yet, when occasion served, showed that his silence neither proceeded from affectation nor weakness: for by running back to ages past, and recovering events out of memory, and then preventing time in flying forward to future things, and comparing one with the other, he would give a verdict very near propheticall; yet was so free from vanity, he could bear interruption patiently. Such was his prudence, and so exact his judgment as to discern between pride and greatness,

religion and superstition, quickness and rashness, government and tyranny, liberty and licentiousness, subjection and servitude, frugality and covetousness, &c. and to give to every cause it's proper actions and effects. He drank wine, as sick men take physick, merely for health: Reason was his rule, conscience his counsellor; and his actions were ever contrary to those he found fault with. Age rendered him neither morose nor imperious; his conversation was so affable, pleasant, and instructive, that young and old both delighted and profited in his company.

A S T L E Y (JOHN) second son of Sir Thomas de Astley, Knt. by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Harcourt, Esq; descended of the antient and noble family of Astley, of Astley in Warwickshire (a) [A]. He was born in the beginning of the XVth century, and distinguished himself by feats of arms, in the reign of our great English conqueror, King Henry V. It was in those days customary, for persons who had distinguished themselves by military achievements, to tilt publickly for the honour of their nation, or of their mistresses. Thus in 1438, one Peter de Masse, a Frenchman, having challenged all comers in honour of a certain lady, it was accepted by our hero, Astley, who, on the twenty-ninth of August that year, in the street of St Antoine in Paris, engaged him on horseback in the presence of Charles VII, the French King, and having with his lance pierced the head and helmet of his opponent quite through, he presented the latter to his lady, according to the conditions of combat (b). Being by this exploit become famous, on his return into England he was made choice of to fight Sir Philip Boyle, an Arragonian Knight, who, by the command of the King his master, had been in France, and had there challenged any person to fight with him on horseback or on foot, and was now come into England for the same purpose. The combat was on the thirtieth of January, 1442, being the twentieth of Henry VI. It was fought in Smithfield in the presence of that King, and all his nobility (c). Our John Astley was then an Esquire of the King's house, and was made choice of on this occasion, to support the honour of the nation. They fought on foot, both being compleatly armed, and first Astley threw his spear, which was avoided by Sir Philip Boyle, who put it by with his sword. After this Astley took his battle-ax, and went against the Knight suddenly, says my author, on whom he struck many strokes hard and fore upon his basnet, and on his hand, and made him loose his battle ax, and let it fall to the ground, and burst up his umber, *i. e.* the vizor of his helmet three times, and caught his dagger, and would have smitten him in the face to have slain him in the field, and then the King cried Hoo! and so they were parted and went to their tents (d). Immediately after, the King dubbed the said John Astley a Knight, and granted him an annuity of one hundred marks *per annum* (e). As for Sir Philip Boyle, or, as Stowe calls him, Sir Philip de Beaufe, he went and offered his arms at Windfor (f) [B]. Sir John de Astley continuing in the exercise of arms, became in process of time Knight of the Garter, and having passed through life with the greatest honour, he at length deceased at Patehull in Staffordshire, and lies buried there under a handsome monument (g) [C].

[A] *Astley of Astley in Warwickshire.* This antient family is supposed, on account of the likeness of arms, the lands they held by military service, and the employments they from time to time, had under the Earls of Leicester, to have been a younger branch, descended from Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, great grandchild to Almaric, base son to Robert King of France (1). This is the conjecture of Sir William Dugdale, and seems to have a great deal of probability. As to the name it is thus derived. In Domesday book, this manor is called Estleja, *i. e.* *Locus Orientalis*, a place lying east, and the first mention we have of the family of which we are speaking, is in the twelfth of Henry II, when it appears, that Philip de Estleja, Estley, or Astley, held three Knights fees of William, Earl of Warwick, *de veteri feoffamento*, by which it is plain, that this estate was either in his father, or grandfather in the time of Henry I (2), of which three Knights fees, Estley was part with Wedington, Hillmorton, Milverton, &c. by the service of holding the Earl's stirrup when he either mounted or alighted (3). This is the antient and chief family of Astley, from which the families seated at Hillmorton, and Wolvey in Warwickshire, and at Patehull in Staffordshire, both which are still subsisting and flourishing, draw their source (4). As to the eldest branch it failed in William de Astley, in the reign of Henry V, for he leaving an only daughter, Joan, she married first Thomas Raleigh of Farnborough, in the county of Warwick, and afterwards Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, in whose family the manor of Astley long continued (5).

[B] *He went and offered his arms at Windfor.* As

to these combats, and the laws relating to them, the reader may meet with large accounts of them, in the books cited in the margin (6), but however, it may not be amiss to say something in few words of them here. In the first place, the King's leave was to be asked in a solemn manner, when that was obtained, a place was assigned which was railed in, and convenient stations appointed for the judges and for the spectators. Men and women being in separate boxes. In the Area were pitched two tents, one for the challenger, and one for the defendant, then each of the parties swore, that he fought fairly. There is an oath of this sort on record, in a trial which should have been by battle, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and as all oaths on such occasions were of the same tenor, it may not be amiss to produce it. Thus it ran, This, hear you Justices, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me either bone, stone, or glass, or any enchantment, forcery, or witchcraft, where, through the power of God, might be impleased or diminished, and the Devil's power increased (7). After the combat was over, the conqueror went and solemnly returned thanks to God, and in this case it appears, that he who was foiled, did also offer his arms.

[C] *Buried under a handsome monument.* It is pity we have not an exact description of this monument, because we know particularly from an ancient MS. of the ensigns of the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, that this Sir John de Astley bore for his arms the coats of Astley and Harcourt quarterly, and a label of three points ermine (8), perhaps they may be upon this tomb.

(a) See the Pedigree of this family in Dugdale's Warwickshire, second edition, p. 107, 110. The English Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361, edit. 1727.

(b) Theatre de Honneur par M. de Wilson, c. xxviii.

(c) Ibid. c. xxxix.

(d) Stowe, A. D. 1442.

(e) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 110.

(f) Stowe, ubi supra.

(g) English Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361.

(6) Theatre de Honneur par M. Wilson. Institution of the Garter, by Elias Ashmole, Esq;

(7) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 670. edit. 1631.

(8) English Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361.

(1) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 106.

(2) Ex Cartul. Warw. Comit. penes Dudl. Bar. de North. f. 106. b.

(3) Ibid.

(4) The English Baronets, Vol. II. p. 50, 355.

(5) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 111.

A S T O N (Sir ARTHUR), an officer of note in King Charles I's army, was son of Sir Arthur Aston of Fulham in Middlesex, who was the second son of Sir Thomas Aston, of Aston of Bucklow. Hundred in Cheshire; 'an antient and knightly family of that county (a).' He was a great traveller, and made several campaigns in foreign countries. Being returned into England about the beginning of the Grand Rebellion, with as many soldiers of note as he could bring with him, he took part with the King [A] against the Parliament. He commanded the dragoons in the battle of Edge-hill, and with them did his Majesty considerable service. The King, having a great opinion of his valour and conduct, made him governor of the garrison of Reading in Berkshire (b), and Commissary-General of the Horse (c); in which post he three times repulsed the Earl of Essex, who, at the head of the Parliament army, laid siege to that place. But Sir Arthur being dangerously wounded [B], the command was devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding, the eldest Colonel in the garrison. Sir Arthur was suspected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command [C]. Some time after, he was appointed governor of the garrison of Oxford [D], in the room of Sir William Penniman deceased (d). In September following, he had the misfortune to break his leg by a fall from his horse, and was obliged to have it cut off; whereupon, on the twenty-fifth of December, he was discharged from his command, which was conferred on Colonel Gage (e). After the King's death, Sir Arthur was employed in the service of King Charles II, and went with the flower of the English veterans into Ireland, where he was appointed governor of Drogheda, commonly called *Tredagh*; 'at which time (Mr Wood tells us) he laid 'an excellent plot to tire and break the English army (f).' But at length Cromwell having taken the town, about the tenth of August, 1649, and put the inhabitants to the sword [E], Sir Arthur the governor was cut to pieces, and his brains beaten out with his wooden

(a) Wood, *Faßt Oxoniens.* Vol. II. col. 45.

(b) *Id.* ib.

(c) Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 81. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(d) *Ib.* part ii. p. 526.

(e) *Ib.* p. 553. Mr Wood pretends it was given to Colonel William Legge. But I prefer the authority of the noble Historian.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

[A] *He took part with the King.* The reader is to be informed, that Sir Arthur Aston was a reputed Papist; and this, among other circumstances, gave the King's enemies occasion to reflect upon him, as favouring the Romish religion. Let us hear my Lord Clarendon. 'In this equipage the King marched, — having in his whole army not one officer of the field who was a Papist, except Sir Arthur Aston, if he were one; and very few common soldiers of that religion. However the Parliament in all their declarations, and their clergy much more in their sermons, assured the people, that the King's army consisted only of Papists (1).' And in another place, 'Tho' he (the King) had some Papists entertained in his armies, yet all men trusted by him in superior commands, were men of unblemished integrity in the Protestant religion: and in all his armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, Sir Arthur Aston, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist (2).'

(1) *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 41. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(2) *Ib.* p. 153.

[B] *He was dangerously wounded.* 'Within a week after the beginning of the siege, Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being in a court of guard near the line, which was nearest to the enemies approaches, a cannon-shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tyle; a piece whereof, the shot going thro', hit the governor on the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction. — This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King; for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had greater dread (3).'

(3) *Ibid.* p. 231.

[C] *Sir Arthur was suspected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command.* Colonel Fielding, upon whom the command of the garrison was devolved, having surrendered the town to the Parliament forces, was committed to prison for so doing, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. Upon his trial he pleaded, among other things, in his defence; *That by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of seniority, not any ambitious design of his own: that he had, from time to time, acquainted Sir Arthur Aston with the state and condition they were in, and tho' his indisposition of health was such, that he would not give positive orders, he seemed to approve of all that was done; and tho', for the former reason, he refused to sign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of them.* The truth of it is (says my Lord Clarendon) Sir Arthur Aston was believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to command, as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swollen, that he might not in

person venture upon any execution, yet his understanding or senses were not much disordered or discomposed; and that he only positively waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 241.

[D] *He was appointed governor of the garrison of Oxford.* It was thro' the Queen's interest he obtained this post: for her Majesty, being then at Oxford, thought she should be safer under the care and charge of a Roman Catholic, than of a Protestant governor. Sir Arthur's behaviour in this station was not very agreeable to the people of that city. He had the fortune (says the noble historian hitherto cited) to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much disliked where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason: and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary commission to the Lords of his council, to whose authority he was to submit; which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what ungrateful ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, staid in the town; and those, by the King's direction, the Lords disposed to assist the governor, and particularly to take care of the several quarters of the town, one whereof was assigned to each of them (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* Part ii. p. 526, 527.

[E] *Cromwell — put the inhabitants of Drogheda to the sword.* To go on with Lord Clarendon; 'Before the Marquis of Ormond (General for the King) could draw his army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh (or Drogheda); and tho' the garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice men, that they could wish for nothing more, than that the enemy would attempt to take them by storm; the very next day after he came before the town, he gave a general assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and tho' the governor and some of the chief officers retired in disorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a pannick fear so possessed the soldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter; so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor (6), officer, and soldier, to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man,

(6) See the particular manner of his death in the text.

wooden leg. Mr Wood acquaints us, that he was created Doctor of Physick, the first of May, 1644; and that he left behind him a daughter named Elizabeth Thomfon *alias* Aston (*g*).

(*g*) *Ibid.*

* man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens
* who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the
* sword; and there being three or four officers of
* name, and of good families, who had found some

way, by the humanity of some soldiers of the enemy,
to conceal themselves for four or five days, being
* afterwards discovered they were butchered in cold
blood (*7*).

(*7*) *Hist. of the Gr. Rebellion.* Vol. III. Part. i. p. 341.

A S T O N (Sir THOMAS), a brave and worthy gentleman in the reign of King Charles I, was the son of John Aston, of Aston in Cheshire, Esq; by his wife Maud daughter of Robert Nedham of Shenton in Shropshire. He was entered a gentleman-commoner of Brazen-Nose college in Oxford, in 1626-7; but was soon called home by his relations, and, being married, was created a Baronet in July 1628. In 1635 he was High-Sheriff of Cheshire, being then esteemed a person of good natural parts, and a high-flown Monarchist. Upon the approach of the Rebellion, he wrote some pieces against the Presbyterians [*A*], and was afterwards the chief man in his country, that took part with the King. During the civil war, he raised a party of horse for his Majesty's service, which was beaten by a party of Rebels under Sir William Breerton of Honford near Nantwich in Cheshire, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1642; but Sir Thomas escaped with a slight wound. Some time after, he was taken in a skirmish in Staffordshire, and carried prisoner to Stafford; where endeavouring to make his escape, a soldier spied him, and gave him a blow on the head; which, with other wounds he had a little before received, threw him into a fever, of which he died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1645. His body was carried to Aston, and interred in the chapel belonging to his own house (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 83, 89.

[*A*] He wrote some pieces against the Presbyterians. These were: I. *A Remonstrance against Presbytery, exhibited against divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, and Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester*, London, 1641, 4to. II. *A short Survey of the Presbyterian Discipline*. III. *A brief Review of the Institution, Succession, and Jurisdiction of the ancient and venerable Order of the Bishops*. These two

last were printed with the *Remonstrance* before-mentioned. IV. He also made a *Collection of sundry Petitions presented to the King's most excellent Majesty, as also to the two Houses now assembled in Parliament, and others already signed by most of the gentry, ministers, and freeholders of several counties, &c.* containing ten sheets in 4to, 1642 (1).

(1) Wood, *ubi supra*.

A T H E L I N G (EDGAR) the son of Edward, the son of Edmond Ironside, King of England, by Agatha, daughter to Solomon, King of Hungary (*a*) [*A*], or rather of the Emperor Henry II (*b*). In what year he was born is not certain; but he was very young in 1057, when his father and family were recalled into their native country, by their kinsman Edward the Confessor, then King thereof (*c*). His father died soon after his return, before the King had time to give him any essential marks of that kindness, which he professed to him (*d*). Edgar was carefully bred up by him, who was his great uncle, and was undoubtedly intended for his successor, as the best authors assure us (*e*), and as his title Atheling, or Most Noble, implies; which is rightly noted by Mr Selden, correcting in this respect Polydore Vergil, who mistook it for a surname (*f*). But on King Edward's death, Edgar was deprived of his right, because of his youth, his being born abroad, and his having too little experience for a crowned head in such troublesome times (*g*) [*B*]. Harold the son of Earl Godwin, chiefly through the intrigues of the clergy (*b*), was preferred before him, for which they are severely censured by some

(*a*) Chron. Saxon. p. 169. Ethelred. p. 366. Bromton. p. 977. R. Hoved. p. 449. H. Knyght. p. 2238.

(*f*) Titles of Honour, 1614, 4to, p. 177.

(*g*) Ethelred. p. 366. Bromt. p. 976.

(*b*) H. Knyght. p. 2343.

[*A*] By Agatha Daughter to Solomon King of Hungary. As to the father of Edgar, there is no colour of doubt, all authors agreeing him to be Edward the Outlaw, son to Edmond Ironside, elder brother to the Confessor, consequently the rights of Edward and our Edgar to the Crown, were prior to his own. This induced Buchanan to say, he sent for Edgar in order to resign to him the crown (1). This however, is a meer dream of this inaccurate historian, for the person sent for, was Edward, the father of Edgar, whom the King intended for his heir (2). That his mother's name was Agatha is clear, but not that she was the daughter of Solomon, as Buchanan, following many English authors, asserts without scruple (3). Edward was sent out of England about 1017, being then probably seven years old. Peter the German, who was the son of the Emperor, was then King of Hungary, and took him and his brother Edmond under his care (4). They continued in Hungary during the reigns of several Princes till about 1050, when Andrew, King of Hungary, concluding a peace with the Emperor Henry II, married his eldest son Solomon to one of the Emperor's daughters, and Edward to another. This Solomon did not mount the throne of Hungary till 1067, in the first year of William the Conqueror's reign (5), and because Edgar and his mother sought to fly thither, our histo-

rians concluded Agatha was his daughter (6), whereas she was his wife's sister. Ethelredus, who wrote expressly of the genealogy of the English Kings, who was particularly acquainted with this family, and flourished within a short time after Edgar Atheling's death, asserts his mother to have been the Emperor's daughter, and that Edward the Confessor sent for Edward and his family from that Monarch's court (7).

[*B*] In such troublesome times] Bromton tells us, many of the nobility were for Edgar. *Sed quia puer erat et tanto oneri minus idoneus*, i. e. But as he was a youth, and no way fit for such a burthen, they consented to accept Harold (8). This is the language of the fairest writers, for some Abbey Chronicles pretend, Edward the Confessor named Harold for his successor (9). John Fordun, says expressly, that Edward the Confessor, on the decease of Edward the Outlaw, declared Edgar his successor, and recommended him as such to the nobility (10). Matthew Paris is remarkably clear, *Edmundus autem latus ferreum Rex naturalis de Stirpe Regum, genuit Edwardum: Edwardus Eadgarum, cui de jure debetur Regnum Anglorum*. Edmund Ironside, the natural King of this land, of the old royal stock begat Edward: Edward, Edgar, to whom of right appertained the crown (11).

(6) Simeon. Danelm. p. 176.

(7) *Ubi supra*.

(8) In Chron. p. 976.

(9) Chron. Sax. p. 172.

(10) Ap. Oale, *Hist. Angl. V. I.* I. p. 693.

(11) Edit. 1640, p. 6.

[*C*] *Afterwards* p. 6.

(*a*) Simeon. Danelm. *Hist. dz gest. Reg. Anglor.* apud. X. Scr. pt. p. 176. Chron. Sax. Ed. Oxon. 1692, 4to. p. 169. Buchan. *Hist. Scot.* lib. vii.

(*b*) Ethelred. Ab. Reival. de gen. xl. Reg. Angl. ap. X. Script. p. 366.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. *ubi supra*.

(*d*) Simeon. Danelm. *Hist.* p. 189.

(1) Buchan. *Hist. Scot.* lib. vii.

(2) Ethelred. de general. Reg. Angl. p. 366.

(3) *Ubi supra*.

(4) *Histoire des Revolutions de Hongrie a la Haye, 1739, 4to.* p. 7.

(5) *Ibid.*

(i) J. Fordun. Scot. Hist. ap. Gale, Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 698. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii. M. Paris. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 5.

(k) Chron. Sax. p. 173. M. Paris, ubi supra. Buchan, ubi supra.

(l) Annal. Marg. p. 1. Chronicon. T. Wilkes. ap. Gale, Hist. Angl. Script. Vol. II. p. 21.

(m) Florent. Wigorn.

(n) Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. M. Paris. p. 5.

(o) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 54.

(p) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 198. Rog. de Hoved. p. 451.

(q) Annal. Waverl. p. 130. Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. 199. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.

(r) Sim. Dunelm. Hist. p. 199, 201. Ethelred. p. 367. Buchan, ubi supra.

(s) Chron. Sax. p. 187. Hen. Huntingd. Hist. lib. viii. p. 369. Buchan, ubi supra.

(12) Chron. Sax. p. 173.

(13) Ubi supra.

(14) Sim. Dunelm. p. 201.

writers (*i*). This happened in the beginning of A. D. 1066. Harold however treated him with great respect, as long as he lived. After whose death and defeat in the fatal battle of Hastings, the nobles and people in general looked upon Edgar as King, and even acknowledged him as such (*k*). But William Duke of Normandy, awing them with his victorious army, was owned and crowned Monarch of England at Westminster, in the same year (*l*). To him, if we credit some of our ancient historians, Edgar immediately submitted, and was amongst the number of those, whom William carried with him as hostages, into Normandy (*m*). Other authors are silent on this head, but all agree, that in 1067, Edgar, attended by many of the prime Nobility, retired first into Northumberland, afterwards into Scotland (*n*) [C]. The persons who adhered to him, had so considerable an interest both at home and abroad, that they quickly drew together a numerous army, and therewith began to bid fair for unsettling the new establishment. In 1068 (*o*), King William sent Robert Comyn into the North, in order to expel Edgar and his associates out of those parts, constituting him Earl of Northumberland. But this great man had but an ill fate, being slain by such forces as he had about him (*p*). The next year a great succour came to these malecontents from Denmark, and more English Lords reconciling themselves to Edgar, he made head against the Normans, and after several successful engagements, made himself master of the city of York, and wintered between the Ouse and Trent, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Conqueror (*q*). In 1070, he was less fortunate. William found means by money and promises, to draw off the Danes and some of the Lords of his party, and in the end, obliged him to retire again into Scotland. Malcolm King of that country, married this year his sister Margaret, so excellent a woman, that in her life-time she was stiled the Good, and after her decease was regarded as a Saint (*r*). This marriage enabled Edgar to make new attempts, in which he had mostly the better, the King of Scots openly assisting him, notwithstanding King William had demanded him, and threatened to invade Scotland in case of refusal (*s*). Some domestick troubles hindered that Prince from performing his threat for two years. In 1072 however, King William entered Scotland with an army, but with indifferent success. Upon this he readily made peace with Malcolm, and regulated, according to ancient treaties, the bounds of their respective dominions (*t*). In this peace the Scots historians say Edgar Atheling was included, and, on his submission, received into King William's favour, which is very probable, since the war was on his account (*u*). In 1074 Edgar left Scotland where he had been so kindly entertained, and where his sister was Queen [D]. He crossed the sea into Normandy, and was kindly received by King William, who gave him a grand allowance (*w*). Some of our authors say, it was a pound of silver a day, others twenty shillings. However, he was therewith contented, and lived quietly (*x*). William of Malmesbury, his contemporary (and who expressly takes notice he was living when he wrote) speaks of him in terms little to his advantage. He says he behaved meanly and foolishly in the King's court, and as an instance thereof, mentions his quitting his great allowance for an horse (*y*). But this is not very consistent with the testimonies of other authors, or with the general current of history [E]. After this submission our histories are silent concerning him for many years. This however is a plain proof, that he acted like a man of honour towards the Norman, since in that space there were many stirrs, of which he might have made his advantage (*z*). In 1086, that is, about twelve years after his submission, Edgar, conceiving himself ill treated at court, retired from thence. This does not seem to speak him of quite so mean a spirit as Malmesbury would make him. Certain it is, that even now he had the hearts of the English nation, since in the old Abbey

Chronicles,

[C] *Afterwards into Scotland.* This was the second time Edgar was set aside. In the Saxon Chronicle we find, he was generally looked on as King, after the death of Harold; inasmuch, that the Abbot of Peterborough, then called Burh, was sent by his Monks to Edgar for his approbation (12); because, says the author, *the people of this land thought he ought to have been King, and he graciously acknowledged him for Abbot.* This William, whose sword had made King, punished severely. Matthew Paris repeats on this occasion, his former assertion; *Eadgarus Atheling, hæres legitimus Anglorum regni. i. e. Edgar Atheling, the lawful heir of the English kingdom, seeing his country in confusion, endeavoured to retire to Hungary, but by a storm was forced on the Scots coast* (13). Hence his common appellation,

Edgar Atheling,
England's Darling.

[D] *Where his sister was Queen.* Many of our historians to raise the credit of their country, would persuade us, that this Queen civilized King Malcolm, and his Scots, making the King as well as his subjects almost barbarians (14). In this, however, they must be a little partial, since Malcolm was educated

entirely in England, and was one of the greatest monarchs of that age. He had by this Queen Margaret, six sons, Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Athelred, and David; and two daughters, Maud the Good, who married Henry I, and Mary who married Eustace, Earl of Bulloign (15). This King Malcolm favoured the English so much, and treated those who fled to Scotland so well, that they remained there; and from them are descended some of the noblest houses in that kingdom, as the Lindseys, Vaux, Ramfays, Lovells, Sandlands, Foulis's, Wardlaws, Maxwells, &c (16). M. Paris places Edgar Atheling's coming to court first in 1069, and says he afterwards retired into Scotland, and some time after that was reconciled to the King again (17).

[E] *The general current of history.* We shall hereafter demonstrate Malmesbury's spight to Edgar. At present let us consider he had behaved well in several battles, had now, and afterwards, the hearts of the nation, was always courted by foreign Princes, and, as we shall see hereafter, was trusted by William II, with an army to restore his nephew, which he performed; these actions speak him neither weak, nor mean spirited; even our author's story proves no more than that he despised money, from which and his loving this country, the Monk concludes him a fool (18).

(r) Chron. Saxon. p. 181. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 203. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(u) Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.

(w) Chron. Sax. p. 182. Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 205. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(x) M. Paris. p. 7. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.

(y) Hist. lib. iii. p. 103.

(z) W. Malmesb. Hist. lib. iii. p. 105, &c. H. Huntingd. Hist. lib. vii. p. 369. R. Hoved. Annal. p. 450. M. Paris. p. 9, 10. Chron. Saxon. p. 173.

(15) Ethelred de general. Reg. Angl. p. 366. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.

(16) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 105.

(17) Ubi supra.

(18) See note [C].

[F] It

Chronicles, we meet with this prayer on the mention of his retreat, *May the Almighty give him honour* (a), alluding to the little respect shewn him at Court. But this however was not without the King's consent. On the contrary, Edgar obtained licence to sail with a certain number of ships, and two hundred soldiers on board, to Apulia. This therefore was no disgraceful flight, but rather an honourable exile. About the same time, his younger sister Christina became a nun in Ramsey abbey (b). How long Edgar continued in Apulia is uncertain. Yet when he returned from thence he went into Normandy, where he was well received by Duke Robert, who gave him certain lands for his subsistence. Whether this was done to awe his brother William Rufus, who seized the kingdom of England, or purely to provide for an unhappy Prince, cannot now be determined. But in 1091, on the conclusion of a solemn treaty between the brethren Robert and William, the latter procured Edgar Atheling's being disposed of his lands, upon which he withdrew out of Normandy, and went into Scotland, to his brother-in-law King Malcolm (c). In the same year, this last mentioned Prince raised a puissant army, and therewith invaded England, and carried away much spoil; on the news whereof both brothers hastened out of Normandy, and sent a considerable force on board transports towards the north, that they might more speedily assemble an army in those parts, but being near Michaelmas, the weather proved stormy, and most of the men were lost. King William II, and Duke Robert, raised however an army, and though it was winter advanced therewith towards Scotland. Upon this Edgar interposed, reconciled the two Kings, and mediated a good peace (d). For this service he was restored to the King William's favour, and came back with the brothers to London. However, when Duke Robert returned into Normandy, Edgar chose to accompany him, either because he loved him best, or feared him least (e). This was in the beginning of 1092. His stay in Normandy was but short, for the next year we find him again in England, attending on, and in favour with, William II. That Prince resided at Gloucester about Easter, and was there so ill, that his death was expected. On the twenty-fourth of August, 1093, Malcolm King of Scots, importuned him by letters to regulate certain differences according to treaty, on which William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent Edgar to conduct him (f). This he performed, but after all King William treated Malcolm very ill, who returning into Scotland, levied an army, entered Northumberland, and besieging the castle of Alnwick, which had been unjustly taken from him, he was there treacherously slain, together with his eldest son Edward (g). This unfortunate event could not but afflict Edgar exceedingly, especially when he saw his nephews deprived of their rights, the Scots setting up Donald Bane, *i. e.* Donald the White, whom the English writers call Dufenald, for their King, who was brother to Malcolm (h). Edgar sent for his five nephews into England, and carefully brought them up. But not without some danger to himself if we credit the Scots Historians. One Orgar reported to King William Rufus, that Edgar should say boastingly to his nephews, that the right to the English crown was in him and in them. Edgar denied the charge, and was allowed to justify himself by combat. That is, he chose a Knight to enter into the lists for him, who was so happy as to conquer. Buchanan informs us, that the reason he did not fight in person, was because Edgar at this time was old and infirm; but in this he was mistaken, Edgar, not exceeding forty-three, and, as we shall see, went afterwards into Palestine (i). Two of Edgar's nephews died before they were of age, which hindered him from doing what he would otherwise have done for them. His third nephew, Edgar, growing towards man's estate, and the Scots inviting him when they were weary of his uncle, to accept the crown, he resolved to assist him in that undertaking. Applying therefore to King William, he procured a small assistance from him, and therewith marched to the borders of Scotland, where his forces quickly increased, so as to enable him to look Donald in the face. It was in the winter of 1097, he set forward on this expedition, and in the next spring, having defeated and taken Donald prisoner, he established his nephew on the throne, and then came back again into England (k). After this we meet with no account of him, till such time as with Robert the son of Godwin, a famous Knight, he undertook a journey into the Holy Land. It is probable this was in 1099 [F]. He was with Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, when besieged in Rama, and having in their hazardous sally, wherein they escaped thence, lost his Knight, he thought of returning. This was in 1102, and accordingly he came back soon after into Europe, received great civilities from the Greek and German Emperors, who importuned him to remain in their courts, which he civilly excused, and continued his journey either into England and Normandy (l) [G]. Henry I, had

(a) Annal. Waverlinc. p. 133.
Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

(b) Chron. de Mailros, p. 161.
Bromton, p. 979.
Simeon. Dunelm. p. 213.

(c) Chron. Saxon. p. 197.
Annal. Waverl. p. 137.
J. Bromt. Chron. p. 986.
Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 216.

(d) Annal. Waverl. p. 137.
Chron. Saxon. p. 199.
Florent. Wigorn. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 216.
J. Bromt. Chron. p. 987.

(e) Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 217.

(f) Annal. Waverl. p. 138.
Chron. Saxon. p. 199.
Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 218.
J. Bromt. Chron. p. 990.

(g) Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.
W. Malmbr. lib. iv. p. 112.
Bromt. ubi supra.
Simeon. Dunelm. ubi supra.

(h) Annal. Waverl. p. 138.
Chron. Saxon. p. 199.
Simeon. Dunelm. p. 218.
Bromton, p. 981.
H. Knyghton, p. 2365.

(i) Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. vii.

(k) Annal. Waverl. p. 141.
Chron. Saxon. p. 206.
Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 223.

(l) W. Malmbr. Hist. lib. iii. p. 103.
Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 11.

[F] It was probably in 1099.] Our conjecture is thus grounded. We cannot conceive, why Edgar should have left the kingdom after Henry I, ascended the throne, who married his niece, and was remarkably kind to his family; whereas it is easy to find the reason of his going in the end of William Rufus's reign. That Prince was an odd tempered man, Robert Duke of Normandy was already in the Holy Land, wherefore Edgar possibly chose to follow him, rather than remain at the King's mercy, or hazard his nephew's safety, by retiring into Scotland.

[G] Either into England or Normandy.] William of Malmesbury, is the only author who gives an account of this adventure of his; these are his words, 'He travelled with Robert, the son of Godwin, a valiant knight unto Jerusalem; and it so happened, that they were with King Baldwin, when besieged by the Turks in Rama. This Prince fallying escaped chiefly by the prowess of Robert, who going before him, cut down the Turks on the right and left. But in the end, dropping his sword, and overcome by numbers, Robert was taken;

had now ascended the English throne, and espoused Maud, Edgar's niece: he had therefore all imaginable reason to expect a good reception at Court, which however he either did not find, or else, it may be, declined. For we are certain, he was some short time after his return from the East, in Normandy with Duke Robert, for whom he had a great kindness. He even remained firm in his friendship to him, when King Henry invaded his dominions, and was taken prisoner fighting in his cause, as also was Duke Robert himself, at the fatal battle of Tenchebray, wherein the whole force of Normandy was routed; which fell out in the latter end of 1106 (*m*). King Henry dealt very severely with the rest of the prisoners, but as for Edgar, he dismissed him freely. This is the last time he is mentioned in our histories, and after his return into England, he went to pass the remainder of his days in the country, where, according to Malmshury, he was living in 1120, when he must have been seventy or thereabouts (*n*). In what year he died appears not, nor do we read that he was ever married. He was born during his father's exile, lost him when his life would have secured him a crown, struggled, though to no purpose, against the Conqueror, was through his whole life the sport of fortune, and died full of years and in a dark obscurity. To which we add, that till now, his life was never written, from a supposed want of materials, and from a real want of inclination, to glean from our antient historians, a multitude of little memorandums, concerning an injured unfortunate Prince. This justice we have at length done his memory, and the English history, which, from this article, we hope will appear not quite so barren, as some modern writers would represent it.

(*m*) Chron. Sax. p. 214. Annal. Waverl. p. 144.

(*n*) Ubi supra, & p. 93.

' taken; and, as it is said, being carried into Babylon, or Cairo in Egypt, and refusing to deny Christ, was there slain. Edgar having lost his knight, returned; and being honoured with rich presents, by the Greek and German Emperors, (who on account of his nobility, would have retained him in their courts) contemned all things, in regard to his native soil. For such is the fondness of some men for their country, that they can relish nothing out of the climate wherein they were bred. Wherefore Edgar, deluded by those

notions, returned into England, and afterwards meeting various changes of fortune, spends now his extreme old age in an inglorious country retirement (19). On this, let us observe, Britain was not Edgar's native country, but rather the German Emperor's dominions; that Malmshury, was provoked by his siding with Duke Robert, against his master, Henry I, and that this discourse is addressed to Robert Earl of Gloucester, King Henry's natural son.

(19) Hist. lib. iii. p. 103, 93, 173.

E

ATHERTON (JOHN) a Bishop in Ireland, in the reign of King Charles I, who has rendered himself a very remarkable warning-piece in history, to future ages. He is said to have been well descended; but whether he was allied to the antient family of the Athertons of Atherton in Lancashire, we know not [*A*]. He was born at Bawdrip, near Bridgwater in Somersetshire, anno 1598; of which parish, his father, the reverend Mr John Atherton, was then Rector, and had been fourteen years. He was sent for his education to Gloucester-Hall, in Oxford, in the year 1614; where continuing till after he had taken one degree in arts, he was transplanted to Lincoln college in the same university; took the degree of Master, as member of it, and entered into holy orders; and not long after, was made Rector of Huish Combflower, in the county he was born in (*a*). He married while he was young; for it may be computed, from what will more particularly appear, that it could not be later than the year 1620, that he entered into the state of wedlock; and that he had by his wife two or more daughters, and if any sons, they died before their father (*b*). We are also informed, that his said wife was a handsome and agreeable woman; but he being a man of strong passions, and too viciously inclined to gratify them, it seems the band of matrimony was too weak to bridle his sensual and voluptuous appetites; inasmuch, that he is affirmed to have committed incest with his wife's sister; and was so inadvertent in this unlawful intercourse, that it came to be discovered, to the shame and scandal of them both (*c*). And whereas men are not wont to fall into shameful and scandalous practices on a sudden, and without some previous or gradual introductions; neither did he: For, in the course of this narrative, we shall learn, that he was defiled or corrupted in his youth, by one of his own sex, probably before he left the university; and also, what horror the unexpected sight of that person struck upon his guilty mind, many years after in Ireland (*). But here we are to observe, that upon the discovery of that intrigue aforesaid, it appears he was driven to make suit for his pardon, which having procured, he transported himself to the city of Dublin, in the said kingdom; where, either by the recommendations he brought over, or his assiduous address,

(*a*) Ant. Wood, in Athen. Oxon. last edit. Vol. I. col. 739.

(*b*) Bishop Atherton's last Letters to his wife and daughters, hereafter more expressly recited.

(*c*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, within the kingdom of Ireland, &c. 4to. Lond. 1641.

(*) In the quotation to which the marginal note refers, under the letter (*g*).

[*A*] Whether allied to the ancient family of the Atherton's, near Atherton in Lancashire, &c.] Of which county, Sir John Atherton was, in the third year of Queen Elizabeth, High-Sheriff; as was also John Atherton, Esq; perhaps his son, in the twenty-fifth of the same reign; who both bore for their arms — *Gules, Three Falcons, Or* (1). Nor are we certain, whether that pedigree of the Athertons, which is still in being, among Mr Roger Dodsworth's manuscript collections at Oxford (2), does relate directly to that Lancashire family: But it should seem to do so, because there is also among those collections, an extract of notes taken by the said Mr Dodsworth, out of between forty and fifty old Evi-

dences, which being communicated to him by John Atherton, of Atherton aforesaid, in the year 1635 (3), should seem most likely to concern chiefly his own family; and from whence, not improbably, that pedigree might be drawn, or at least augmented. It was this last John Atherton, or another of his name, contemporary with him, who, with certain other learned persons, wrote a collection of Latin verses, in praise of Sir Richard Napier, Doctor of Physick, as he is styled in the title thereof (4), whence those verses appear to have been written after the year 1642, Sir Richard being created Doctor in that faculty, the latter end of the said year (5).

(3) Idem. p. 231.

(4) Inter Codices Manuscripti Ashmoleani.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. in Fasti. col. 28.

(1) T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in the Sherriffs of Lancashire.

(2) Catal. Libror. Manuscritorum in Angliæ & Hiberniæ, &c. Oxon. fol. 1697, p. 214.

[*B*] He

addresses, he obtained the parsonage of St John's church, and became Chaplain to Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisle, and Lord Chancellor of that kingdom; through whose favour also, he is reported to have been further preferred, and made a Dignitary of Christ-Church in the said city, according to the above cited account of his life (d). Yet for all this good fortune, this noble friendship, to recover his character and settle him in creditable courses; nothing but his turbulent oppositions, trayterous ingratitude, tyrannical oppressions, and avaritious extortions; nothing but his discarding all religious duties from himself, and converting others to his vices; above all, his most abominable lewdness; can we find, unless it be his exemplary penitence and condign punishment, to fill up the remainder of his story! but of these particulars in their order. We are informed that in the year 1634, he made such oppositions in affairs relating both to Church and State [B], as he afterwards heartily repented of. As for his ingratitude; besides other examples which may occur (*), we have a very flagrant instance of it, in the said account of his exploits, which declares, that he most ungratefully betrayed that indulgent patron abovementioned into disgrace (e), with the stern and haughty Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford; between whom and that Lord Chancellor, there being a notorious contention fomented, and carried on with too much rigour and exaction of unreasonable submission, as the King himself judged, on the Lord Deputy's part, how little soever thereof appears in the publick histories, or in his own papers that are printed (f); our industrious solicitor of promotion took that opportunity to shift on this side, after he had got what he could on the other, and so to insinuate himself into the said Deputy's good graces, that, as others say, it was this Lord who first preferred him; and further, for his sufficiencies in the Canon Law, and ecclesiastical affairs (qualifications the Deputy knew well, for the schemes he had in view, how to make use of in such a tractable instrument) that he was by him made Prebendary of Christ Church aforesaid; and afterwards also advanced by him to the bishoprick of Waterford and Lismore, in the year 1636, he being then Doctor of Divinity (g). In this vineyard he laboured very profitably, and did grind the people of his diocese, the Roman Catholics especially, with too much severity; as it is sufficiently intimated by those, who veil over his other vices (h). In short, his episcopal government seems an entire scene of oppression and extortion [C], of aversion to all religious duties, and conversion

(d) The Life and Death of Bishop Atherton, &c. ut supra.

(*) See Bishop Atherton's reply to a nobleman, for his civil entertainment of him, in the note [C].

(e) The Life and Death of John Atherton, &c. ubi supra.

(f) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. II. and III. and the Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, &c. fol. 1739, Vol. II. p. 372, &c.

(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(h) Idem.

[B] He made such oppositions in affairs relating both to Church and State.] Even as well in the established ceremonies of the Church, and the ecclesiastical constitutions, as in the ordinances of government, he could not be quiet and conformable; but would be ever imposing some disgustful alteration, or withdrawing himself from all obedience to them. For we are told, even by a reverend author, who has varnished over his crimes, at least his capital ones, with too little regard to his own credit, that when he became a penitent, he confessed, and not without dissuading others from becoming such incendiaries, such petulant disturbers of human society, 'That he had exercised too much zeal and forwardness, both in introducing and pressing some church-innovations, and in dividing himself from the house of convocation, anno 1634, in opposition to the articles of Ireland, then voted to be received, on purpose to please some men's persons, who did not withstanding afterwards with just cause forsake him' (26).³ And these oppositions he made to such a violent degree, how lightly or generally soever, here expressed, as made him take notice, and judge no less of them himself, than that providence; for these, as well as his more shameful offences, had a just hand in his overthrow; and therefore, for avoiding the like, he gave good counsel to others.

[C] An entire scene of oppression and extortion] In truth his episcopal government seems to have been a continual warfare, with Protestants as well as Papists; and even the indigent, as well as opulent; being spurred on by pride, covetousness, and cruelty, to the harassing and persecuting them in the ecclesiastical courts, &c. to the great wrong and ruin of many. Nor was it without the Deputy's knowledge and toleration, that he was thus ever restless and rapacious in rending from, and stripping, whole families, of possessions they had been long and quietly settled in, when any colour could be found to make them part of the Bishop's Revenue; whereby he not only hooked in several considerable estates to his own See, but raked up also a plentiful one to himself. But when his worldly views of enjoying it, after his gross and sensual manner, were all over, 'He did then confess, he had been guilty of much overreaching of men; but if his estate might be continued to his wife, he had given charge for satisfaction to be made to a Penny (7). And then

also, he did himself give satisfaction to any he had wronged in small matters; then, he sent for some who were mean persons, and asked them forgiveness; and endeavoured, to his utmost, to take off the fines of those whom he had persecuted too bitterly in the High Commission Court (8).³ Thus much Dr Bernard has owned; and another late author, who has been a greater purgator of our Bishop than he, but with more prudence with-held his name from his work, than he has with impartiality composed it; yet acknowledges it as the character of this his martyr for the recovery of church-lands, 'That he was of a proud, passionate, and litigious temper;' and adds, 'That, as his affairs forced him, so his inclinations induced him to contend, and go to law.' And a little farther, that 'This proneness of going to law, and too eagerly prosecuting his own suits, had he taken only the fair course of law, was a ready way to create him many enemies, &c (9).³ But that those enemies raised a conspiracy against his life, and swore it away, for crimes the good man was innocent of, his own confessions, minced and disguised as they are, sufficiently confute. Yet our last quoted author, to strengthen his Hypothesis, tells us, 'There is a particular story, of a received and credited tradition, that upon a certain time, the unfortunate Bishop being at a certain great man's house, which antiently belonged to the Bishoprick, and as he apprehended, of right did so still; upon his taking leave, he thanked the great man for his civil treatment, and hoped to return him the same, in the same place; which made the other turn from him with great indignation (10).³ From this time, 'tis in this author supposed, his ruin was meditated, and carried on, 'till accomplished. But if that great man was the Earl of Cork, as some circumstances hereafter occurring, may suggest it was; they came to an agreement, and seemed to have compromised all differences (*), long before the Bishop's ruin was either accomplished, or meditated, as is there surmised. It may be here further observed, as what relates to this part of our discourse, that when he arrived at his short state of penitence, before his fatal fall, that he would often apply to himself, that memorable speech of Cardinal Wolsey, who said, *Had he been as diligent to have done God service, as he had done the King, he had kept the King's favour still*:³

(3) Ibid. p. 30.

(9) The Case of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, Fairly Represented; against a late partial edition of Dr Bernard's Relation, and Sermon at his Funeral, &c. Printed for Luke Stokoe, &c. 8vo, 1710. p. 14, 16.

(10) Id. p. 15.

(*) See the Earl of Strafford's account thereof in the note [F].

(6) The Penitent Death of a woful Sinner; or the Penitent Death of John Atherton, late Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, &c. by Nicholas Bernard, D. D. then Preacher of St Peter's Church in Drogheda in Ireland. The third impression, reviewed by the Author, &c. London: printed by R. Ibbitson, 8vo, 1651, p. 27, 28.

(7) Idem. p. 54.

conversion of others to his own carnal abominations [D]; especially those which were most odious and ignominious; in the gratification whereof, he seems to have given himself up, without bounds or distinction. As no condition, so no sex over whom he could get any ascendancy, escaped this ravenous and rampant Prelate; who was ever overbearing the one or the other; ever in litigation, or in league more irksome, with the men; or in fornication, or adultery with the women. Many of his feats in this part of his character have indeed been apparently stifled, or studiously palliated, through a false notion of tenderness to the Church; as if the blemishes of any individual professor of, or pretender to, religion, could cast a blot upon religion itself, any more than gold can be impaired in it's value, by being sometimes confined in a dirty purse; yet enough is descended to us, to shew, by the means this man took to bring himself to justice, the reasonableness of it's execution in the end upon him. But first, among the gallant encounters and overthrows performed by this consecrated warrior, in the female field of honour, whereof we have observed something before; there further occurs, his ready manner of lending an hundred pounds to a certain man in his neighbourhood, and then, while he had locked him into his study to count it over, as readily making him a cuckold (i). It also appears, that he was not only very expert, but intense; bestowed a great deal of application and exercise in this kind of discipline; and seduced, or otherwise pressed so many women into the wars of Venus, that if a list were to be taken, and a muster made of all this Bishop's concubines, they would form a band, amounting to the number of no less than sixty-four (k). However, it was his mind only that seemed invincible in his rencounters with them, which would spur his body on, even when discomfited, to rally and renew the charge. For it is obvious, that this absolute and licentious resignation to a libidinous life, was a vice rather of the spirit than the flesh; more owing to the second nature of custom, than the first, of any predominant elasticity in his constitution; and that he had no corporal infatigation extraordinary, more than others; for his forces were so foiled, so routed and defeated, that he was often reduced to receive into his service the woeful recruits of *Cantharides* (l). Nor did he neglect all the aids of mental incentives; the most prevailing chafers of cogitation, like the General who uses exhortations, to kindle fresh bravery in his disanimated invalids; as Dr Bernard has more candidly informed us, than in other places, upon this part of his story, he is wont to do: where he acquaints us, that 'his reading of naughty books, and viewing of immodest pictures [E], frequenting of

(i) The Life and Death of John Atherton, &c. ubi supra.

(k) Idem.

(l) Ibidem.

plays,

'So had he been as conversant in the gospel, for the instruction of men, as he had in the law, for the settling of lands, he had not by the law, so deservedly lost lands, body, and estate, all at once (11).

(11) A *Caveat* to the Ministry and People: or, a Sermon preached at the Funeral of the said Penitent, &c. By Dr N. Bernard, 8vo, 1651, printed with the Penitent Death, &c. p. 92.

[D] *Aversion to all religious duties himself, and conversion of others to his own carnal abominations.*] For how little conversant he was in the Gospel, as he confessed in the last note, may further appear in that other acknowledgment he made, 'Of his neglecting publick preaching, and catechising in the church; and private prayer in his family; for which sins of omission, he was justly given over to the sins of commission: For the neglect of the commandments of the first table, left to fall into the breach of the second. That he had come to the sacrament, and administered it, with his sins upon him. His roving thoughts at divine service, and sermon, with divers others, &c. And here he declared a very observable passage: 'Not many years ago (therefore not a great while after his advancement to his Bishoprick) he had a dangerous long sickness; when being sensible of the long neglect of his pastoral charge, he made a solemn vow to God, that if he should recover again, he would be diligent both in preaching and catechising every Sunday. After his recovery, it so fell out, that the first time he went to church, with an intent to have begun, the Judges of *Affize* were at *Waterford*; and then a thought arose within him, that if he should now enter upon that practice, which he had not used before, it would be imagined, he did it for fear of them; and so deferring it that day, he never did it afterwards (12).' As for his abilities, in *preaching* or *speaking*; the same author says, 'Tis known, what an excellent faculty he had naturally, in a ready present expression of what he understood, either in ecclesiastical or civil affairs (13).' And yet his depravities turned that faculty to his dispraise, and would not suffer him to exercise it, except in the oppression of others, or his own repentance. But for his abilities in *composing*; they being employed little enough upon what they should be, he was apt to cloud his thoughts with such obscurities, as could not escape even his own censure. For our Doctor aforesaid, recommending *perspicuity*, and *plainness* in sermons; adds, 'What hope is there of opening mens understandings, when the matter delivered is *closed* up from them. It was

'St Paul's aim, to speak words easy to be understood; and so it should be ours. There is little difference in speaking in an *unknown Tongue*, and speaking of things in an *unknown stile*. These strong lines, and forced eloquence, in so high a language, doth little suit with God's Oracles; less fit that word that must save the soul: A fault which this our Brother much condemned himself for (14).' But those talents of speaking, or writing, even in perfection, would render such a possessor of them but more pernicious; such a one, as the Doctor says of the Bishop, who, 'Instead of converting others had corrupted them; who, instead of opening their eyes, had shut his own; instead of gaining others out of darkness, had lived in the works of darkness himself; and instead of turning men from the power of Satan, had drawn more subjects to him (15).' In one sentence more, still stronger than all those, the Doctor says, in his very introduction of that sermon, that, 'For his life, to give it the least commendation, would be a scandal to the speaker.'

(14) Dr Bernard's Funeral Sermon, at the Death of Bishop Atherton; ut supra, p. 114, but should be 130.

(15) Idem. p. 79.

[E] *His reading of naughty books, and viewing of immodest pictures.*] The Bishop seems to have had some collection of these naughty books, and immodest pictures, which were his movers to fouler faults; not only by his naming some of them so particularly to Dr Bernard, as he did in his state of contrition, and passing such a just and equitable sentence upon them, as to wish they were all burnt (16), having been so inflammatory to his own imaginations, and so instrumental to his destruction; but also, from what is intimated in a little tract published soon after his death; wherein the author hinting at some vices, which were more peculiarly the product of warmer climates, however they may have sometimes been transplanted, or casually found to run up as weeds of themselves in some mismanaged or uncultivated soils, less natural to them; yet wonders that their recommendations should be suffered to appear so publicly and permanently, as in print; to the great corruption of youth, not only then present, but in generations to come*. So alludes to such figures as were set forth in so many indecent attitudes, ascribed to an obscene poet, whom they profanely call the divine *Aretin*; as also that vile work of another of their divines, who was no less than an *Archbishop*, besides several others of the like kind, with which Italy their country abounds; 'But not to be found. it

(16) The Penitent Death, &c. ut supra, p. 27.

(* Read also, the learned Mr Roger Ascham's Reflections upon the Translating and Printing such lewd Books; and upon our Italianated Travellers; with his Comment on their Proverb—*Engleſt Italianato, e un Diabolo Incarnato*: In his *Sevole Maſter*; 4to, 1571, from fol. 26 to 30.

(12) The Penitent Death of a Woful Sinner, P. 52, 53.

(13) Idem. p. 21.

'plays, and drunkenness, &c. were the causes and movers to fouler facts?' And adds, 'Let men by this example forbear them (m).' But what was worst of all, he became at last a Doctor in his Iniquity, and an Advocate for it; infomuch, that when he had infused his practical doctrine into any of his female converts, he was so far from endeavouring to dissemble, or make any secret of it, that he would justify it's orthodoxy; shew how expedient and salutary it was; and argue as if it was physically used, to circulate and purify the blood (n), or prevent repletions, stagnations, and the like. It is positively affirmed, that he was admonished to reclaim, and amend this libertine course of life, in a very solemn manner, by his own sister, the wife of one Mr Leakie; whose mother being dead, and having been very well acquainted, while living, with those enormous debaucheries to which the Bishop had abandoned himself; it was vulgarly reported, that her ghost appeared often to his said sister, and charged her to go over and warn him, that if he did not forthwith reform his wicked life, it would assuredly be cut off at the gallows (o). 'Tis certain that a rumour of such an apparition was very rife, and made a great alarm about that time, and long after, both in England and Ireland; and we have heard, there were some pamphlets or accounts then printed distinctly of it (*). But did we allow, that it was only a bare fancy or conceit of her's, the effect of a dream, or a mere device of her own, or her friends, to render her arguments or intreaties with her brother of greater authority and regard (which yet has not been supposed) whereby she was instigated, under the pretence of an extraordinary injunction, to give him such admonition; even any of those motives might be sufficient, to make her a special messenger to him. Accordingly she did go to Ireland [F], and declared to the Bishop what she said had been revealed to her; using many affectionate and pathetic exhortations, that he would no longer suffer the devil to have such power over him, to the ruin and disgrace of himself and his whole family. But he, with that headstrong and presumptuous obstinacy, to which he was now hardened, answered her, *What must be, shall be; marriage and hanging go by destiny* (p). So he sent her back as a weak woman, and went forward himself, still mending his pace, but varying his path to perdition. For as some appetites which have been vitiated by an evil habit of body, or inordinate inclination

(m) The Penitent Death of a Woe-ful Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton late Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, &c. With some Annotations, and the Sermon at his Burial. By Nicholas Bernard, D. D. &c. Lond. 8vo, 1651, p. 27.

(n) The Life and Death of Bishop Atherton, ut supra.

(o) Idem.

(*) And some few years since to be seen in the Harleian Library.

(p) The Life and Death of Bishop Atherton, as before.

'is hoped, in any person's library in England, whatever there might be in that of a late Prelate in Ireland (17).' As to those prints, or postures as they are commonly called, of Aretin's, they were, from the drawings which Julio Romano made, about the year 1525, engraved by Marc Antonio of Bologne, in about sixteen plates; and Aretin only wrote the verses under them; manifest enough, both from the different parts of the work, he being no engraver; and even the title, by which he himself distinguished it (18). But the plates were long since bought up by a merchant of France, and destroyed, as hath been sufficiently related elsewhere; together with an account at large, of his other lewd compositions (19). But for the other Person above glanced at, it was Joannes de Casa, Archbishop of Benevento; who did publish a little piece upon a more unnatural subject, most shamefully praising the detestable vice his own country is, or should be, abhorred for, and glorying in his own practice of it. There have not been wanting dissolute and mercenary editors in more countries than that which first brought it forth, to revive and propagate the impressions of it; and though the author afterwards published books which bear a different character; they have not cleared his own for the publication of that. But writers of other nations, as well as ours, have deservedly stigmatized and exposed him for it. Among the rest, that learned author, who names himself Isaac Rabottenu of Louvain, and published a famous book in the year 1569 (according to the date at the end of his dedication) in which he has, by such a swarm of authorities, so flung the Popes, and all their churchmen, that it is wondered the Spanish Inquisition had not fired the hive which produced them. This book was about a dozen years after, both translated into English and printed, at the expence of John Still (the same we take it who was afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells) and by him dedicated, 'To the right worshipful, wife, and virtuous gentleman, master Philip Sidney, Esq; (20).' There was another edition, or the same, with a new title-page, dated above fifty-four years after; in which we read these words, 'Joannes de la Casa, Archbishop of Benevento, hath written a book in commendation of Sodomity, calling it a Godly Worke; and saying, that he took great delight in the same, and used no other bedfellow. He was Deacon of the Apostolical Chamber, and the Pope's Ambassadour, throughout the whole country of Venice; and he is the same which first permitted the

Register of the forbidden bookes to be extant, in the year 1549, the 7th of May: And the booke whereof we mention, was printed at Venice by the Printers called Novus (21).'

[F] Accordingly she did go to Ireland.] It is very probable, that Mrs Leakie, during the course of those years that her brother was in Ireland, went thither oftener than this once, and upon other occasions than this. And yet even this seems to be alluded to, in one of the Earl of Strafford's letters from Dublin, to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. For there is an expression in it, that seems to approach remarkably close to the point, though his Lordship had as yet, but slender cognizance of her business there with her brother. The words are these: 'I will enquire after Mrs Leakey, and her errand; and if it be to be met with, I will learn, *what the Devil hath to say to the Bishop of Waterford*: Sure I am, the Earl of Cork, witheth them together already (22).' This letter is dated the last of December 1636, which was the first year of Dr Atherton's being in that Bishoprick. 'Tis likely, the Lord Deputy had heard, the had threatened her brother, that the Devil would be with, or have him, by the Earl of Cork's desire to hasten their meeting. Yet the answer which Archbishop Laud returned to that letter, near nine months afterwards, is for leading us quite beside the track of that conjecture or application; where he says, 'Certainly, that business of Mrs Leakey, was a money business; and if that Devil be so fast knit up in the Bishop's purse, it seems they will have but a cold pluck of it; but that matter is now quite out of speech (23).' This letter is dated from Croydon, August 28, 1637. And in the same letter, the Archbishop 'thanks his Lordship for his care of the Bishoprick of Waterford and Liffmore; and for an agreement signed by his Lordship and the Council, of great advancement to the Bishoprick (24).' In answer to this, the Lord Deputy tells the Archbishop, 'The agreement made betwixt the Earl of Cork, and Bishop of Waterford, is indeed in my judgment a very good one; and I now like it much the better, that it is pleasing to your Grace also (25).' This is dated from Dublin Castle, the 18th of October 1637. A few months before the Earl of Cork (between whom and Strafford, there was great enmity) was forced to compound; and parted with *Ardmore* to the See of Waterford: Yet the Bishop wanted as much of his estate, as was worth, in the whole, 2000 pounds per Annum.

(21) See the Beehive of the Romish Church. A Work of all good Catholics to be read, and most necessary to be understood, &c. Translated into English, by George Gilpin the Elder. Lond. printed by Mary Dawson, 8vo, 1636, lib. vi. p. 341. b. Also Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy; the Fourth Edition, Folio, Oxon. 1632, p. 447.

(22) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, &c. Vol. II. fol. 42.

(23) Idem. fol. 99.

(24) Ibid. fol. 101.

(25) Fol. 120.

(17) Remarks upon a Letter out of Ireland, concerning the Remonstrance for regulating Church Government, &c. 4to, 1641, one sheet.

(18) Il Libro de i Sonnetti, e de la Figure Iusturiosc.

(19) Bayle's Dictionary in the article of ARETIN (PETER).

(20) Therefore he said translation was not first published later than 1682, this Mr Philip Sidney being knighted in the latter end of that year.

inclination of mind, even to nauseate the most wholesome diet, and hunger after that which is not fit for food; so his depraved palate, satiated, it seems, with the Fair, plunged him into the most odious impurities, and he fell from their sex, preposterously to prey on his own; at least, one became to him as magnetick as the other. Nay it is further asserted, that he could not circumscribe himself here; but had more enlarged views, and acted greater parts in his own tragedy, for such the catastrophe will prove it; as if the world was to be new tenanted, with a race of Centaurs, or other monsters more strange and formidable than were ever begotten by the Heathen bards of old, or subsist in profane history; by indulging his corruptions to such a hideous debasement of his kind, as to render him unsatisfied even in the sphere of his own species! And this is thought to be pointed at, in those comparisons of him, so often to the vilest animals, in their most uncleanly habits (*). At length, in the midst of his foul career, to the scandal and abhorrence of all rational and sober society with him, he was stopped short, and surprized with the dreadful sight of a person he little thought of; from the first appearance of whom, he was totally damped and dismayed. 'Twas the man (says the author above) who had been the corrupter of him in his youth; whom he had not seen in twenty years before, and now came casually out of England into Ireland to visit him; the sight of whom did so affright him, as if some ghost had appeared to him; he said his very heart misgave him, and his conscience apprehended him, as some presage, or messenger of a present vengeance, drawing nigh him (q).’ This is all we are permitted, by Dr Bernard, to know of that man. Whether he was afterwards any evidence against the Bishop, is an incident, which, among many others, that author wanted either sincerity or liberty to inform us. But this we learn from him, that about three weeks after, a *Bill of Complaint* was preferred against Bishop Atherton, in the Parliament at Dublin. Hereupon he was suddenly seized, and strictly imprisoned; then followed his arraignment, which lasted a long while, and ended, on Friday the twenty-seventh of November, 1640, with sentence of death. The Doctor does own, ‘that the Bishop’s carriage then was by all condemned; and that it is not his intent, in the least measure, to excuse it (r).’ And this is all he lets us know of the Bishop’s Tryal; at least as to those facts in particular, for which he lost his life. For so it has been contrived, that you may read his two discourses over, *The Penitent Death* of the said Bishop, and the *Caveat to the Ministry and People*, or his funeral sermon; I say, through an hundred and sixty-six pages (s), and remain ignorant of what the Bishop suffered death for [G]; unless you draw

(*) Dr Bernard’s Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 27, &c.

(q) Ibid. p. 27.

(r) Idem. p. 1.

(s) In his octavo edition.

[G] Ignorant of what the Bishop suffered death for.] Dr Bernard, who was Archbishop Uther’s chaplain, published those two discourses by his command, as he says himself before them (26). But the Doctor, or whoever else had an hand in them, has so sophisticated, equivocated, and canted in them throughout; so amusingly befringed, and philactered the margins with holy texts of Scripture, and pious quotations out of the Fathers, Schoolmen, &c. so blended and twisted all the Bishop’s crimes and vices, in a general and ambiguous manner together, whenever he describes the unloading his conscience, and repeats any of his confessions, that the reader is quite dissatisfied from end to end, in the very first enquiry he would make—What the cause was of the Bishop’s condemnation? ’Tis said, he was so reserved and tenacious, that in the title of the first edition, he conceals the function (*) of the criminal, as well as his crime; and that it runs thus; *The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton, Executed at Dublin, &c.* (27). The next edition was printed in 1642, which not having seen, we know not wherein it varies. The third edition, as he altered and enlarged it himself, is what we here make use of: However, thus much may be gathered out of the Doctor’s work, upon this head; that as to the Bishop’s male-practices, if we may be allowed to make a new or uncommon interpretation of a word, upon an uncommon subject, it is apparent enough, that his visitor out of England, as above-mentioned, was one of those with whom he had transacted them; and that he must be a different person (because he had not seen the Bishop in twenty years) from his Lordship’s steward, as some stile him (28), or his professor, and apparator, according to others (29), who suffered death as well as the Bishop, for their carnal communications together; what other men he had such intimate dealings with, is not come to our knowledge. As to the bestiality he is accused of, we have been informed, by a gentleman of repute, who had been long in Waterford, as well as other parts of Ireland, and conversant with many grave and intelligent persons there, that he had often heard, there was a favourite but unlucky Mare, by which the unwearied Bishop got his

deadly downfall. And how true it is, we know not; but a late editor of Dr Bernard’s book on the Bishop, has named in the title-page, another four-footed Favourite, with whom our dainty courtier would in like manner solace; for the title of that edition runs thus, — *The Case of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford, in Ireland; who was convicted of the Sin of Uncleanness with a Cow, and other Creatures; for which he was hanged at Dublin, &c.* (30). This title page has moved the spleen of a late apologist in this cause, before quoted, to mislead the world with a new-fangled *Case of Bishop Atherton*; in which he objects no untruth to that title, but chides the editor, for printing that creature in capital letters, and indeed for setting forth any edition at all; yet objects not to Dr Bernard, who gave the world three editions of it. He has also shewed a strange favour for the criminal, and as strangely forborne to speak one word against the crime he justly suffered for, according to Law (*). He is further nettled, that the said publisher should make his edition so much known, as to have it carried far and near, upon the wings of advertisements (31); as if all his care was, for concealing the sinner, not chastising, or deterring the sin. But to use a few of his own words upon this topic, where he is in a humour of communication, may not be here unnecessary: ‘When I first read Dr Bernard’s book, says he, I was so far from learning from his relation, what the crime was, for which the Bishop died, that I was forced for satisfaction, to enquire of a learned man, who had been born, and bred up in the kingdom of Ireland, *What this unfortunate Bishop’s heinous crime was?* And, as far as I can remember, his answer was, *He suffered for this unnatural sin:* But added, he thought it a great conspiracy against him; that he had, in the judgment of most men, hard and severe measure; and by very many, that he died innocent, and was not guilty of that brutal fact, for which he was executed (32).’ And a little further, this author himself, ‘grants it to be true, that the Bishop was convicted, and died for that crime (33).’ And yet, in one of the anonymous letters, he prints at the end, which, as he says, he received from Waterford, after he had new-dressed up

(26) In his dedication to the most reverend Father in God, James Uther, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

(*) So the Casewriter observes, but A. Wood, quoting the title of that edition, mentions the function in it. Ath. Oxon. V. I. in Fasti, col. 244.

(27) This edition was printed at Dublin in quarto, 1641.

(28) Letter from Waterford, in the Case of John Atherton, &c. fairly stated, ut supra, p. 39.

(29) The Life and Death of J. Atherton, Lord Bishop of Waterford, ut supra.

(30) London: Printed in octavo, 1710, &c.

(*) Coke’s Inst. 3. C. 10.

(31) See the Tattler in the original edition, for February 12, 1709-10. And The Post-Man for March the 18th, &c.

(32) The Case of John Atherton, &c. ubi supra, p. 9.

(33) Idem. p. 10.

draw conclusions from the indirect and bordering intimations, sprinkled up and down therein; or collate them with more ingenuous and communicative narrations, as hath been here attempted; and then the blind-folded particulars will loosen their bandage, and better discover each other. In this manner, if we consider one of the Doctor's allusions, it may appear more emphatical; where, now after the Bishop's sentence, among his penitential reflections, the Doctor says, 'He apprehended it, as no small token of God's love to him, in giving him his portion of *shame* in this world, as a means to shun it in the world to come; which he once expressed with such a height of affection, as I wondered at it; believing, that nothing but *this*, or the like, would have wrought upon his masterless disposition; which under any other troubles, he feared would still have lingered, like *Lot* in *Sodom*, ready to be fired, till he was hauled out; or like *Cattle* within a house, and *fire* about them, yet stir not till they are drawn out (t).' After his condemnation, he was returned prisoner again to the castle (r) *Idem*. p. 231 at Dublin; and Dr Bernard the next day repaired to him, probably by direction from Archbishop Usher, whose Chaplain he was as we have observed, to prepare his soul for it's separation from this life. He was allowed seven days to fit himself for his dissolution, and leave the world, from which he had made himself such a despised outcast; to disburthen his mind of his sins, to repent, and seek forgiveness for them. And indeed, the picture of him in this most lamentable period; under all his violent conflicts, and bitter agonies; his stinging recollections, and cruciating remorse; his *plenary* confession, and grievous repentance; in showers of tears, raptures of prayer, with the most prostrate detestation of himself, and desires to be cut off, as a mortified limb, from the body of Humankind; is so remarkable, so deeply affecting, and commanding of attention; so forcibly forbidding, and convincingly admonishing all Readers to avoid the miry ways which led him to this terrible state and end; that we were induced to give the foregoing

up the Bishop's case, it is affirmed of the bestiality alleged, 'That all agree, it is not that, but too much freedom with his own steward, one Child by name; for which he was put to death (34).'

By another author, he is named John Child, and called the Bishop's proctor, who, as we observed, was hanged for that same freedom there was between them; but it was in March following, therefore three months after the Bishop's execution, and at Bandon-Bridge, in or near Cork, having been condemned at the assizes held there (35.) There is a dying speech in print, made, or pretended to be, by him at his execution; wherein, as we have been informed, he recanted one of the facts or circumstances, he had accused the Bishop with, whether concerning the bestiality, we know not. But partly upon the ground of this Pamphlet, it should seem Dr Bernard intimates, 'That the Bishop did, not only at his trial, but since (his condemnation) deny the main thing in the indictment, which the law laid hold of; and which hath been since confirmed, says he, by the confession of his chief accuser, at his execution also; yet, (the next words are, that the Bishop) in his own conscience, applauded and magnified God's justice in it (36).'

Nay, the same author had told us, but in the antecedent page, 'That the Bishop acknowledged the justice of the law of man, as God's in condemning him.' Which seems not very consistent with that pretended denial before, and after he was condemned, of the main thing, which the law took hold of: And the Doctor does also in his own person speak, a little further, of 'Those things (but what things he speaks not) he was justly condemned for (37).'

Besides, the Bishop himself, in his last letter to his wife, hereafter recited, confesses how much he had deserved his punishment. As for what is to be found on this matter in the English edition of Sir James Ware (38), it is only a repetition of that passage in Dr Bernard, about the pretended denial and confession as above; which was an interpolation of the translator's, and has misguided some to infer, as if the Bishop was condemned wrongfully, and through revenge for his recovering of lands, before-mentioned (*), as a late editor of Sir James Ware has observed; where he mentions all Sir James says, which signifies no more, than that the Bishop was exceeding penitent, and with abundance of tears and groans, bewailed the sins of his past life (39).

He also adds, that 'Sir James Ware, at the time of Bishop Atherton's execution, was a member of the Privy-Council, and had opportunities enough of knowing the truth; and zeal enough to declare it, if there had been room to have acquitted him.' Then he quotes many places in Dr Bernard, as we have done, to prove the Bishop's guilt: So leaves the Reader to judge,

whether those exaggerated expressions of the Bishop can be construed to relate to the commission of common frailties, or to the crime for which he was brought to punishment? Whether he fell a sacrifice to his litigations, rather than to justice? or, whether Dr Bernard acquits him, when he tells us, he was justly condemned? And lastly says, he believes, 'No body can be so unjust to think, that I cast a blemish upon the order, by relating the miserable fate of one of their body (40).'

This is all we have met with of the capital crimes, which produced this condemnation. But had that Trial of Bishop Atherton, which lasted so long a while, or the complaint in Parliament, been ever published, or a fair and proper extract of it; as it might have been, without any reproach to the Prelacy; as that execrable affair of the Lord Audley, has been often printed (41), without any reflection on the Peerage; the law might then be found to have laid hold of no more than it had cause to do, and the justice of it, might have been more positively maintained: Then also we might better have seen, whether through any temptations to explain the Bishop's story, which the Doctor's blind book may have been the source of, he has been loaded with any greater burden of offences, than he drew upon himself, which was heavy enough, God wot: It might moreover, by the shameful punishment denounced on those offences, have scared others more from committing them, and prevented the recompliments of his Case, under the pretence of fairly representing it, but falsely glossing it over, with misguiding principles and suspected partiality, not so much to the cloth, as the crimes. It is not improbable but that Trial is in being; or some Narrative of it, more compleat than any account of the Bishop's condemnation that has been exhibited; because the names of the witnesses have been imparted to the publick, or several of them; as, besides the *menial servant*, who swore home against the Bishop, seemingly the same before-named; there was another, called Howell Powell, a man of good substance in Waterford; another named White, was the Sheriff of that city; and there was also one Butler, a Counsellor at Law, Recorder of the city at that time, and a man of interest and fortune; and said to be the fiercest of his persecutors: But their characters are all disparaged to us; they are said, none of them to have prospered after it; and 'tis laboured to make us imagine, it was a judgment upon them, for this conspiracy (42). But if that Trial is in being, or any tolerable account of it; as the light of Truth has the surprising faculty of struggling thro' dark clouds, she possibly may, one time or other, oblige the world with it; to the further defeat of falshood, and terror of all backsliders,

(40) Mr Harris's Life of Bishop Atherton, as before, pag. 541. This Author also informs us, that the Bishop was made Prebendary of St. John's, on the 22d of April, 1630; from the Chapter Book of Christ-church; also Chancellor of Christ-Church, in 1635, and at the same time, held the Rectories of Killaban, and Ballintubride, or Font-Rown, in the Diocese of Loughlin; besides his Living in Somersetshire, by Dispensation. *Ibid*. pag. 539.

(41) In folio, 1679, also in the Collection of State Trials, also in 12mo 1708, and in 8vo, 1710.

(42) Letter from Waterford, in the Case of John Atherton, &c. fairly stated, &c. p. 40, 41.

(14) Appendix to the Case of John Atherton, in the first Letter, &c. ubi supra, p. 39.

(35) The Life and Death of Bishop Atherton, 4to, ubi supra.

(36) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 49.

(37) *Idem*. p. 51.

(38) Sir James Ware's Antiquities and Hist. of Ireland, edit. fol. Lond. 1704. in his Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, p. 27, 28.

(*) See Mr Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. fol. 67.

(39) The whole Works of Sir James Ware, revised and improved, by Walter Harris, Esq; Vol. I. Dublin. Fol. 1739, pag. 540. In the Life of Bishop Atherton.

foregoing short view of his life, for no other end, but the benefit which may accrue, from the *Abstract* we shall here subjoin of *The Week's Preparation* he made for his death [H]; which

[H] *The Week's preparation he made for his death.*

In which is to be shown, how after his condemnation, he judged and condemned himself for his heinous sins, and the dreadful sufferings he endured for the same. On Saturday the 28th of November, being the day after his sentence, Dr Bernard went first to see him in Dublin castle; and after having had some speech with him, of the scandal of the fact, justice of the sentence, and misery of his condition, without repentance (43); he, in an hour's time, made him pliable to attention, determined to open himself unreservedly to him, desirous of being made sensible of what might be his future state, and that he would see the end of him. The Doctor then, first advised him to lay aside his rich *cloaths*, to let the *chamber* be kept *dark*, to admit of no company, but such as came to give him spiritual counsel, and so to commit himself close prisoner to his thoughts; to eat in solitude; give himself to fasting; even to the afflicting of his *body*, which he had so pampered, as a means to affect the sorrow of his *soul*; and also, to get his *coffin* made, and have it in his chamber (44). Thus he was by degrees, not only brought to recollect all his transgressions; but, the more entirely to discharge his conscience, he drew out the black corruptions therein, with his own pen, all into one *Indictment*; that he might at once, as in a glass, view the face of his soul (45). And then, to the further astonishment of himself, when he had added his marginal aggravations, of time, place, person, and other circumstances, they appeared *exceeding sinful*. His severe and publick reprehension of others, for the crimes he had committed, his relapses, and repetitions of them, he sadly lamented, and grieved for a receipt to augment his grief. *All my friends*, said he, *as ashamed of me, have forsaken me; but if God withdraw his grace, what shall I do?* so begged the Doctor to get some compassionate people in the town to pray for him; for which he thought there was more cause, than for any bodily sickness (46). He saw there was a fountain of salvation opened to him for sin and for uncleanness, but like the poor impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, wanted one to put him in (47); and returned God hearty thanks for sending a brother to assist him. Thus did he wrestle for a proportionable measure of sorrow, all Monday and part of Tuesday. The next day he kept a *fast*; and was then so altered, that, such a countenance, says the Doctor, of a perplexed soul, did I never see, as he seemed to me that morning, so sore had the weight of his sins pressed his feeble conscience that night, in a private audit between God and himself (48). In this sense of his wretched condition, and loathing of himself, he said to the Doctor, *Look not upon me, as one that hath had some honour in the Church, from which I am worthily fallen; but as upon the most abject, base person in the world.* So set his whole heart open indeed, in a plenary, particular confession, of all his sins he could remember from his youth till now (49); with such bitter tears, and sorrowful sighs, kneeling, or prostrate on the ground, as made the Doctor himself weep more, than he had ever done at the loss of the dearest friend (50). Then in his prayers, who had never before felt what belonged to them, he was earnest and vehement to admiration. He wished for the fears and troubles of Francis Spira, whose life and death he had a great desire to read, but the Doctor thought it unfit. He was troubled at the Doctor's weeping, because himself could outwardly express no greater sign of compunction, and had many other terrible conflicts. Fears, doubts, and fits of despair, would sometimes shake him, and he ran through many trials with the Doctor, for signs of saving grace (51). He repented that the night before he had slept so quietly; and the next night, he was kept awake with such intolerable horrors of mind, that in the morning he repented of his repentance. His time now grew so short, that as he had not years, nor months, nor weeks to live, he counted how many hours his misdeeds had allowed him. But here there was a sudden alteration in the government, which gave some persons a notion it might be in his favour; for Sir Christopher Wandef-

ford, the new Deputy of Ireland, while the Earl of Strafford was in England preparing for his own Trial, now dying, on Thursday the 3d of December, some suppositions of a reprieve were suggested to the Bishop, at least till another Governor succeeded; but it moved him not; nor any body else to promote it, especially of the Cloth, who thought it necessary he should suffer for expiation, and that no umbrage might lie upon the Church. And the Bishop himself was now so well prepared, that he chose rather a present and deserved death, than the prolonging of an ignominious life; and though he had a thought to have petitioned for being beheaded, he answered himself by himself, with indignation, *That a dog's death was too good him* (52), and so judged himself to the last. He wished his grave were at the bottom of the sea, and a mill-stone about his neck; and sent for, and charged the Clerk of St John's, and the Verger of Christ-Church, not to suffer him to be buried in an ordinary part of the church-yard, but in a remote corner, where no body had been buried before (53). And now came on many other acts of his penitence, as desire of making satisfaction, restitution, and payments of debts, as before-mentioned. It was his desire to have been degraded of the honours he had received, either in the church or university. He gave good counsel to all about him, not omitting the Doctor (54), and expressed his intentions to have reformed his family, and given over all his law-business. The stories he had read of some pious and penitent men's death, had now animated him against the terrors of his own; inasmuch, that the night before he was to leave this world, it was a wonder to see his resolution in taking leave of all his family, especially his children, and giving them good advice; and some hours after, in taking his last farewell of his wife, with heavenly counsel and comfort, in her most passionate sorrow. After his week's preparation came Saturday morning, which was execution day; when he told the Doctor, that if they did not bury him 'till Sunday, he would be desired to preach: *But I pray speak no good of me* (55) only what, abating any scandal to the ministry, would render him an example of useful warning to mankind. Now he appeared totally weaned from the world, and full of inward consolation, as if he had already been in the suburbs of Heaven. Shed abundance of tears again; but as of sorrow before, now of joy; and here the Doctor makes him a deep interpreter of the mystical writings, expounding the *hidden manna*, and *white stone*, in the Revelations, to signify the blessed state he was in (56). And here we have his other holy raptures, upon the sweet and comfortable temper he was strengthened with, to receive his doom. After he had taken leave of the prisoners in the castle, and refreshed his soul with the morning service, he made, as some refreshment for his body, a slight breakfast, upon a little salt-butter, brown bread, and small beer, the better to make his speech; hoping at night to be invited to the *Supper of the Lamb*, in another World (57). When the time drew nigh, and he heard the crowd gathering, his heart quivered at the thoughts of his children, but he recovered himself, and gave away, as tokens of remembrance, his gloves, staff, girdle, and pious books to some friends, and to the Doctor his seal-ring (58). Then the Sheriff of the county, who was a Papist, came to receive him; who, though the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Justice Cressley had granted the Bishop's petition, that he might not be pinioned, refused the request; as also, to do it with a strong black ribband, or leather girdle, which were offered; but bound him with a three penny cord, and would have had him held in the coach besides, in a man's lap, as they went (59). At the place of execution, a fellow who got upon one end of the gallows derided and interrupted him, which he bore patiently, and his footman got his head broke for his diligent attendance by the coach-side (60), which moved him. And as he was ready to ascend the ladder, another called out to him about some papers and letters, who was rebuked for the inhuman insult. He then made a large speech; but because he had not penned it down, our Doctor evades relating it, as what would do

(43) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woful Sinner, &c. p. 2.

(44) Idem. p. 4.

(45) Page 5.

(46) Page 7.

(47) Page 8, 9.

(48) Page 12.

(49) Page 13.

(50) Page 14.

(51) Page 21.

(52) Page 24.

(53) Page 25.

(54) Page 30.

(55) Page 32.

(56) Page 36.

(57) Page 40.

(58) Page 41.

(59) Page 43, 44.

(60) Page 46.

which he suffered before a great multitude, on Gallows-Green at Dublin, on the fifth day of December in the year aforesaid. And we cannot but believe, that if such a rare example of the dreadful sorrows and sufferings he endured for his vices, both in his penitence and punishment, had been duly known, and considered by many persons in the world, since he left it; it might have preserved them in credit, retained them at home in their own country, and prevented those detections, or those fears of them, which have made Lords as well as Commons, and Clergy as well as Laity, fugitives abroad. Not long before the Bishop was executed, his wife and daughters received the last letters he wrote to them; which are here annexed [I], entirely as we find them, for the satisfaction of

do him wrong, unless he could remember exactly his own words. Yet could give us near ten lines of it, in which he says, *I think I am the first of my profession, that ever came hither to this shameful end* (61).

And so he goes on till he is entering upon his open confession, and there the Doctor breaks off, and says in his own words; in summe, he owned the justice of the law of man, and that the hand of God was throughout the *whole* (as if there was something wonderful in all parts of the discovery); 1. In the Witnessees and Informers; some of whom were at dinner with him the day before the complaint. 2. The Jury; whom he believed honest gentlemen, and that they went according to their consciences: and though he thought the evidence was not so clear, but they might have stuck at it, yet, he said it was *Digitus Dei* (62); the justice

of which, *he fully and solemnly acknowledged* to a friend, at the instant he heard the jury had returned him guilty; though he denied the main thing in the indictment, which the jury laid hold of, as we have before observed. Yet here, in his own conscience, he still applauded and magnified God's justice in it: So burnt a volume of papers he had wrote out of law books in his own defence. 3. In the Judges; who, though they were hot against him, he imputed it only to their zeal against vices which did *deserve* it: Yet thought, he should not have been denied counsel; and conceived some errors he had pleaded in the indictment, reasonable; but most willingly submitted, as God's hand was in it. 4. In the insatiation of Himself: For that he could have sent his chief accuser into England, and had him indicted for a hand in a stealth there; and by this time have outlawed him, and made his testimony void. That he could have also excepted against twenty of his jury (though just before, the Doctor has said, he believed them very honest and conscientious gentlemen) and have put it off 'till next Term, before which he might have had other thoughts. That he knew the foreman was outlawed also; yet that he omitted these things thro' the height of his spirit, in scorning to stoop to such poor shifts and protractations, and the confidence he had, that there would be no need of them; as trusting in his wit and expressions; which, till now, had not miscarried: But even here also, that he took it to be God's hand evidently, which he thankfully embraced (63).

And these are some of the branches of that dying speech, as Dr Bernard has pruned them off to us, concerning those things he says the Bishop was justly condemned for, and now spoke of to the publick, but not one of them here appears; for though he begun it in the Bishop's words, he ends it in his own. And as the Bishop had opened his whole life to him, as to his ghostly Father, without any extenuation: his said ghostly Father might, in this point, have followed his example, and have been as explicit with the world, as the Bishop was with him; and as a true penitent, did design he should be; when he expressly desired, that a *name of infamy* might rest upon himself (64); and not be imputed to his profession. But the imprudent or ill-advised concealment of his crimes, yet liberal display of such prodigious repentance, may have proved a detrimental friendship to him, and nourished apprehensions of sins, perhaps beyond measure, to account for such unmeasurable sorrows. But to conclude; after the Bishop had made his speech, he prayed and wept in such a manner, as drew tears from the people, all on their knees about him, even the Priests and Papists who heard him (65); and desired, if any of them, belonging to the town of Waterford, were present, that they would commend him to his neighbours there, and let them know, he had taken notice, that *none of the Romish Church*, though differing from him in religion;

had a hand in this complaint against him (66): Nor is there the least hint of any who had. He then took leave of all who were near him, put off his morning gown, hat, and black cap, and called to his man for his other cap and handkerchief. When he was setting his foot on the ladder, he would fain have taken a friendly farewell of the Sheriff; who made him no answer (67). So he went up the ladder, pinned the handkerchief about his face with his own hands; then after a short prayer, and giving the signal that he was prepared, a woeful and shameful end was put to a wicked and scandalous life. After he had hung some three quarters of an hour (68), he was cut down, and his corps carried back, and the Doctor with it, in the coach which brought them, to the house where they were received; and that same night, about ten o'clock, when the Doctor had preached a short discourse (afterwards enlarged, and printed) by way of *funeral sermon* upon the occasion, in St John's church, to satisfy the expectations of the people; the Bishop was buried in the church-yard belonging thereto, according to the directions he had given; and there the Doctor performed the last office; with whose words we shall close this scene of the Bishop's tragedy.

Object not his life, to justify your own: If you remember his life, forget not his death; as the one was offensive, so let the other be useful; as the one made the breach, so let the other repair it (69).

[I] His wife and daughters received the last letters he wrote to them, which are here annexed.] These letters, as Dr Bernard has given them us, are as follow:

'The LETTER to his WIFE.

'My Deare Wife,

'MARKE well these last words of him, who these twenty years and upwards, hath been your husband, and might have so continued much longer, by the course of nature, had not his continued and crying finnes, deservedly drawne this punishment upon him, to be cut off from the living, as unworthy of their society in this life. I suffer for my wickednesse, which I beseech God in his mercy through Jesus Christ to forgive me. In my suffering, you suffer both in your credit and estate, and what else foever concerns this world. This advantage you have of me; I have only left unto me a small time of repentance, but you, by God's grace, may have a large time of amendment; which I would have you improve to the full, and not lose a minute. Turne unto the Lord your God with all your heart. Cloath yourself with patience and thanksgiving. I doubt not but God will have mercy on you, and prove a husband to you, and a father to my children; yea, I doubt not, but you shall live with the same happiness, and greater content, than if I were with you.

'Serve Him, He will not fail you.
'Bring up your children in the fear of God:
'That household which you keep, let it be the servants of God.

'Above all things, be diligent in private prayer:
'Make all your needs known unto the Lord: Undertake nothing, which you cannot find in your heart to begge a blessing for.

'Misconster not these my dying advertisements, which proceed, as in the presence of God, from true affection; that at length, I might really give some supply to my former defaults, and put you in a right way of everlasting comfort; that though we part in this world, yet we may enjoy a more happy

of the curious. As for that idle story, which might have been for some time spread among some of the credulous and common people, of his ghost also appearing, as that of his sister's mother-in-law was before rumoured to do, and as if it were to frighten, or torment his prosecutors; it no sooner haunted a Paragraph in one place (u), but a pamphlet arose of it in another; containing an *Account of the Apparition of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford*; and said to be published from an original manuscript, in the custody of the late Dr John Quick, and communicated by his son: With *Remarks* upon, or a full *Reply* to, *The Case of John Atherton, &c. fairly represented*, as above quoted. To which *Account*, and *Reply* (w), we refer those, who have further enquiries to make upon that subject, or would further elucidate, or strengthen this *Caveat to the Ministry and People*, as Dr Bernard has before intitled also one of his discourses upon this Bishop; whose own dying will and intreaty was, That *himself* might be made a useful *warning* to others.

(u) Letter from Waterford, in the Case of John Atherton, &c. fairly represented, p. 42.

(w) Printed in octavo, about the year 1711.

' happy meeting in Heaven; and after all our afflictions, be there partakers of endlessse blisse. So prayes, and ever shall praye, as long as he lives,

' Your husband,

JOHN ATHERTON.

' Cast not away this paper when you have read it, but keep it as a jewel, and peruse it often; as the *legacie* of him, who can now give no other.

' Decemb. 1, 1640.

' *The* LETTER to his CHILDREN.

' My deare Children,

' **I**T was ever my desire to have seen you well preferred, but God thought otherwise, and my sins would not suffer it; which have not only sentenced me to death, but bereaved me of that small worldly blessing, which I proposed unto you as a patrimony, and evidence of my fatherly affection. And how, now it will be disposed of, or what share will come to your lot, I leave to God; who, as he hath given you body and soul, so I doubt not but will, of his great goodnesse, provide for your estate. What is left unto me, and cannot be taken from me, I freely impart and give unto you; not dividing it amongst you by shares and proportions, but giving each of you the whole; wherein, though you communicate one with another in my blessing, and last counsel; yet each,

' without wrong to the other, may take and challenge the whole to herselfe.

' First, the Blessing of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, light upon you; give you, a true knowledge of his word, a true fear of his will, and a true faith in his promises.

' Let no day passe over you, wherein you do not cal yourselves to a reckoning before you sleep, and make your peace with God, for the offences of that day.

' Be constant in private prayer, twice every day at least, upon your knees; and God will be a father unto you.

' Do nothing, great or final, without first craving a blessing from God; and forbear that, upon which you cannot find in your hearts to crave such a blessing.

' Be content with whatsoever God shall afford you; poverty or riches: Take heed, repine not at his pleasure; who in the end, though it be sometimes contrary to our fence; works all things for the good of his children.

' If you marry, prefer an honest man that fears God, before all other respects in the world.

' Be obedient to your mother; love one another; and live in hope to enjoy again in Heaven the company of your father,

' Now ready to dye,

' Decemb. 4, 1640.

' JOHN ATHERTON.

' Cast not away this loose paper; but each of you take a copy of it, and preserve it by you as a jewel all the dayes of your life (70.) G

(70) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woful Sinner &c. from p. 6 to 72.

ATKINS or ET KINS (JAMES), Bishop of Galloway in Scotland, was the son of Henry Atkins Sheriff and Commissary of Orkney, and was born in the town of Kirkwall in the Stewartry of Orkney. He was educated in the college of Edinburgh, where he commenced Master of Arts; and from thence went to Oxford in 1637-8, to finish his studies under the tuition of Dr Prideaux the Regius Professor of Divinity. Soon after he was appointed Chaplain to James, Marquis of Hamilton, his Majesty's High-Commissioner for Scotland; in which station he acquitted himself so well, that, by the application of his noble patron upon his return to England, he obtained from the King a presentation to the church of Birsa, in the Stewartry of Orkney; where continuing some years, his prudence, diligence, and faithfulness, in the discharge of his office procured him much veneration and respect from all persons, especially from his Ordinary, who conferred upon him the dignity of Moderator of the Presbytery. In the beginning of the year 1650, when James, Marquis of Montrose, landed in Orkney, Dr Atkins was nominated by the unanimous votes of the said presbytery, to draw up a declaration in their names, containing the strongest expressions of loyalty and allegiance to King Charles II; for which the whole presbytery being deposed by the assembly of the Kirk at that time sitting at Edinburgh, Dr Atkins was likewise excommunicated as one who held a correspondence with the said Marquis. At the same time the council passed an act for the apprehending and bringing him to his trial: but upon private notice from his kinsman Sir Archibald Primerose, then clerk of the council, he fled into Holland, where he lay concealed till the year 1653; and then returning into Scotland, he settled with his family at Edinburgh, where he resided quietly and obscurely till the year 1660. Upon the restoration of the King, he accompanied Dr Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, (the only Scotch Bishop, who survived the calamities of the usurpation) to London, where the Bishop of Winchester presented him to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorsetshire. In 1677, he was elected and consecrated Bishop of Murray in Scotland, to the great joy of the episcopal party; and, in 1680, he was translated to the

the see of Galloway, with a dispensation to reside at Edinburgh [A]. He continued to govern his diocese seven years, and died at Edinburgh of an apoplexy, Oct. the 28th, 1687, aged 74 years. His body was decently interred in the church of the Grey-Fryars [B], and his death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men (a) [C].

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1170, 1171;

[A] He had a dispensation to reside at Edinburgh. The reason of this dispensation, it seems, was, because it was thought unreasonable to oblige a reverend Prelate of his years, to reside among such rebellious and turbulent people, as those of his diocese were; the effects of whose furious zeal had often appeared in their affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and often murdering the curates (1.)

[B] His body was interred in the church of the Grey-fryars. His funeral sermon was preached by John, Bishop of Dunkeld; and upon his coffin was placed this inscription:

Maximus, Atkinsi, pietate, et maximus annis,
Ante diem, invita religione, cadis.
Ni caderes, nostris inferret forsitan oris
Haud impune suos Roma superba deos.

Which may be thus englished;

Atkins, rever'd for piety and years,
Thou die'st, and sad religion is in tears.
For ob! did'st thou her righteous cause sustain,
Rome and her gods might tempt our shores in vain.

[C] His death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men. His sincere piety, constant loyalty, singular learning, and true zeal for the Protestant religion, made his death a very great loss to the Church of Scotland. He very zealously opposed the taking off the penal laws in that kingdom; at which time, notwithstanding the infirmities of age and sickness, under which he laboured, he was daily conveyed to the Parliament, where he publicly declared his aversion to the abolishing the said laws, and used all his interest with the members, in persuading them to a firm and constant adherence to the Protestant religion, and a zealous opposition to all designs which might be prejudicial thereto (2).

(2) Id. ibid.

T

A T K I N S (RICHARD), author of some pieces, particularly *A Treatise Of the Original and Growth of Printing* [A], was descended of a good family seated at Tuffeigh, in Gloucestershire; his father being son and heir of Richard Atkins, Esq; Chief Justice of West-Wales, and one of Queen Elizabeth's Counsel of the Marches of Wales, and brother to Sir Edward Atkins of Lincoln's-Inn, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; and his mother second daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimer in Buckinghamshire, Bart. by his wife the Lady Elizabeth Sandys, daughter and heiress of William Lord Sandys of the Vine near Basingstoke in Hampshire, descended from Margaret Bray, the only child of John Bray, next brother and heir to Sir Reginald Bray, Knight-Banneret, and Knight of the Garter, who died without issue. Our author, having been partly educated in English and grammar learning under two very bad masters, was sent to the college school at Gloucester; from whence he was removed, at fourteen years of age, to Balliol college

[A] He wrote several pieces, particularly a *Treatise of the Original and Growth of Printing in England*. The list of his works given us by Mr Wood (1), consists of, I. The above-mentioned *Treatise*; printed at London, in 1664, in four sheets, 4to. II. His *Vindication*, London 1669, 4to. III. *A Relation of several passages in the western war of England*, in which himself was concerned. IV. *Sighs and Ejaculations*. These two last were printed with the *Vindication*. I shall give the reader an extract from his *Original and Growth of Printing in England*, which he published by order of Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State. It is transcribed from an old manuscript Chronicle, said to be preserved in the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, containing an historical account of the introduction of that noble art into this kingdom; and is as follows. 'Thomas Boucher, Archbishop of Canterbury, moved the then King (Henry VI) to use all possible means for procuring a mould (for so it was called) to be brought into this kingdom. The King, (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion, and taking private advice how to effect this design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons, as would draw off some of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where John Guttenberg had newly invented it, and was himself personally at work. 'Twas resolved, that less than one thousand marks would produce the desired effect; towards which sum, the Archbishop presented the King with three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the design was committed to Mr ROBERT TOURNOUR, who was then of the robes to the King, and a person most in favour with him, of any of his condition. Mr TOURNOUR took to his assistance Mr CAXTON, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as staying in the Low-Countries. Mr TOURNOUR was in disguise (his beard and hair quite shaven off); but Mr CAXTON appeared known and public. They having received the sum of one thousand marks,

' went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harlem itself; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned and apprehended divers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose. They staid till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in gifts and expences, so that the King was fain to send five hundred marks more; Mr TOURNOUR having written to the King, that he had almost done his work, a bargain (as he said) being struck between him and two Hollanders for bringing off one of the workmen, who should sufficiently discover and teach the new art. At last, with much ado, they got off one of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederick Corfells, (or rather Corfellis) who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a vessel prepared before for that purpose, and so the wind, (favouring the design) brought him safe to London. 'Twas not thought so prudent to set him on work at London, but by the Archbishop's means, who had been vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor of the university of Oxon, Corfellis was carried with a strong guard to Oxon; which guard constantly watched to prevent Corfellis from any possible escape, till he had made good his promise in teaching how to print; so that at Oxford, Printing was first set up in England; which was before there was any printing-press, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, except the city of Mentz, which claims seniority as to printing, even of Harlem itself; calling herself, *Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicæ inventricem primam*: though 'tis known to be otherwise, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learned it at home of his brother, and afterwards set up for himself at Mentz. This press at Oxon was at least ten years before there was any printing in Europe, (except at Harlem and Mentz) where also it was but new-born. This press at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be the sole printing place in England, as being too far from London, and the sea; whereupon the King set up a press at St Albans, and another at the abbey of Westminster, where they printed several

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1171.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595.

college in Oxford, and continued there about two years in the quality of a gentleman-commoner. From Oxford he removed to Lincoln's-Inn; and soon after travelled into France, with the son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour by a second venter: but that young gentleman dying before they could proceed farther, he returned home, improved himself in the accomplishments of a courtier, and married. Afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars in England, he raised a troop of horse for the service of the King at his own expence; by which he suffered much in his estate. After the Restoration of King Charles II, he was appointed one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire; in which station he distinguished himself as a loyal subject of the King, and an affectionate son of the Church of England. His character is that of 'an ingenious and observing man, who saw the vanity of this world sooner than others, tho' of elder years; which fitted him the better for another.' At length being committed prisoner to the Marshalsea goal in Southwark, for debt, he died there the fourteenth of September 1677, and was buried in the parish-church of St George the Martyr, by the care and appointment of Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Justices of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Edward Atkins, Esq; afterwards one of the Barons of the Exchequer, both nearly related to the deceased (a).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595, 596.

'veral books of divinity and physic; for the King, for reasons best known to himself and council, permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor did any Printer exercise that art, but only such as were the King's sworn servants, the King himself paying the price and emolument for printing books.' But the authority of this Chronicle may well be called in question for these reasons; first, because Mr Atkins does not pretend to have seen the original, but only to have transcribed it from a copy, sent him by an anonymous friend: secondly, he gives no account by whom it was written, or how it was bequeathed to the library at Lambeth: thirdly, no author besides Mr Atkins, and those who follow him, mention this Chronicle as

being in that library: fourthly, it is not to be found there now, the late Earl of Pembroke having employed a person to search for it, but in vain; lastly, there are inconsistencies in it, and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known. I shall not here enter upon an examination of this subject, but shall refer the reader to Mr Palmer's *General History of Printing*, where the mistakes of this Chronicle are fully laid open, and the true origin of the Art historically deduced. I shall only add, that the design of Mr Atkins's book is little more than an invective against the company of Stationers, and to prove, that *Printing* is a branch of the *Royal Prerogative*, and a *Flower of the English Crown*.

T

A T K Y N S (Sir ROBERT) Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, descended of a very ancient family, settled at the time of his birth, and long before in Gloucestershire (a) [A]. His father was Sir Edward Atkyns, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and his mother Urfula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire (b). This Sir Robert of whom we are to speak, was born some time in the year 1621. He received the first tincture of letters, in his father's house in Gloucestershire, from whence he removed to the university of Oxford, where he studied in Baliol college for some time, and was removed thence to the Inns of Court, that is, as may be supposed from his arms in the chapel windows to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himself very closely to the study of the Law (c), in which he became very eminent, as well as for his loyalty in those melancholy times preceding, and following the murder of King Charles I. On this account, he was in the month of April 1661, made Knight of the Bath, with many other persons of the first distinction, at the coronation of King Charles II (d). He was also, on the twenty-eighth of September in the same year, created Master of Arts, in full convocation at Oxford (e). Thenceforward, he was considered in Westminster-Hall, as one of the great ornaments of his profession. In 1671, he was appointed one of the King's Serjeants at Law (f), and in 1672, he was appointed one of the Judges of his Majesty's Court of Common-Pleas (g), in which honourable station he behaved with great wisdom and integrity, till the year 1679, when, from a foresight of very troublesome times, he thought fit to resign, and to retire

(a) Atkyns's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 638.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 242. edit. 1671.

(d) Heath's Chronicle, p. 480.

(e) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(f) History of Europe, A. D. 1710, in the remarkable, p. 10.

(g) Ibid. Hist. of Europe, p. 10.

[A] Settled at the time of his birth in Gloucester.] The family of the Atkyns's did antiently reside in Monmouthshire. Thomas Atkyns, lived in the reign of King Edward III, and died in London, and was buried in the church of St Peter Cheap, 2 Hen. IV, in the year 1401. Richard Atkyns, son of Thomas, followed the profession of the Law, in Monmouthshire. Thomas Atkyns, was son of Richard, and was of the same profession. Richard Atkyns, Son of Thomas died 11 Hen. VII. Thomas Atkyns, son of Richard, died 4 Hen. VIII, and was succeeded by David Atkyns, who married Alice, daughter of an eminent merchant in Cheap-stow, and removed to Tuffeigh, near Gloucester; he died 1552. Thomas Atkyns, son of David, married Margaret, daughter of John Cook of London, and was Judge of the Sheriffs Court in London; he argued the first case in Plowden's Commentaries, and died before his father 1551, and lies buried in Aldermanbury church in London. Richard Atkyns, son of Thomas, was under age at his father's death, and was granted in Ward, to Thomas Wendy, Esq; Physician to King Edward VI, and was found by

inquisition to be seized of the manors of Tuffeigh, Hempsted, and Morecot, in the parish of Minsterworth, and of Brickhampton, in the parish of Churchdown, held of the King *in capite*; and of lands in Sodbury, Belesly, and Tudenham, all in the county of Gloucester. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Marsh, of Wareley, in Huntingdonshire, Esq; and was one of the Justices of the Sessions in North Wales, and one of the Council of the Marches of Wales; he died 1610, and lies buried at Hempsted. Sir Edward Atkyns, third son of Richard, (whose elder brothers have since been extinct) married Urfula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire; he died one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, aged eighty-two years (1). It was Sir Robert Atkyns, whose Life we are now writing, purchased the family seat and manor of Sapperton, from Sir William Pool in 1660 (2.) It was remarkable of this family, that there was always some person belonging thereto presiding in some of the courts of judicature in this kingdom, for upwards of three hundred years (3).

(1) Sir Robert Atkyns's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 638.

(2) Ibid. p. 637.

(3) Ibid. p. 638.

[B] Declared

retire into the country, which he accordingly did (b). His attachment to the laws and liberties of his country, made him unwilling to afford any countenance, as he must have done if he had continued a Judge, to the arbitrary proceedings which about that time came into fashion, and against which, he had with so much strength of argument, and profound learning declared, in the case of Sir Samuel Barnardiston (i) [B]. In this retirement he acted as became so great a man, for as he did nothing to disturb the government of his country, so he was far from meanly deserting her cause, or that of her friends (k). In July, 1683, when the unhappy Lord Ruffel was first imprisoned, on account of that conspiracy, for which he afterwards suffered, application was made to Sir Robert Atkyns, for his advice, which, in so nice a conjuncture, and when it might have been so dangerous to himself, he did not either refuse or decline. This letter, so curious in point of matter, and so declarative, not only of the prudence and learning, but of the courage and integrity of this worthy person, the reader will find in the notes [C]. The same person to whom Sir Robert wrote this letter, transmitted him, immediately

(b) History of England, Vol. II. p. 391.

(i) Sir Robert Atkyns's Parliamentary and Political Tracts, Printed for R. Gosling, 1734, 8vo, p. 126.

(k) See Sir R. A.'s preface to the Vindication of Lord Ruffel's Innocency.

[B] Declared in the case of Sir Samuel Barnardiston] This was a very nice and intricate affair, and in order to make it clear to our readers, we must give a short account of this case from it's beginning. Upon a writ out of the court of Chancery, bearing date 8 Febr. 25 Car. II, directed to Sir William Soame, Sheriff of Suffolk; commanding to return a Knight for that county, in the place of Sir Henry North, lately dead; Sir William made a double return, in one indenture, specifying Sir Samuel Barnardiston, to be duly elected, and in another, the Lord Huntingtower. This election being examined in parliament, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, was declared duly elected, whereupon he brought his action of trespass, upon the case, for the pains and expence, which he had been at, to obtain his seat in parliament, against Sir William Soame, in the Kings-Bench. The defendant pleaded the general issue, and upon a trial, the jury found for the plaintiff, and gave him eight hundred pounds damages. Sir William Soame, sued a Writ of Error in the Exchequer, and there two of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, were for reversing the judgment given in the Court of King's-Bench as erroneous. But Sir William Ellis, and Sir Robert Atkyns, both judges of the Common-Pleas, were of opinion, that the judgment was good, and the argument here referred to, is, That made by Judge Atkyns, in support of his opinion. In this argument he maintains, That the plaintiff had a just cause of action, that the law gave him a remedy, and that he had taken his proper remedy, by bringing an action upon the case. On each of these heads he insisted largely, from reason, law, and history, and then proceeded to answer all the objections that had been made against the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench. In the course of his harangue, it is manifest, that he was not a little apprehensive of offending the House of Commons, who were wont to look upon themselves, as sole judges in such matters. But by wisely declining to meddle with any points, which did not immediately regard the Record before them, he secured himself from danger, and sustained at the same time the jurisdiction of the Courts in Westminster-Hall, with much courage and learning. However the judgment was reversed, notwithstanding all that he, and Sir William Ellis could say, and so the plaintiff lost his damages, and ninety-eight pounds costs. But Sir Robert Atkyns, in quieter times, thought fit to print his argument, and to intimate, that this case needed a redress, by error in Parliament (4). Nothing however was done therein, even after the Revolution. In the printed collection of our author's tracts, this is placed after his argument, in the case of William Williams, Esq; but for what reason I cannot imagine, since it is prior in point of time, by no less than ten years, the Record in the case of Sir Samuel Barnardiston, being of Trinity Term 26 Car. II, and that in the case of Williams, in Trinity Term 36 of the same King.

[C] The reader will find in the notes. It is not certain, to whom this letter was addressed, probably it was to some noble relation, or to some solicitor, or other very intelligent person, who had the care of Lord Ruffel's affairs. It has also no date, but that may be easily supplied. On the 28th of June, 1683, Lord Howard, who is the person hinted at to be *particeps criminis* in the following letter, surrendered, and charged Lord Ruffel with High-Treason; this

Lord was tried on the 13th of July following, and consequently, the date of this Letter must fall some time between the beginning of the month, and the said 13th of July (5).

S I R,

I Am not without the apprehensions of danger that may arise by advising in, or so much as discoursing of publick affairs; yet no fear of danger shall hinder me from performing the duty we owe one to another, to counsel those that need our advice, how to make their just defence, when they are called in question for their lives, especially if they are persons, that have, by their general carriage, and conversation, appeared to be men of worth, and lovers of their King and country, and of the religion established among us. I will follow the method you use, and answer what you ask, in the order I find it in your letters. I cannot see any disadvantage or hazard, by pleading the general plea of Not Guilty: If it fall out upon the proofs, that the crime is only misprision of treason, and not the very crime of treason, the jury must then find the prisoner not guilty of treason; and cannot upon an indictment of treason, find the party guilty of misprision, because he was not indicted for the offence of misprision; and treason, and misprision of treason, are offences that the law hath distinguished the one from the other, and the one is not included in the other; and therefore, if the proofs reach no farther, than to prove a misprision, and amount not to treason, the prisoner may urge it for himself, and say, that the proofs do not reach to the crimes charged in the indictment, and if the Truth be so, the court ought so to direct the jury not to find it. Now being in company with others, where those others do consult and conspire, to do some treasonable act, does not make a man guilty of treason, unless by some words or actions, he signify his consent to it, and approbation of it; but his being privy to it and not discovering of it, makes him guilty of misprision of treason, which consists in the concealing it, but it makes him not guilty of treason; and if the same person be present a second time, or oftener, this neither does not make him guilty of treason, only it raises a strong suspicion, that he likes it, and consents to it, and approves of it, or else he would have forborn, after being once amongst them: But the strongest suspicion does not sufficiently prove a guilt in treason, nor can it go for any evidence, and that upon two accounts. First, the proofs in case of treason must be plain, and clear, and positive, and not by inference or argument, or the strongest suspicion imaginable; thus saith Sir Edward Coke, in many places in his 3d Institutes in the chapter of High-Treason. Secondly, In an indictment of High-Treason, there must not only be a general charge of treason, nor is it enough to set forth of what sort or species the treason is: As killing the King, or levying war against him, or coining money, or the like; but there must be also set forth some overt or open act, as the Statute of the 25th of Edward III, calls it, or some instance, given by the party or offender, whereby it may appear, he did consent to it, and consult, and approve of it: And if the barely being present, should be taken, and construed, to be a sufficient overt, or open act, or instance, then there is no difference between treason,

(5) See the proceedings against Lord Ruffel, in the third volume of State Tryals.

(4) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

(l) Atkyns's
Tracts, p. 342.

(m) Ibid.

immediately on that noble Lord's conviction, a full and exact account of his trial, and the evidence on both sides, on which Sir Robert wrote his remarks freely, with such a spirit of candour, loyalty, and zeal for the laws, as will always do honour to his memory (l). This letter which is to be found in his printed works, is dated the twenty-third of July, 1683, two days after Lord Ruffel was executed, which however could not be known to him at that distance (m). His great zeal for liberty, and his known affection for several persons, at that time under the displeasure of the government, would certainly have drawn him into some inconveniences, if his own prudence in keeping very little correspondence, the popular opinion of his great integrity, and the King's personal esteem, had not protected him. We may be the more fully persuaded of this, from the following instance. One Mr Laurence Braddon, having taken upon him to prosecute the discovery of what he called the Earl of Effex's murder, whom he supposed to have been assassinated in the Tower, though the Coroner's inquest had found him *felo de se*; applied himself to one Mr Hugh Speke, a young gentleman of fortune, and who had the honour to be well acquainted with Sir Robert Atkins, to whom he wrote a very warm letter, in recommendation both of Mr Braddon and the design he was upon, intreating Sir Robert to assist him therein. This letter however, never came to Sir Robert's hand, for Mr Braddon being apprehended in the country, this letter was found upon him, and though in February 1683-4, he was convicted at the King's-Bench-Bar for a misdemeanor, in conspiring to make the people believe, that the Earl of Effex was murdered, and with him Mr Hugh Speke, merely for writing the aforesaid letter, for which he was fined a thousand pounds, yet Sir Robert Atkyns

was

son, and misprison of treason; for the being present without consenting, makes no more than misprison; therefore there must be something more than being barely present to make a man guilty of treason, especially since the law requires an overt or open act, to be proved against the prisoner accused. See Sir Edward Coke's 3d Institutes, fol. 12, upon those words of the statute (*per overt fact*) and that there ought to be direct and manifest proofs, and not bare suspicions or presumptions, be they never so strong and violent. See the same fol. in the upper part of it, upon the word *Proveablement*. And the statute of the 5th of Edward VI, cap. ii. requires, that there should be two witnesses to prove the crime; so that if there be but one witness, let him be never so credible a person, and never so positive, yet if there be no other proof, the party ought to be found not guilty; and those two witnesses must prove the person guilty of the same sort or species of treason. As for example, if the indictment be for that species of treason, of conspiring the King's death, both witnesses must prove some fact, or words tending to that very sort of treason; but if there be two witnesses, and one proves the prisoner conspired the death of the King, and the other witness prove the conspiring to do some other sort of treason, this comes not home to prove the prisoner guilty upon that indictment; for the law will not take away a man's life in treason, upon the testimony and credit of one witness; it is so tender of a man's life, the crime and the forfeitures are so great and heavy. And as there must be two witnesses, so by the statute made in the thirteenth year of his present Majesty, cap. i. (intituled, for the safety of his Majesty's person) those two witnesses must not only be lawful, but also credible persons. See that statute in the 5th paragraph, and the prisoner must be allowed to object against the credit of all, or any of the witnesses; and if there be but one witness of clear and good credit, and the rest not credible, then the testimony of those that are not credible must go for nothing, by the words and meaning of this statute: See the statute. Now were I a jury-man, I should think no such witness a credible witness, as should appear either by his own testimony, or upon proof made by others against him, to have been *particeps criminis*, for that proves him to be a bad, and consequently not so credible a man; especially if it can appear, the witness has trapped the prisoner into the committing of the crime: Then the witness will appear to be guilty of a far higher crime, than the prisoner, and therefore ought not to be believed as a credible witness against the prisoner, for he is a credible witness that has the credit of being a good and honest man, which a trapper cannot have; and this trapping proves withal, that the trapper did

bear a spite and malice against the person trapped, and intended to do him a mischief, and designed to take away his life. Shall such a one be a credible witness, and believed against him? God forbid! Then again, it cannot but be believed, that such persons as have been guilty of the same crime, will, out of a natural self-love, be very forward, and willing to swear heartily, and to the purpose, in order to the convicting of others, that they may, by this service, merit their pardon, and save their own lives. And for this reason are not so credible witnesses, such as the statute of 13 Car. II, does require. Read over the whole chapters of Sir Edward Coke, of high-treason, and of petty-treason; for in this latter of petty-treason, there is much matter that concerns high-treason. I wish with all my soul, and I humbly and heartily pray to Almighty God, that these gentlemen, that have given so great proof of their love to the true religion, and of the just rights, and liberties of their country, and of their zeal against Popery, may upon their trial appear innocent; I am so satisfied of their great worth, that I cannot easily believe them guilty of so horrid a crime. I pray God to stand by them, in the time of their distress. I wish I might have the liberty fairly to give them what assistance I could, in that wherein I might be any way capable of doing it. I beseech Almighty God, to heal our divisions, and establish us upon the sure foundation of peace, and righteousness. I thank you, for the favour you have done me, by imparting some publick affairs, which might perhaps have been unknown to me, or not known till after a long time, for I keep no correspondence. When there is an occasion, pray oblige me by a further account, especially what concerns these gentlemen; and though I have written nothing here, but what is innocent and justifiable, yet that I may be the surer against any disadvantage or misconstruction, pray take the pains to transcribe what notes you think fit, out of this large paper, but send me this paper back again, inclosed in another, by the same hand that brings it. There is, nor ought to be, no such thing as constructive treason; it defeats the very scope, and design of the statute of the 25th of Edw. III, which is to make a plain declaration, what shall be adjudged treason by the ordinary courts of Justice. The conspiring any thing against the King's person, is most justly taken to be, to conspire against his life; but conspiring to levy war, or to seize the guards, is not conspiring against the King's life; for these are treasons of a different species.

Your faithful friend and servant,

R. A.

[D] And

was never questioned, though his name was so often mentioned in the course of those proceedings (n). It was not long after, that our publick spirited lawyer gave an open testimony, of his unshaken zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, by his excellent argument in the case between the King and Sir William Williams, who was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, for signing an order for the printing of Dangerfield's narrative, by order of the House of Commons, he being at that time Speaker of the House. In this argument, Sir Robert entered deeply into the nature and power of Parliaments, and showed a prodigious skill, not only in the laws, but in the history and antiquities of this kingdom, for which reason, this argument of his, when it came to be printed, was looked upon as a political, as well as a law tract, and as such is still in the highest esteem (o) [D]. In the succeeding reign of James II, he gave another signal proof of his knowledge as a lawyer, and his steadiness as a patriot, by his argument in the case of Sir Edward Hales, which hath been also printed, and, like the author's other works, received with just admiration and applause (p) [E]. This piece he supported by another, in answer to a book published by Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, wherein he endeavoured to justify the judgment given in that cause by authorities (q) [F]. When matters came to a crisis, and things seemed ripe for bringing about that great change, since called the Revolution; Sir Robert Atkyns did all that could be expected from him, to further and promote it. On this account, he was received with great marks of distinction by King William and his royal consort, who, in the month of May, 1689, made him Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Nevill, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, Esquires, being the other Barons (r). This dignity however, did not hinder him for vindicating in print, the memory of the deceased Lord Russell, who, though his attainder was reversed by act of Parliament, yet there were not wanting some, who maintained the justice of his sentence with great eagerness. Against these, Sir Robert Atkyns wrote two pieces with the same spirit and accuracy, visible in his other discourses, though he was then very far in years, and had also much business upon his hands (s) [G]. On the nineteenth

(n) See the Tryal of Braddon and Spelke, in the third Volume of State Tryals.

(o) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(p) Ibid. p. 177.

(q) Ibid. p. 231.

(r) Complet Hist. of England. Vol. III. p. 523.

(s) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 333.

[D] *And as such, is still in the highest esteem.* The title to this tract is, *The Power, Jurisdiction, and Privilege of Parliament, and the Antiquity of the House of Commons asserted* (6). The occasion of it was this, An information was exhibited against William Williams, Esq; late Speaker of the House of Commons, for endeavouring to stir up sedition and procure ill-will, between the King and his subjects, by appointing a certain seditious and infamous libel, entitled *The Information of Thomas Dangerfield*, to be printed and published. The defendant pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court, setting forth, that he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and that in obedience to their order, he had appointed that Narrative to be printed; wherefore he demanded the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench, whether it ought to take farther cognizance of the matter. Sir Robert Atkyns's argument is in support of this plea, and therein he undertakes to prove three propositions. First, That what was done in this case, was done in a course of justice, and that in the highest court of the nation, and according to the law and custom of Parliament. Secondly, That however, that which was done in this case, was not to be imputed to the defendant, who acted in it but as the servant, or minister, of the Parliament, though in a very honourable station. Thirdly, That these, being matters transacted in Parliament, and by the Parliament, the Court of Kings-Bench ought not to take cognizance of them, nor had any jurisdiction to judge or determine them. To each of these points, Sir Robert speaks freely, fully, and from the best authorities. It must be allowed, that he sometimes digresses pretty far, but the reason is visible; he intended to give the people a just idea of the subject, which at that time was extremely necessary, and it must be acknowledged, that this argument of his admirably answered his purpose.

[E] *Received with just admiration and applause* The title of this treatise is, *An Enquiry into the Power of dispensing with Penal Statutes* (7). The reason of it is this: An action was brought in Easter Term, in the second year of King James II, against Sir Edward Hales, for acting as a Colonel of Foot, without receiving the Sacrament, or taking certain oaths appointed by an act of Parliament, to be taken within a certain time; whereupon he was legally indicted in the county of Kent, and convicted, whereby the plaintiff became entitled to the forfeiture of five hundred pounds. To this the defendant pleaded, that the King, by his letters patents, had dispensed with his taking the Sacrament, or the oaths, and thereupon demurred generally: The plaintiff joined in

demurrer, and judgment was given for the defendant. This induced Sir Robert Atkyns, to consider at large the doctrine of Dispensations, which in this discourse is fully handled.

[F] *Given in that cause by authorities.* While Sir Robert was employed in writing this treatise, the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, sent abroad a book entitled, *A short Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's Case*. The reason of his writing it was, because he apprehended a disquisition would be made into this affair in Parliament, and therefore he thought it incumbent on him, to give the clearest account he could, of his own conduct in that affair. Sir Robert Atkyns having before written on the subject, and maintained the reverse of most of the propositions maintained by the Chief Justice, conceived it to be absolutely necessary for him to join to his former book, an examination and refutation of this treatise of Sir Edward Herbert (8). In doing this, he treated him however with all the candour and decency imaginable, and though he leaves no stone unturned to shew the insufficiency of what had been alledged, in favour of the judgment, given in the Court of Kings-Bench; yet throughout the whole, he expresses a great respect for the Chief Justice, and admits, that in the pronouncing this judgment, all the Judges, except two, concurred in his opinion. In discussing the Doctrine of Dispensations, Sir Robert had frequent occasion to mention the Canon Law, and the proceedings in Ecclesiastical courts; but not thinking that what he had said therein was full enough, he resolved to compose another treatise on that subject, which he accordingly did. It is entitled, *A Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in the Realm of England, occasioned by the late Commission in Ecclesiastical Causes*. It is a very clear, as well as a very learned piece, containing a great deal of matter in a very little room, so that whoever reads it, and is inclined to pursue the plan there laid down, may be in a short time acquainted with all that is to be met with, in our law or history, on this subject. This tract is generally annexed to that on the Dispensing Power, which is the reason of my giving an account of both in one note.

[G] *Also much business on his hands.* The first defence of the Lord Russell's innocence (9), was written in answer to a piece entitled, *An Antidote against Poison*; wherein the last speech of the Lord Russell was examined, and great pains taken to prove, that it was artful rather than sincere; and many arguments added to show, that this Lord suffered justly, and that the complaints of his friends had no foundation.

(6) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(7) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 177.

(8) Ibid. p. 291.

(9) Ibid. p. 333.

of October, 1689, the Marquis of Halifax, whom the Lords had chosen for their Speaker, desired to be excused from discharging that office any longer, upon which, The Lord Chief Baron Atkyns, was immediately chosen in his stead, and so continued till the Great Seal was given to Sir John Somers, in the beginning of the year 1693 (t). The last act of this great man's life, which deserves to be particularly taken notice of, is his speech to Sir William Ashurst, Lord Mayor of London, elect, when he was sworn before him in the Exchequer, October 30, 1693 (u). The government was then very apprehensive, and thought it necessary to convince the people of their danger, for which no man was thought to be more fit than the Chief Baron, who discharged his duty with great zeal and spirit, and with proportionable success. This speech hath also been preserved, and will always afford entertainment to the curious, on account of the extraordinary matters of fact mentioned therein (w) [H]. In the beginning of the Summer, 1695, Sir Robert Atkyns shewed an inclination of resigning his great office. He was then in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and might well be esteemed desirous of passing the rest of his days in quiet. Yet it is a prevailing opinion, that his resignation was owing to another and more secret cause, viz. his failing in his design of becoming Master of the Rolls, in the room of Sir John Trevor (x). Some pains were taken to persuade the Lord Chief Baron from this resolution, but he continued steadily fixed therein, so that in the beginning of June, 1695, Sir Edward Ward, then Attorney General, was made choice of, to preside in the court of Exchequer. Sir Robert Atkyns thenceforward laid aside all thoughts of publick affairs, and retired to his seat of Saperton-hall in Gloucestershire, where he spent the last fourteen years of his life in ease and quiet. He died in the beginning of the year 1709, aged eighty-eight years (y). He was a man of great probity, as well as of great skill in his profession, a warm friend to the Constitution, which he was ready to maintain against all opponents. Besides the several learned tracts mentioned in the notes, he is said to have been the author of a treatise, against the exorbitant power of the court of Chancery (z). In the course of his life he was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Sir George Clerk, of Walford in Northamptonshire, and a second time, to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres (a). He left behind him an only son, Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom in the next article, and to him descended three very considerable estates in the county of Gloucester, viz. Saperton, Pinbury, and Swell, with a fine seat belonging to each of them. These estates he entailed, in case the issue male of his son should fail, on the issue male of his brother, Sir Edward Atkyns, Knt. but this settlement he was afterwards prevailed upon to break through (b). Having mentioned this Sir Edward Atkyns, it may not be amiss to inform the reader, that he was our author's younger brother, though his predecessor in the Exchequer, having sat as Lord Chief Baron there, in the reign of King James II. This Sir Edward, was the father of Sir Richard Atkyns, who was Colonel

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of dation. Sir Robert Atkyns in his answer, keeps close to the printed trial, and endeavours to make it plain, that, according to the rules of law, the indictment was insufficient, and that with respect to the rule of legal evidence, there was a great deficiency in point of proof. Soon after the publication of this answer, and while a bill was depending in Parliament for reversing the Lord Ruffel's attainder, the author of the *Antidote* appeared again in print. His piece was called, *The Magistracy and Government of England Vindicated*, &c. Wherein he used a good deal of rough language, and treated Sir Robert Atkyns very tartly. It was generally supposed, that the author of these tracts was Sir Bartholemew Shore, an eminent lawyer, and one of the King's counsel, at Lord Ruffel's trial. Sir Robert Atkyns intimates, so much in his reply, which he called, *A Farther Defence of Lord Ruffel's Innocency* (10). In this piece he shews, the weakness of his adversary's arguments, and, with great solidity of reason, exposes a practice in the preceding reigns of making florid rhetorical speeches, against prisoners tried for high-treason, on which he expressly charges the death of Lord Ruffel. Sir Robert also insists on the expediency of allowing state prisoners counsel at their trials, and what he advances on this head, is so clear and so convincing, that it raised that spirit among the true Patriots of those times, to which we owe the enjoyment of an excellent law to that purpose. In the same treatise, Sir Robert maintains, that King Charles's guards were troops maintained in defiance of law, the trained bands being as he says, the proper guards of their King and country, and therefore he thinks, the laying an attempt against these guards in the indictment, as an act of overt-treason, was insufficient; and he cites an expression of the Lord Chief Justice at the trial, which seems to prove his Lordship thought so too.

terrible picture of the power and designs of the French King: He says, his intention was to become Monarch of the West, that he intended to subdue England, and settle Popery therein; he magnifies his power at sea, as equal to that of England, Holland, and Spain, taken together. Next he proceeds to shew, that King Charles II, and King James II, had entered into engagements with the French King, in order to make themselves absolute, and to settle Popery here. In the third place, he speaks of the changes made in the coronation oaths of King Charles I, and King James II. After this, he proceeds to compliment the Lord Mayor, assuring him, that the choice made by the city at that juncture, gave great pleasure to all good men. This leads him to speak of the functions of a Mayor, which are very concisely described, and pathetically recommended to the consideration of the person to whom he spoke. At the conclusion of his harangue, he touches again on the French King, with a good deal of warmth. How seasonable this speech was, and of how great service to the government, appears from it's having several editions, and it's being preserved with other curious papers in that valuable collection of State Tracts, in the reign of King William (12), which is so deservedly esteemed. All these pieces of Sir Robert Atkins, have been collected into one volume, and whoever inclines to be thoroughly informed of the true constitution of his country, of the grounds and reasons of the Revolution, and of the danger of suffering prerogative to jostle law, cannot read a better or a plainer book. His stile is strong, but not stiff; there is a mixture of wit, but of such wit, as is proper to the subject; comes in pertinently, and serves to enlighten, not to amuse or mislead, the reader; whatever he says, is supported by authorities, and there is such a visible candour in all his discourses, that if a man does not relish his arguments, he must at least admire the manner in which they are offered. In a word, whether we consider him in his private,

(t) Hist. of Europe, ubi supra.

(u) Atkins's Tracts, p. 407.

(w) See the note [H].

(x) Remarks on the State of the Law, p. 35.

(y) Atkins's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 638.

(z) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 155.

(a) History of Gloucestershire, p. 638.

(b) Hist. of Europe, 1710, p. 10.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 335.

(11) Atkins's Tracts, p. 407. [H] Extraordinary matters therein mentioned.] In this celebrated harangue (11), Sir Robert draws a

(12) Vol. II. p. 361.

of a regiment of horse, in the reign of King William III, and though he died a very young man, yet he had the reputation of being a gallant and experienced officer (c).

(c) *Ibid.*

private, or in his public station; as a gentleman, or as a judge; as an eminent lawyer, or a distinguished patriot; as a statesman, or an author; we shall see

nothing but what is great and amiable, worthy of love and of respect, and of that veneration which is due to virtuous men from posterity. E

A T K Y N S (Sir ROBERT) junior, son to the former Sir Robert Atkyns, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Hertfordshire. He was born in the year 1646 (a), and educated with great care under the eye of his father. He became very early a great lover of, and in a short space a great proficient in, the laws and history of his country in general, which by degrees led him to that undertaking, which will for ever preserve his memory (b). As he had a very considerable estate settled upon him, he affected chiefly a country life, and was eminent for all the virtues which could adorn an English gentleman. He was chosen to represent his county in Parliament, as often as he would accept that great honour (c). His knowledge and integrity, induced many of his neighbours to make him the arbitrator of their differences, which he readily undertook, and generally executed to the satisfaction of both parties (d). He married Louisa, daughter to Sir John Carteret, of Haws in Bedfordshire (e), but having by her no issue male, he gave occasion thereby to his father, to settle his estate on the male issue of Sir Edward Atkyns, which settlement was the unlucky occasion of a law-suit between the father and son (f). As for this Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom we are now speaking, though he differed pretty much from his father in his opinions [A], yet he inherited both his prudence and his probity, and was equally esteemed and beloved by men of all parties (g). His design of writing the History of Gloucestershire, took birth from an intention of the same sort in Dr Parsons, Chancellor of the diocese of Gloucester, who had been at great pains and trouble to collect the materials for such a work, in the compiling of which, he was hindered by many great infirmities, and a general declining state of health (h). Sir Robert Atkyns having once conceived the use and value of such a history, thought himself obliged to carry on, and to compleat it, as a just return for that great affection, which the inhabitants of this county had shewn for his family, and for himself (i). After once he had undertaken it, he was indefatigable in the enquiry after, and procuring all the numerous helps necessary to so extensive a design, and having succeeded in this scheme of his, beyond perhaps his own expectations, he digested his matter into an easy and familiar method, that after all the trouble he had sustained, his reader might feel as little of it as possible. This great and valuable work he lived to perfect, and send to the press; though he did not survive long enough to see it published (k). A fire which consumed the house of Mr Bowyer the Printer, destroyed a great part of the copies of this History of Gloucestershire, which consequently render it scarce and dear, for which reason it seemed necessary to give the reader a view of it's contents in the notes (l) [B]. This learned and worthy gentleman, resided usually at

(a) See the Monumental Inscription prefixed to his Antient and Present State of Gloucestershire. Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 301.

(b) Geo. Hickes, Theaur. Septem. in ptefat. p. 49.

(c) See the Monumental Inscription.

(d) From a Letter in relation to Sir Robert Atkyns, from Mr Stephens to the author.

(e) Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 638.

(f) Hist. of Europe, 1710, amongst the Remarkables, p. 11.

(g) Hickes, ubi supra.

(h) Preface to the Antient and Present State of Gloucestershire. Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 37.

(i) See the preface cited above.

(k) Nicholson's English Historical Library, ubi supra.

(l) See also the preface.

Pinbury

[A] Differed much from his father in his opinions.]

The following passage from his history of Gloucestershire, occasioned by his mentioning the siege of Gloucester in 1643, will sufficiently prove the truth of our observation, and account, perhaps, better for the coldness between the father and son, than any detail of family differences (1). 'The unfortunate siege of this city, gave a stand to the King's victorious army; which being raised as has been related, it turned the state of the war, and the King could never after obtain success; which confirms that the greatest of Kings, and the best of men, are not secured from the violence of the wicked. This royal family will always be honoured in the memory of good men, and must have been so throughout the Christian world, had it been as prosperous as it is deserving. King James I, was the most learned King; King Charles I, was the most religious King; King Charles II, was the best natured King; and King James II, was the best friend; which virtue was most eminent, in his tender love to his children, and his steady kindness to his servants. This succession of Kings has been oppressed by their virtues; for peace, religion, good nature, and friendship, ruined them. It is remarkable of this royal family, that the witty King was over-reached by the wit of the Spanish Ambassador: That the religious King was murdered by rebellious saints: The voluptuary was conspired against by men of no religion; and the best friend was betrayed, and forsaken by them whom he most entirely loved. It does not hence follow, that this family will always be unfortunate.'

[B] A view of it's contents in the notes.] The title of this work is plain and comprehensive, viz. *The Antient and Present State of Gloucestershire, by Sir Robert Atkyns.* It is a large folio, consisting of 859 pages, exclusive of the preface and index. In the first

place, our author gives us preparatory instructions for the better understanding the ensuing discourse. These introductory remarks, consist of abundance of curious particulars, such as, An historical account of the several religious foundations within the diocese: A view of our antient constitution, The original of our laws, The rise of our national councils. Then he proceeds to shew, That there were but fifty lay freeholders in Gloucestershire, in the reign of King William I, and of these, their families, descents, and estates, there is a distinct account. We are next presented with a general description of the county, and of the city of Gloucester, then comes the history, in regular order, under fifteen heads. 1. We are informed in what Hundred each parish lies, it's distance from Gloucester, and from the two next market towns, with the best account that can be had of the derivation of it's name, and an account of the religious house, or ancient family, to which it belonged. 2. Contains the historical antiquities of each place, with so much of Doomesday book, as relates to Gloucestershire, and in many of the parishes, the succession of proprietors, is set down for six or seven hundred years. 3. Gives the names of the Lords of manors, and a genealogical history of their families. 4. Shews the deanery each parish belongs to, that is the rural deanery. 5. Sets down the value of every living, the names of the patrons and incumbents from the Reformation. It gives also the value of impropriations and exempted tythes. 6. Exhibits the true state of the first fruits, tenths, and other charges of the clergy. 7. Gives the History of the charities, describes their form, and whatever is remarkable in them. 8. Preserves the memorial of monuments, as a due encouragement to virtue. 9. Enumerates the charities in each parish above twenty pounds. 10. Shews the extent of every parish, the nature of the soil, the brooks, rivers, &c. 11. Sets down the names of the several hamlets

(1) Antient and Present State of Gloucestershire, p. 354.

(m) See the Hist. of Europe, 1711, p. 573.

(n) See the Inscription.

(o) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(p) Hist. of Europe, 1710, and 1711, as cited above.

Pinbury Park in Gloucestershire, during the summer, and at his house in Westminster during the winter season, where in 1711, he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died on the twenty-ninth of October, in the same year, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, having survived his father somewhat more than a year (m). His corps was carried down to Gloucestershire, and interred in the parish-church of Saperton, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, by Louisa Lady Atkyns, his disconsolate widow (n) [C]. It is worthy of remark, that two authors of the most opposite principles, Anthony Wood (o), and the author of the Annual History of Europe, speak with equal respect of our author (p), which shows that the virtues of some men, can command the respect of all parties.

hamlets in each parish, with the number of their families, and their distance from the parish church. 12. Gives the number of houses, inhabitants, and freeholders. 13. Contains the yearly births and burials. 14. Informs us of the publick taxes, and how they have altered from time to time in method of collection, and in proportion. 15. Presents us with the trade, the battles and curiosities of each place. The whole is enriched with maps, plans, and curious draughts of all the gentlemens seats in the county. Ancient records in the tower are duly applied to such places as they have any relation to. And whatever is to be met with in the works of Camden, or Dugdale, in Latin, is here translated into English, that the uniformity of the work might be preserved. There is also exhibited a table of the coats of arms, of the nobility and gentry in the

county, antient and modern. In short, all the pains possible has been taken to make this as compleat a history of the county, as it could be in the power of one man to frame, and with a little industry, any native of Gloucestershire may from time to time, add whatever is necessary to preserve it always perfect.

[C] By Louisa Lady Atkyns, his disconsolate widow.] There is on this monument a very copious inscription (2), containing a just character of the deceased, but inasmuch as there is nothing contained therein which the reader will not find in this life, it has not been thought necessary to transcribe it. Let this however be remarked that it ends thus. *His sorrowful widow erected this monument to his memory, tho' he left behind him one more durable,* THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF GLOSTERSHIRE. E

(2) At the End of the preface.

A T T E R B U R Y (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, and father of the celebrated Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (a), was the son of Mr Francis Atterbury, Rector of Middleton-Malfor, or Milton, in Northamptonshire [A], and born about the year 1631. In 1647, he was entered a Student of Christ-Church in Oxford, being then about seventeen years of age (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the twenty-third of February 1649 (c), and was created Master of Arts, by virtue of a dispensation from the Chancellor (*), the first of March 1651 (d). In 1654, he became Rector of Great or Broad Rivington, in the diocese and county of Gloucester; and, after the Restoration, took a presentation for that benefice under the Great Seal, and was instituted again to confirm his title to it. On the eleventh of September 1657, he was admitted Rector of Milton or Middleton-Keynes, in Buckinghamshire; and took the same method of corroborating his title to this living, at the King's return (e). July the twenty-fifth, 1660, he was made Chaplain Extraordinary to Henry Duke of Gloucester (f); and the same year, December the 1st, was created Doctor in Divinity (g). In 1693, returning from London, he was unfortunately drowned near his own house (b), leaving behind him two sons, Lewis and Francis (i). He published three occasional Sermons [B].

(i) See his article.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 910.

(c) Id. Fasti. Vol. II. col. 70.

(*) Oliver Cromwell.

(d) Ibid. col. 98.

(c) Brief Account of the author, &c. p. 1A, 15. prefixed to Dr Lewis Atterbury's Sermons, published by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, Lond. 1733. See the next article.

(f) Ibid. & Wood Athen. ubi supra.

(g) Wood, Fasti. ib. col. 123.

(b) Id. Athen. ib. col. 911.

(i) See the two following articles.

[A] Mr Francis Atterbury, Rector of—Milton in Northamptonshire.] He was an eloquent, judicious, and useful preacher, and left behind him the character of a worthy and good man. He was one of the many children of Lewis Atterbury, of Great Houghton, in that county; where the family of Atterbury flourished for many years (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2), he subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, in 1648.

[B] Three occasional sermons.] viz. I. The good subject, or, the right test of religion and loyalty; preached the 17th of July, at the assizes at Bucking-

ham, London, 1684, 4to. II. The ground of Christian feasts, with the right way of keeping them; preached at a meeting of several natives, and inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in the parish church of St Mary le Bow, the 30th of November, 1685; London, 1686, 4to. III. Babylon's downfall, or, England's happy deliverance from Popery and Slavery, London, 1691, 4to. It is the substance of a sermon, preached at Guildhall chapel, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the 28th of June, 1691 (3).

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(3) Ib. col. 911.

A T T E R B U R Y (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, elder brother of Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (a), was born at Caldecot, in the parish of Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, the second of May, 1656 (b). He was educated at Westminster-School, under the celebrated Dr Busby, between whom, and our Divine's father, Dr Lewis Atterbury, there was a friendship and intimacy. In the eighteenth year of his age, he was sent to Christ-Church in Oxford, and matriculated in that university the tenth of April 1674, under the tuition of Dr George Walls. The twenty-first of September 1679, he was ordained Deacon at Christ-Church by Dr John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of that college. He commenced Master of Arts the fifth of July 1680; and, the year following, was ordained Priest, at Bugden, by Dr Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln [A]. In 1683, he officiated as Chaplain to Sir William Pritchard, Knt, then Lord Mayor of London. In February 1684, he was instituted Rector of Sywell in Northamptonshire; which living he afterwards resigned, upon his accepting

(a) See the next Article.

(b) See A Brief Account of the Author, &c. prefixed to his Sermons published by Edward Yardley, B. D. Archdeacon of Cardigan. Lond. 1743.

[A] He was ordained Priest—by Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln.] What hopes that prelate then entertained of our young Divine, appears from the certificate of his ordination, in which the Bishop testifies, 'That he was a person (both for life and learning) capable and worthy of orders,' and that 'it did fur-

ther appear, by a good and pious sermon he then preached before the said Bishop, that he was able to execute the ministerial function with benefit to any congregation, to the cure of which Providence should call him (1).'

(1) Brief Account of the author, &c. prefixed to his Sermons, published by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, p. 7. 3.

[B] Hs

accepting of other preferment. The eighth of July 1687, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law. In December 1688, he married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingsfield (c) [B]. In 1691, we find him Lecturer of St Mary Hill in London; and, not long after his marriage, he settled at Highgate [C], where he supplied the pulpit of the reverend Mr Daniel Lathom, who was very old, and had lost his sight. Upon the death of this gentleman, Dr Atterbury was unanimously elected, the sixteenth of June 1695, by the trustees of that chapel, to be their preacher; being at the same time one of the six preaching Chaplains to the Princess Anne of Denmark, at Whitehall and St James's: which place he continued to supply, after that Princess's accession to the throne; and likewise during part of the reign of King George I. In September 1707, he was presented, by the Queen, to the rectory of Sheperton in Middlesex, the incumbent thereof being deprived for neglecting to take the oaths within the time limited by law. On the third of March 1719, he was collated by Dr John Robinson, Bishop of London, to the rectory of Hornsey in Middlesex; in which parish the chapel of Highgate is situated. Dr Atterbury never rose to any dignity in the Church, as might have been expected from the power and interest of his brother, who even refused him the archdeaconry of Rochester, in his own gift [D]. At about seventy years of age, he had a slight stroke of the palsy, which occasioned his going frequently to Bath; where he died [E], after a short illness, on the twentieth of October 1731. He published several Sermons and other pieces [F]; and, since his death, two volumes of

(c) He was brother of Sir Robert Bedingsfield, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, in 1707.

[B] He married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingsfield. Of this marriage came three sons and a daughter. The first and second son died in their infancy. The third son, named Bedingsfield Atterbury, was born the 8th of January, 1693, and, after a school education at Westminster, was sent to Christ Church in Oxford, and matriculated the 9th of April, 1713. He commenced Master of Arts the 20th of January, 1718, and took Deacon's orders. He was a sober, modest, and ingenious young gentleman. But the hopes, which his parents and friends conceived of him, were soon disappointed; for he died of the small-pox the 27th of December, 1718. Dr Atterbury's daughter, named after her mother, was born the 15th of June, 1699; married to Mr George Sweetapple, of St Andrew's, Holbourn, Brewer; and died in August, 1725, leaving one daughter, who lived to inherit her grandfather's fortune, but died about seven months after him, the 3d of June, 1732, in the eleventh year of her age. Mrs Atterbury, the mother, died the 1st of May, 1723 (2).

[C] He settled at Highgate. When he first resided there, he observed what difficulties the poor in the neighbourhood then underwent, for want of a good Physician or Apothecary; and therefore he applied himself to the study of Physick, and, having attained a good skill therein, he practised it (gratis) occasionally among his poor neighbours (3).

[D] His brother (the Bishop of Rochester) refused him the archdeaconry of Rochester. The editor of Dr Atterbury's sermons has given us some letters, which passed between the two brothers upon this occasion. The first is from the Doctor to the Bishop, upon a report of the death of the Archdeacon of Rochester. The Bishop had, the day before, given his brother reasons, why he thought it improper to make him his Archdeacon. To which the Doctor here replies: 'Your Lordship very well knows, that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a brother for his Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father was a puffy Judge, when he was Lord Chancellor. And thus, in the sacred history, did God himself appoint, that the safety and advancement of the patriarchs should be procured by their younger brother; and that they, with their father, should live under the protection and government of Joseph (4).' In answer to this, the Bishop informs his brother, that the Archdeacon was not dead, but well, and likely to continue so: 'When he was in danger, of late, says he, the first person I thought of was you. But there are objections against that, in point of decency—It had been a much properer post for my nephew, if God had pleased to spare his life (5).' This is followed by two others, from the Bishop to his brother, acquainting him, that he had resolved to collate Dr Brydges, the Duke of Chandos's brother, to the archdeaconry of Rochester, then actually vacant; assuring him at the same time, he would use all his endeavours to procure him some good dignity in the Church. 'Such, says he, as you, and I, and all the world shall agree, is every way proper for you (6).' Dr Atterbury was far from being satisfied with the reasons af-

signed by the Bishop for his refusal; as appears by his last letter, in which he says: 'I cannot imagine what indecency there can be, to have raised your elder brother in place under you—There is some shew of reason, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none for the not giving it.—I hope I shall be content with that meaner post, in which I am, my time, at longest, being but short in this world, and my health not suffering me to make those necessary applications others do: Nor do I understand the language of the present times; for I find, I begin to grow an old fashioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight and value of words, which in our times rise and fall like stock (7).'

[E] He died at Bath. By his will he gave directions to be buried at Highgate, and that a monument should be erected in the chapel, and an inscription in such or like words as he should leave behind him. All which was punctually complied with: A fluted marble column, with a pedestal and capital of the Corinthian order, surmounted with his paternal arms, being set up on the wall near the pulpit, with an inscription on the pedestal, expressing his several preferments, his marriage, issue, age, and death. Underneath the base of the column, is a book opened; on the leaves of which is, *Abi, spectator, et te brevi moriturum scito! i. e. Go, spectator, and know that thou shalt soon die* (8). By his said Will, Dr Atterbury gave some few books to the libraries at Bedford and Newport, and his whole collection of pamphlets, amounting to upwards of 200 volumes, to the library of Christ Church, Oxford. He charged his estate for ever with the payment of 10l. yearly to a schoolmistress, to instruct girls at Newport-Pagnel, which salary he had himself in his life-time paid for many years. He remembered some of his friends, and left a respectful legacy of an hundred pounds to his dear Brother in token of his true esteem and affection. He likewise made the Bishop's son (after his grand-daughter, who did not long survive him) heir to all his fortune (9).

[F] He published several sermons, and other pieces. Here follows a catalogue of the works of Dr Lewis Atterbury. I. *The Penitent Lady; or Reflections on the Mercy of God. Written by the famed Madam La Valiere, since her retirement from the French Court to a Nunnery. Translated out of the French, by a Divine of the Church of England.* 12mo. 1684. II. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Lady Compton, Aug. 4, 1687.* 4o. III. *Ten Sermons, preached before her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, at the Chapel at St. James's. By Lewis Atterbury, L. L. D. and one of the six Preachers to her Royal Highness.* 8vo. 1699. Dedicated to her Royal Highness. IV. A second volume of twelve Sermons, on, 1. *The Being of a God.* 2. *His Justice and Mercy.* 3. *Miracles.* 4. *Dreams.* 5. *The Image of God in Man.* 6. *The Real Presence in the Sacrament.* 7. *The Resurrection.* 8. *Superstition.* 9 and 10. *Reason and Religion.* 11. *Thanksgiving.* 12. *Submission to the Will of God. Preached at St. James's and Whitehall, by Lewis Atterbury, L. L. D. and one of the six preaching Chaplains there*

(7) Ibid. p. 18, 19.

(8) Ibid. p. 21 —23.

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

(2) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

(3) Ibid. p. 11.

(4) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(5) Ibid. p. 15.

(6) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

of his Sermons have been published by the reverend Mr Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan [G].

there to her Majesty. 8^{vo}. 1703. Dedicated to the Queen. V. *Some Letters relating to the History of the Council of Trent*. VI. *A Sermon, preached at Whitehall, August 23, 1705. Being the day appointed for a public thanksgiving for the late glorious success of her Majesty's Arms, and those of her Allies, under the command of John Duke of Marlborough*. By Lewis Atterbury; L. L. D. 4^{to}. 1705. VII. *An answer to a Popish book, intitled, 'A true and modest account of the chief points in controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants; together with some considerations upon the Sermons of a Divine of the Church of England (viz. Dr. Tillotson) by N. Colson. Wherein, the objections, which N. C. has brought against the arguments, which his Grace, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, made use of in his sermons against Popery, are considered, and answered on these following heads: 1. The Church of Rome not Catholic. 2. The Supremacy. 3. The Infallibility of the Church. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. The Communion in one kind. 6. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 7. The Invocation of Saints. 8. Images. 9. Purgatory. 10. Indulgencies. 8^{vo}. 1706. VIII. The Re-union of Christians: Or, the means to re-unite all Christians in one confession of Faith. Translated from the French. With an Appendix, in which some account is given both of the author and the book. 8^{vo}. 1708. IX. The Perfect and Upright Man's Character and Encouragement: In a Sermon occasioned by the death of the Lady Gould, and preached at the chapel in Highgate, March 22, 1712-13. X. A Sermon preached at Whitehall, on Thursday June 7, 1716, being the day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for suppressing the late unnatural Rebellion: And at the chapel at Highgate, June 10. By Lewis Atterbury, L. L. D. and Chaplain to his Majesty at Whitehall. 4^{to}. 1716.*

[G] *Two volumes of his sermons, published by the Rev. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan.* These sermons are published in compliance with the Will of the deceased, who devised to the publisher of them, whom he appointed his executor, all his manuscript sermons, and other manuscript books and papers of his writing or composition, desiring that he do revise and select such of them, as he shall think may

serve to the honour of God, and bring no discredit to his memory; and that he do cause such to be printed (10). Most of these discourses, the editor assures the public (11), were noted by the author to be printed, tho' they had not all his last hand to fit them for the press; and that, in the revision of them, he hath taken care to do justice both to the author and the reader. We shall subjoin the character he gives of the author and his sermons. 'If nature was more lavish in giving his brother, the Bishop, the most ornamental and useful endowments of a fine genius; a ready wit, an eloquent pen, and an engaging and proper elocution; she was not wanting in bestowing on our author good and sound natural parts, which, even in his youth, he much improved by severe studies. By his constant and repeated pulpit exercises, for upwards of forty years together, he acquired the reputation of a plain, useful, and solid preacher. The drift of his discourses was to make men better Christians, and therefore he never chose to dwell upon nice and high speculations; and whenever he did enter upon those more elevated subjects, his principal endeavour was, to render such considerations useful towards amending the lives of his congregation. His delivery was akin to the style of his discourses, plain and easy, without any manner of affectation. His style has nothing in it of labour, and, perhaps, may sometimes, by nicer judges, be taxed with want of accuracy: But, the truth is this; his sense flowed easily from him, and he was happy in a plain and intelligible way of expressing himself; and therefore was the less careful of turning and smoothing his periods, or studying for the choicest words to convey his meaning; and yet, notwithstanding this, we often are surprized to find in his discourses such beauteous strokes, as, though they do not smell of the lamp, yet the most florid writer might justly be proud of. The great Archbishop Tillotson was his acquaintance, and the works of that excellent Prelate what he admired and studied; and it is not improbable that to this was owing that easy, flowing, style, in which his sermons are indited (12).'

(10) Original Will.

(11) *Brief Account, &c.* p. 27. 24.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 24. ad fin.

A T T E R B U R Y (FRANCIS), Bishop of Rochester in the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I, was born, the 6th of March 1662, at Middleton or Milton-Keynes, near Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire (a). He had his education in Grammar learning at Westminster-School; and from thence, in 1680, was elected a Student of Christ-Church college in Oxford (b): where he soon distinguished himself for the politeness of his wit and learning; and gave early proofs of his Poetical Talents, in a Latin version of Mr Dryden's *Abfalom and Achitophel* [A], an Epigram on a *Lady's Fan* [B], and

(a) Mr Archdeacon Yardley's *Brief Account, &c.* (See the preceding Article) p. 6. and Brown Willis's *Survey of the Catbedrals*, Vol. I. p. 304.

(b) Wood's *Atterburiae Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1063.

[A] *His Latin version of Mr Dryden's Abfalom and Achitophel.* It was published, in 1682, in quarto, under the title of *Abfalom & Achitophel Poema Latino Carmine donatum*. We shall transcribe a few lines from the beginning, as a specimen of the author's skill in Latin verse.

Cognovere pias nondum pia sæcula fraudes
Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir sponfarum numeraverat agmen, & uni
Non fervire toro, fato adverstante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit stemmata lumbis;
Cum stimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et sponsæ & lenæ vetitum est commune cubile:
Tunc *Israëlis*, cælo cedente, monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaque fovebat;
Quaque erat imperii limes, ibi messe feraci
Transcripti Archetypi sparsim generatur imago.
Ornavit regale caput Diadema *Michalis*;
Cultori ingratum, vel quod sterilecerat, arvom:
Non aliud par hujus erat; nam plurima mater
Jam pridem multos utero satis ubere natos
Jessidi peperit: sed sacra cubilia vernæ
Cum premerent, soboles obliquo tramite sceptrum
Arripuit, spurioque fuit de sanguine princeps.

Has inter stirpes eluxerat *Abfalom*, ipsâ
Nec forma inferior, cessit virtute nec ulli:
An magè divino pater inspiratus amore
Ipsum progenuit majore libidinis æstro
Præcocis ingenii, vel quod bene conficia fata
Felicem dederint ad sceptrâ virilibus ansam
Formæ ornamentis, & iter proclive parassent;
Huic Fama in campis sonuit matura remotis,
Invictumque ducem agnôrant socialia regna:
Pace minas oculis, animoque excusserat arma
Quælibet, ut natus tantum videatur amori.

Anthony Wood tells us (1), Mr Atterbury was assisted in this translation by Mr Francis Hickman, student of Christ-Church. Another Latin version of the same poem was published the same year at Oxford by Mr William Coward of Merton College, afterwards an eminent Physician (2).

(1) *Athen.* Vol. II. col. 1063.

[B] *His Epigram on a Lady's Fan.* The reader may suppose the Fan to be a white one, and that the author borrowed it, and wrote the following lines between the sticks.

(2) See the Article DRYDEN (JOHN).

Flavia the least and slightest toy
Can with resistless art employ:
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of small force in love;

Yet

and a translation of two *Odes of Horace* [C]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June the thirteenth, 1684 (c); and that of Master, April the twentieth, 1687 (d). This year, he made his first Essay in controversial writing, in a piece, intitled, *An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation* [D]. During his stay in the university, he is generally thought to have borne no inconsiderable part in the famous controversy, between Dr Bentley, and the honourable Mr Charles Boyle (afterwards Earl of Orrery) concerning the genuineness of *Pbalaris's Epistles* [E]; though Mr Atterbury's name was not made use of on that occasion (e).

(c) *Iidem. Foss. ib.* col. 225.
(d) *Ibid.* col. 230.
(e) *Stackhoufe's Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr Fr. Atterbury, &c.* p. 7—11, Lond. 1727, 8vo.

(3) In his *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr Fr. Atterbury, &c.* p. 7.

Yet she, with graceful air and mein,
Not to be told, or safely seen,
Directs it's wanton motions fo,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow;
Gives coolness to the matchless dame,
To every other breath a flame.

Mr Stackhoufe tells us (3), the Lady, to whom Mr Atterbury addressed these verses, became afterwards his wife.
[C] *His translation of two Odes of Horace*] The first is, *The Dialogue between Horace and Lydia*, Od. 9. Lib. iii.

H O R A C E.

Whilst I was fond, and you were kind,
Nor any dearer youth, reclin'd
On your soft bosom, fought to rest,
Phraates was not half so blest.

L Y D I A.

Whilst you adored no other face,
Nor lov'd me in the second place,
My happy celebrated fame
Outshone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame.

H O R A C E.

Me Chloe now possesses whole,
Her voice and lyre command my soul;
Nor would I death itself decline,
Cou'd her life ransom'd be with mine.

L Y D I A.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
And warmth for warmth my heart returns:
Twice cou'd I life with ease resign,
Cou'd his be ransom'd once with mine.

H O R A C E.

What if sweet love, whose bands we broke,
Again shou'd tame us to the yoke;
Shou'd banish'd Chloe cease to reign,
And Lydia her lost pow'r regain?

L Y D I A.

Thou' Hesperus be less fair than he,
Thou wilder than the raging sea,
Lighter than down, yet gladly I
With thee wou'd live, with thee wou'd die.

The other is, Od. 3. Lib. iv.

He, on whose birth the Lyric Queen
Of numbers smil'd, shall never grace
The Isthmian gauntlet, nor be seen
First in the fam'd Olympic race:
He shall not, after toils of war,
And taming haughty monarchs pride,
With lawrell'd brows conspicuous far,
To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride.
VOL. I. N^o. XXIII.

But him the streams, that warbling flow
Rich Tyber's flow'ry meads along,
And shady groves (his haunts) shall know
The master of th' Æolian song.
The fons of Rome, majestic Rome!
Have fix'd me in the Poets choir,
And envy now, or dead or dumb,
Forbear to blame what they admire.
Goddes of the sweet-sounding lute,
Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
Who canst the finny race, tho' mute,
To cygnets dying accents raise;
Thy gift it is, that all with ease
My new unrival'd honours own;
That I still live, and living please,
O Goddes, is thy gift alone.

[D] *His answer to some considerations on the spirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation.*] The *Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther* were published under the name of Mr Abraham Woodhead, an eminent Roman Catholic of those times, who wrote several tracts in defence of the Church of Rome; but the true author was Mr Obadiah Walker, master of University College. Mr Atterbury's *Answer* was published the 10th of August, 1687, and presently after animadverted upon by Mr Thomas Deane, fellow of University College (4). Another edition of the *Answer* was published at London in 1723, in 8vo. It is a very learned performance, and written with uncommon spirit and vivacity. It refutes all the objections brought against Luther's doctrines and manners, and concludes with observing, that, 'Let the *Spirit of Martin Luther* be as evil as it is supposed to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any single truth of that religion he professed; though upon a faithful enquiry it will be found, that his life was led up to those doctrines he preached, and his death was the death of the 'Righteous.' This vindication of that great Reformer induced Bishop Burnet (5) to rank the author among those eminent Divines, who had distinguished themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant Religion. Our Prelate himself, in that part of his speech, at his trial, in which he vindicates himself from the suspicion of a secret inclination to Popery, appeals to this book, as well as the whole tenor of his preaching and writings ever since: and Mr Wynne, his counsel, observes, in his defence of the Bishop, how grievous it was for one, of his Lordship's character and function, to be charged with designs in favour of Popery, who was the only Clergyman in England, that ever thought it worth his while to draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther, the great instrument of our Reformation from Popery.

[E] *He is thought to have borne no inconsiderable part in the controversy concerning the genuineness of Pbalaris's Epistles.*] The occasion of the controversy was this. The honourable Mr Boyle, afterwards Lord Orrery, was a student in Christ-Church, and under the tuition of Mr Atterbury, when, about the year 1695, he obliged the world with a new edition of *Pbalaris's Epistles*; in the preface to which, he complains of Dr Bentley, the King's library-keeper, who had (*pro solita sua humanitate*) denied him the inspection of a valuable manuscript. This sarcasm so exasperated the Doctor, that, in order to his revenge on Mr Boyle, he published a long letter to Dr Wootton, who was then employed in writing on the State of antient and modern Learning; in which he undertakes to prove, that the *Epistles*, which go under the name of *Pbalaris*, are spurious, and probably the work of some modern forger. This drew from Mr Boyle a reply, so full of

(4) Wood, ubi supra, col. 616, 1064.

(5) In his *History of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 674.

At what time he entered into holy orders, is not certainly known: but, in 1693, upon the death of his father, he made application to the Earl of Nottingham, to succeed in the rectory of Milton, which he then called the height of his ambition and wishes, as being the place of his birth. But, being disappointed in his expectation of this preferment (+), and long since tired of a college life [F], Mr Atterbury resolved to quit the university, and produce himself on a more active scene: and accordingly, making London his residence, he soon distinguished himself in such a manner, that he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, and was elected Preacher at Bridewell, and Lecturer of St Bride's (f). In 1694, our young divine preached a remarkable sermon at Bridewell chapel, before the governors of that and Bethlehem hospital, on *the Power of Charity to cover Sin* (g); to which Mr Benjamin Hoadly (since Bishop of Winchester) published some *Exceptions* [G]. The same year, he was warmly attacked for his sermon, preached before the Queen at Whitehall, intitled, *The Scornor incapable of true wisdom* (h) [H]. But the largest field of controversy, in which he ever engaged, was that which opened itself in the year 1700, and continued four years, between him, Dr Wake (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) and

(+) It was given to Dr Wootton.

(f) Ibid. p. 18, 19, & 51.

(g) Sermons, &c. by Fr. Atterbury, D. D. Vol. I. p. 37, edit. 1740.

(h) Ibid. p. 33.

genteel satire and fine rallery, that, on which side soever truth and argument may be supposed to lie, the wit, and the laugh too, was evidently on Mr Boyle's. This reply was said to be written, jointly, by a select club of ingenious men belonging to Christ-Church; among whom Mr Boyle's tutor was thought to be the chief. And this is plainly alluded to in that witty performance *The Battle of the Books*, &c. where Mr Boyle is introduced, on the side of the Antients, clad in a suit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods (6). Mr Budgell however is of opinion (7), that Mr Boyle must have been the author of the greatest part of that book, since the same style and spirit runs through the whole piece, so that it must have been formed and put together by one hand; and he never yet heard, he tells us, any reason to doubt but that hand was the late Earl of Orrery. Mr Stackhouse (8) thinks it evident, from the strength of genius, warmth of invention, and easy display of wit and learning, in Mr Boyle's reply, that Dr Bentley was foiled by some eminent master, however decent it might be thought at that time, for a young gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and sharpen it with this sarcasm; *Pallas to hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat.*

(6) See the *Tale of a Tub*, edit. 1713, 12mo. p. 188.

(7) See his *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, p. 194.

(8) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 10, 11.

[F] He grew tired of a college life. This we learn from a letter of his to his father, dated from Oxford, October 24, 1690 (9); in which he expresses himself thus: 'My pupil (Mr Boyle) I never had a thought of parting with till I left Oxford. I wish I could part with him to-morrow on that score; for I am perfectly wearied with the nauseous circle of small affairs, that can now neither divert nor instruct me. I was made, I am sure, for another scene, and another sort of conversation; though it has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. I have thought and thought again, Sir, and for some years; now, I have never been able to think otherwise, than that I am losing time every minute I stay here. The only benefit I ever propose to myself by the place, is studying; and that I am not able to compass. Mr Boyle takes up half my time; and I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman; and while I am with him, I will do what I can to make him a man. College and university business take up a great deal more; and I am forced to be useful to the Dean in a thousand particulars; so that I have very little time.'

(9) Published in Mr Budgell's *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery*, p. 238.

[G] His sermon — on *the Power of Charity to cover Sin; to which Mr Hoadly published some Exceptions.* Mr Atterbury's text was, *Charity shall cover the multitude of sins*, 1 Pet. iv. 8. which words of St Peter he explains in this sense; 'That the virtue of Charity is of so great price in the sight of God, that those persons, who possess and exercise it in any eminent manner, are peculiarly entitled to the Divine favour and pardon, with regard to numberless Slips and Failings in their duty, which they may be otherwise guilty of: This great Christian perfection, of which they are masters, shall make many little Imperfections to be over-looked and unobserved; it shall cover the multitude of Sins (10).'

Mr Hoadly, in the *Postscript* to his *Second Letter to Dr Atterbury*, published in 1708 (11), excepted against this doctrine, as farther enlarged and explained by Mr Atterbury. Among other things, he says: 'If God will accept of one duty in lieu of many others, and if our performance of *That* shall be our *Justi-*

(10) Sermons, &c. by Fr. Atterbury, D. D. &c. Vol. I. p. 40, edit. 1740.

(11) See Mr Hoadly's *Treatise*, p. 224; edit. 1715, 8vo.

fication, notwithstanding our omission of many others; this is a sort of *Salvation*, in my judgment, unworthy of the *Nature of Man to receive*, and unworthy of the *Nature of God to offer*. — Let me therefore (adds he in the conclusion) intreat you to review the groundless and pernicious doctrine you have unwarily taught on this subject: consider, if Charity ought to be represented as founded upon a Temper inconsistent with Innocence and unspotted Conscience; as productive of vice, and folly, and madness; as leading to the neglect of the principal branches of itself; and the like: and whether it becomes a *Christian Divine* to fet the several parts of God's Law at variance, and to make the performance of one of them an atonement for the neglect of others, as indispensably required.' We shall not enter into the controversy, but only observe, that the author of the *Sermon* did not think fit to make any reply to the *Exceptions*.

[H] His sermon intitled, *The Scornor incapable of true Wisdom* It was immediately attacked in a piece, intitled, *A Two-fold Vindication of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the author of the History of Religion, the first part defending the said author against the defamations of Mr Francis Atterbury's Sermon, and both those eminent persons against a traitorous libel, intitled, The Charge of Socinianism against Dr Tillotson considered. In Two Letters to the Honourable Sir R. H. The second containing remarks on the said Sermon, and a reply to the same Libel. Wherein some right is done to that great and good man Dr Tillotson in the points of the Original of Sacrifices, the Sacrifices of Christ, Future Punishments, &c. And a word in defence of the eminent Bishop of Salisbury. By another hand, London, 1696, in octavo.* The author of the *History of Religion*, vindicated in this piece, was Sir Robert Howard, who, taking himself to be meant, in that passage of Mr Atterbury's sermon, where he says, that 'Some men, who write pretended *Histories of Religion*, are beholden to the real religion of others, that their histories are not written (12),' observes, in a letter prefixed to the above-mentioned piece, how improper a place (the pulpit) Mr Atterbury had taken to vent a passion unsuitable to Christianity, or common morality. 'Yet he seems (adds Sir Robert) to have a Christian consideration, that hinders him from writing some-body's life: if he means mine, I will free him from his tender Christianity, and own that I write the *History of Religion*; and if he pleases to use the freedom I give him, I assure him, I shall not be displeas'd with any truth that he can write: but if his usual passion guides him other ways, I shall attend him with such answers, and make him such suitable returns, as will be proper for the occasion, and consider his calling with as little respect, as he did the sacred place where he chose to rail.' The author of the *first letter* ridicules one of the reasons, assigned by our preacher, *Why the scornor seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not, namely, Because the scornor is a man of quick and lively parts, and such men are apt to give themselves a loose, beyond plain reason and common sense* (13): 'That is, says our author, the Scornor seeks for what he has, and he misses it, because he possesses it.' And 'According to him, (Mr Atterbury) the only hopeful Candidate of Wisdom is Sancho Pancho.'

(12) Sermons, &c. Vol. I. p. 192.

(13) Ibid. p. 186.

and others, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations [I]: in which

[I] His controversy with Dr Wake, and others, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations.] The curious reader will be pleased to see here a short history of this remarkable controversy, with some account of the many books and pamphlets it occasioned. In the year 1697, came out an anonymous pamphlet in 4to, intitled, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations*, supposed to be written by the Reverend Dr Binckes, on occasion of the interruption of those assemblies. The chief points the author insisted upon, were, 1st, The Clergy's Right to meet in Synods, according to the Canons of the Christian Church, and the Constitution of this Realm: 2dly, Their Right of assembling in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and sits: And, 3dly, A Right of treating and deliberating about such affairs as lie within their proper sphere, and of coming to fit resolutions upon them, without being necessitated antecedently to qualify themselves for such acts and debates, by a licence under the Broad Seal of England. The opinions of men in both Houses of Convocation were strangely divided about these questions: some thinking them rights entirely due to the Clergy, and essential to the being of Ecclesiastical Synods; others looking upon them as introductive of too bold an Independency, and as encroachments on the regal authority. Among those of the latter opinion appeared Dr Wake (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) who, in the year 1697, published his book, intitled, *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted, with particular respect to the Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm and Church of England; occasioned by a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Letter to a Convocation-Man, &c.* In this book, he endeavours to prove, 1st, That the right of calling the Clergy together in synods is veiled solely in the Prince: 2dly, That the Clergy, so assembled, have no right to debate or determine any point of doctrine or discipline, without his permission: 3dly, That the Prince may annul, alter, or suspend the execution of any of their constitutions or decrees: and, lastly, that no Synod can dissolve itself without consent of the Prince. The same year, came out an anonymous piece, said to be written by one Mr Wright, a gentleman of the Law, intitled, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occasioned by a Letter to a Convocation-Man, &c.* the author of which maintains the same opinions with Dr Wake. Not long after, Dr Wake's book was attacked by Mr Samuel Hill, Rector of Killington, in an anonymous piece, intitled, *Municipium Ecclesiasticum: or, The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities, of the Christian Church asserted, against all oppressive Doctrines and Constitutions; occasioned by Dr Wake's Book, &c.* 1697, 8vo. This produced from the Doctor, *An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy, as by Law established, by our Convocations approved, and by our most eminent Bishops and Clergymen stated and defended, against both the Popish and Fanatical opposers of it.* London, 1698, 8vo. Mr Hill defended himself, in a piece, intitled, *The Rights of the Christian Church farther defended, in answer to the Appeal of Dr Wake, 1698, 8vo.* The next year, appeared, on Dr Wake's side of the question, a small anonymous tract, intitled, *A Brief Enquiry into the Ground, Authority, and Rights of Ecclesiastical Synods, upon the Principles of Scripture and right Reason; occasioned by a late Book, intitled, Municipium Ecclesiasticum, 1699, 8vo.* And, much about the same time, another, intitled, *Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of a Divine Right, &c.* 1699, 4to. The next year, Mr Atterbury entered into the controversy, and published his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated, in Answer to a late Book of Dr Wake's, intitled, The Authority of Christian Princes, &c. and several other pieces,* London, 1700, 8vo. This book appeared, at first, without the author's name: but, the year following, Mr Atterbury published a second edition, with his name prefixed to it, and very considerable additions, which were printed separately for the use of the purchasers of the first edition. He treats Dr Wake's book as 'A shallow, empty, performance; written without any knowledge of our constitution, any skill in the

particular subject of debate; upon such principles as are destructive of all our Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical Liberties; and with such aspersions on the Clergy, both dead and living, as were no less injurious to the body, than his doctrine.' —
 'The very best construction, he tells us, that has been put upon Dr Wake's attempt by candid readers, is, that it was an endeavour to advance the prerogative of the Prince in Church matters as high, and to depress the interest of the Subject spiritual as low as ever he could, with any colour of truth.' —
 'Were all Dr Wake says strictly true and justifiable, adds our author, yet whether the labouring the point so heartily as he does, and shewing himself so willing to prove the Church to have no rights and privileges, be a very decent part in a Clergyman, I leave his friends to consider — But, when all a man advances, is not only ill designed, but ill grounded, and his principles are as false, as they are scandalous (as I have evidently proved his to be) there are no names and censures too bad to be bestowed on such writers, and their writings (14).' (14) See the preface.
 This may serve to shew the spirit, with which Mr Atterbury entered into this controversy. The second edition is dedicated to *The Archbishops of the Provinces and the Presidents of the Convocations of Canterbury and York.* We shall not enter into a detail of the principles and arguments advanced in this book, which are directly the reverse of those laid down by Dr Wake; but shall give the reader Dr White Kennet's character of it (15). 'The bulk of this book, says the Doctor, the specious preface to it, the number of citations, and, above all, the spirit of assurance, made people think this would determine the whole matter. And then the artificial giving a great and just character of the King, the many insinuating addresses to the Commons, the pretty ways of ingratiating with the inferior Clergy, the high zeal for our Church, and pleading fundamental rights and liberties of it, with the briskness of running down an adversary into the utmost contempt and odium; all this was apt to create in many a kind reception of the book; which when set off with the industrious applause of considerable people, who admire every thing of themselves and their own, gave all possible advantage to the cause and this defence of it.' Mr Atterbury having, in his *Rights, &c.* occasionally remarked upon Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, as too free in censuring the manners of the Clergy, though 'Capable of this excuse, that the author, being a stranger, might not then have thoroughly acquainted himself with the state of our Church, or the character of its members;' his Lordship wrote a piece against him, intitled, *Reflections on a Book, entitled, Rights, &c.* 1700, 4to; wherein he observes, that the author of the *Rights, &c.* 'Had so entirely laid aside the Spirit of Christ, and the characters of a Christian, that, without large allowances of charity, one can hardly think, that he did once reflect on the obligations he lay under to follow the humility, the meekness, and the gentleness of Christ. So far from that, he seems to have forgot the common decencies of a man or of a scholar.' His Lordship adds, that 'A book writ with that roughness and acrimony of spirit, if well received, would be a much stronger argument against the expediency of a Convocation, than any he brings or can bring for it.' The year following, Dr White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, undertook a particular reply to Mr Atterbury's book, in his *Ecclesiastical Synods, and Parliamentary Convocations, in the Church of England, historically stated, and justly vindicated from the misrepresentations of Mr Atterbury, Part I, 1701, 8vo.* In the *Preface*, he tells us, the *Historical* part of the argument, in this dispute, had been very falsely represented, and the zeal for our Church was indeed without any knowledge in the constitution of it. He charges Mr Atterbury with great unfairness and disingenuity in the second edition of his book, in which are a vast number of material alterations in points of History and Law, not one of which he has mentioned in the *Addenda*, tho' he had professed to the world, that all the alterations of moment were contained in those separate sheets. He declares the motives of his own writing to be, 'To reprove that deriding and insulting way of

(14) See the preface.

(15) See his Ecclesiastical Synods, &c. Part i. p. 31.

raillery

which, however the truth of the question may be supposed to lie, he displayed fo much

‘rallery and wrath, that wounds religion, and does but weaken that Church, whose priests shall so attempt to vindicate her rights and powers; to promote the peace of our Mother-Church, by the King and Parliament’s constant protection of her; and to request his brethren, not to set up for independence and another fatal separation; which none but their enemies can project or wish.’ Soon after, came out a pamphlet in 4to, supposed to be written by Dr Richard West, intitled, *The Principles of Mr Atterbury’s Book considered, and his Arguments against Dr Wake, and others, stated and examined*; and another in 4to, intitled, *Mr Atterbury’s Arguments for the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation considered*. The same year, Dr Hody, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, published his *History of English Councils and Convocations*, in 8vo. There appeared likewise, about the same time, an anonymous pamphlet in 8vo, intitled, *The Regal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs*. This was followed by *Some Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about the Convocations, particularly Dr Wake, Dr Kennet, and the Author of Mr Atterbury’s Principles, &c. by a Gentleman in the Country*, 1701, 4to. This piece is not intended as a defence of Mr Atterbury, but only to shew, that his antagonists, notwithstanding their pretences to moderation, have failed in that point in their writings. Dr Kennet then published *An Occasional Letter on the Subject of English Convocations*, 1701, 8vo. in vindication of the temper, with which he had proceeded in the controversy. The same year, came out a pamphlet in 4to, said to be written by Dr Edmund Gibson, (now (*) Bishop of London) intitled, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the present Convocation*; in which he vindicates the Archbishop’s right to prorogue the Lower House of Convocation, as well as the Upper. This was presently answered by a pamphlet, ascribed to Mr Atterbury, intitled, *The Power of the Lower House of Convocation to adjourn itself, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of a late Paper, &c.* Then followed a pamphlet, supposed to be written by Dr George Hooper (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells) intitled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation, relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, from Monday, Feb. 10, 1700, (English Account) to Wednesday, June 25, 1701. Drawn up by the Order of the House*, 4to. Soon after, came out, by the author of the *Letter to a Friend*, &c. a Reply to the two foregoing pieces, intitled, *The Right of the Archbishop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, asserted in a Second Letter, &c.* 1701, 4to. This was followed by *A Letter to the author of the Narrative, containing A Vindication of the Proceedings of some Members of the Lower House, with relation to the Archbishop’s Prorogation of it, May 8, 1701, 4to.* This was answered (it was said, by Mr Atterbury himself) in a piece, intitled, *A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the choice of Members, and the execution of a Parliament-Writ, for the ensuing Convocation*; dated Nov. 17, 1701, 4to. The author recommends a more than ordinary care in the choice of members, considering the present disputes between the two houses; which if they are determined in prejudice of the lower Clergy, there will be an end of the rights and liberties of their house, and they will become from that moment an useless and insignificant part of the constitution. This was followed by a *Second Letter* upon the same subject, dated Dec. 10, 1701. In answer to both these pieces, appeared *The Case of the Præmunientes considered*, 1701, 4to: And, about the same time, another Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence of a constant Practice, to enter the Parliament, as well as the Provincial, Writ in the front of the Acts of every Synod, considered in a Letter to the Author of that Assertion, &c.* 1701, 4to. This was followed by a second Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence, &c. further considered and disproved, &c.* 1701, 4to. This occasioned *A Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, &c. in defence of the two former*, dated Jan. 8, 1701, by the same hand; which was presently replied to in *An Answer to a Third Letter, &c. wherein the great dissingenuity of the author of it is plainly shewn, and the rashness and falshood of his former assertion is fully proved upon him*, 1701, 4to. In 1702, came out *Dr Atterbury’s Case of the Schedule*

stated, wherein an account is given of the rise and design of that instrument, and of the influence it hath on the adjournments of the Lower House of Convocation; and all the authorities urged in behalf of the Archbishop’s sole power to prorogue the whole Convocation are occasionally examined. By a member of the Lower House of Convocation, 4to. This was answered in a piece, supposed to be written by Dr Edmund Gibson, intitled, *The Schedule review’d, or the Right of the Archbishop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, cleared from the Exceptions of a late Vindication of the Narrative of the Lower House, and of a Book, intitled, The Case of the Schedule stated, 1702, 4to.* This was followed by *The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the Lower House of Convocation cleared, and the Evidences of it’s separation from the Upper House produced on several heads, particularly in the point of making separate applications (as a distinct body of men) to other bodies or persons, in pursuance of an argument for the Power of the Lower House to adjourn itself, 1702, 4to.* About the same time, Mr Nicholson, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, published *A Letter to Dr White Kennet, in defence of his Historical Library, against Mr Francis Atterbury’s Objections* to that work, in his *Rights, &c.* in which he treated Mr Nicholson, with a good deal of abuse and invective, particularly, for defining Convocations to be only occasional assemblies of the Bishops and inferior Clergy, for such purposes as the King shall direct, when they meet. The year following, Dr Gibson published, *A short State of some present Questions in Convocation, particularly of the Right to continue or prorogue; by way of Commentary upon the Schedule of Continuation, 1703, 4to.* To this Dr George Hooper replied in his *Summary Defence of the Lower House of Convocation, particularly concerning Adjournments, in Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, A Short State, &c.* 1703, 4to. This was answered by Dr Gibson, in his *Marks of a defenceless Cause in the proceedings and writings of the Lower House of Convocation, particularly in their third and last System of principles invented by the Vindicator of their Narrative, and repeated in a Pamphlet, intitled, A Summary Defence, &c.* 1703, 4to. The same author likewise published, *The pretended Independence of the Lower House upon the Upper, a groundless notion, &c. being a Vindication of Synodus Anglicana, and the Schedule review’d; together with the integrity of their author, from the censures and reflexions of a late Pamphlet, intitled, The Parliamentary Original, &c.* 1703, 4to. About this time, our author’s original antagonist in this controversy, Dr Wake, published his large work, intitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other public Assemblies, historically deduced from the conversion of the Saxons to the present time; occasioned by a book, intitled, The Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c.* 1703, Folio. In the preface, he tells us, that, upon his first perusal of Dr Atterbury’s book, he saw such a spirit of wrath and uncharitableness, accompanied with such an assurance of the author’s abilities for such an undertaking, as he had hardly ever met with in the like degree before. Afterwards he says, ‘In my examination of the whole book, I found in it enough to commend the wit, though not the spirit of him who wrote it.—To pay what is due even to an adversary; it must be allowed, that Dr Atterbury has done all, that a man of forward parts and a hearty zeal could do, to defend the cause which he had espoused. He has chosen the most plausible topics of argumentation; and he has given them all the advantage, that either a sprightly wit or a good assurance could afford them. But he wanted one thing; he had not Truth on his side: And error, though it may be palliated, and by an artificial manager, such as Dr Atterbury without controversy is, be disguised so as to deceive sometimes even a wary reader, yet it will not bear a strict examination. And accordingly I have shewn him, notwithstanding all his other endowments, to have deluded the world with a meer Romance; and, from the one end of his discourse to the other, to have delivered a history, not of what was really done, but of what it was his interest to make it believed had been done.’ Dr Atterbury made no reply to Dr Wake’s book; so that here the Convocation dispute ended for the present, there

(*) An. 1745.

much learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the interests of his order, that the *Lower House of Convocation* returned him their thanks [K], and the university of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity [L]. January the twenty-ninth, 1700, he was installed Archdeacon of Totnefs, being promoted to that dignity by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Bishop of Exeter (i). The same year he was engaged with some other learned divines, in revising an intended edition of the Greek Testament, with Greek *Scholias*, collected chiefly from the Fathers, by Mr Archdeacon Gregory (k). Upon the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, Dr Atterbury was appointed one of her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary (l); and, in October 1704 (m), he was advanced to the Deanry of Carlisle [M]. About two years after this, he was engaged in a dispute with Mr Hoadly, concerning the advantages of *Virtue* with regard to the *present life* [N],

(i) Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclief. Angl.* p. 97.

(k) See the Preface to A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation. Lond. 1701, 4to.

(l) *Memoirs, &c.* p. 51.

(m) Willis's *Survey, &c.* Vol. I. p. 304.

occasioned

there being little after this of any importance written on the subject, till the year 1708, in which Dr Atterbury published, without his name, *Some proceedings in the Convocation, A. D. 1705, faithfully represented: To which is prefixed an account of the several ineffectual Attempts at divers times made by the lower Clergy, towards quieting all disputes, and proceeding upon Synodical Business*, 4to. This was answered in a Pamphlet intitled, *Partiality detected, or a Reply to a late Pamphlet, intitled, Some Proceedings, &c. discovering the many partial representations and unjust reflections, contained in the said Pamphlet, particularly as to what concerns the Proceedings of the Convocation in Ireland*, 1708, 4to. Before we conclude this remark, we will transcribe a short story, relating to the disputes then on foot, from a Pamphlet, intitled, *The present State of Convocations, in a Letter, &c.* 1702, 4to; after premising, that Dr Atterbury had declared, in one of his pieces, that, *If he deceived his readers, he was contented to forfeit all credit with any good man for ever.*

After the form of prorogation had been this day (February the 12th) read and signed in the Upper House, as the Clergy were departing out of the Jerusalem-Chamber, Dr Atterbury towards the door was earnestly pushing on some members, and crying, *Away to the Lower House, to the Lower House.* The Chancellor of London, turning back to him, asked, *If he were not ashamed to be always promoting contention and division?* Dr Atterbury answered to this effect; *That he was not ashamed to be for the rights of the Clergy; that there never was an instance before the last year, where the clergy were dismissed by a prorogation in the Upper House.* The Chancellor replied; *I am afraid, Sir, you are not to be believed; for I think, by your own confession, you have forfeited your credit with all good men for ever.* We shall conclude with Bishop Burnet's severe reflections on our author's conduct in these disputes. Having observed, that the *High-Church* party of that time had set up a complaint of the want of Convocations, the danger of the Church, &c. he says (16): 'Some books were writ to justify it, with great acrimony of style, and a strain of insolence, that was peculiar to one Atterbury, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious and virulent out of measure, and had a singular talent of asserting paradoxes with a great assurance, shewing no shame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many instances. But he let all these pass, without either confessing his errors, or pretending to justify himself. He went on still venting new falsehoods in so barefaced a manner, that he seemed to have outdone the Jesuits themselves. He thought the government had so little strength or credit, that any claim against it would be well received. He attacked the Supremacy of the Crown with relation to ecclesiastical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great zeal.'

[K] *The Lower House of Convocation returned him thanks.* On the 8th of April, 1701, Dr Finch, having been sent with a message from the Lower to the Upper House of Convocation, returned with an account, that no message would be received from them for want of the Prolocutor's presence. Hereupon the Dean of Gloucester took occasion to observe, that, since the Upper House refused this correspondence with them, it was now time for that house to return their thanks to Mr Atterbury, for his learned pains in asserting and vindicating the rights of Convocation. Upon which a debate ensued, and it was proposed to change the form of thanks, from *learned pains in asserting and vindicating, to his endeavours to assert and vindicate*; but,

upon a division, it was carried for the first motion, and the thanks of the house returned accordingly (17).

[L] *The University of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity.* In consequence of the vote of the Lower House of Convocation mentioned in the last remark, a letter was sent to the university of Oxford, expressing, that, *whereas Mr Francis Atterbury, late of Christ Church, had so happily asserted the rights and privileges of an English Convocation, as to merit the solemn thanks of the Lower House of it for his learned pains upon that subject; it might be hoped, that the university would be no less forward in taking some public notice of so great a piece of service to the Church: And that the most proper and seasonable mark of respect to him, would be to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, without doing exercise, or paying fees.* The university approved the contents of this letter, and accordingly created Mr Atterbury Doctor in Divinity (18).

[M] *He was advanced to the Deanry of Carlisle.* Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-hastiness to get possession, he took out his instruments before his predecessor Dr Graham had resigned. This mistake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he first waited on Dr Nicholson, then Bishop of Carlisle, that prelate demanded of him a formal resignation from Dr Graham, without which, he told him, he could not admit him. The new-appointed Dean seemed to laugh at this demand: But the Bishop, who resolved to shew Dr Atterbury no favour, and barely to do him justice, continuing obstinate, the Doctor, to his no small mortification, was kept a whole month at Carlisle, unadmitted, and slightly regarded, till the resignation, insisted on, was produced. This resignation, however, upon examination, was found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being almost a month subsequent to Dr Atterbury's collation, which rendered the latter null and void. Hereupon being returned to London, he contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his predecessor, to a certain place; where he desired him to antedate his resignation, and, instead of the 5th of August, to date it the 8th of July, that so it might be reconciled to his letters-patent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who thought the proposal a very odd one, desired a day's time to consider of it; and, having advised with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who all assured him, the practice was both scandalous and dangerous, he sent a civil letter to Dr Atterbury, excusing himself for not complying with his request. When the Doctor found this step ineffectual, he took another no less extraordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to prevail with a considerable officer in Chancery, to alter the date of the Resignation in the original Record. But this proposal was likewise rejected; and so the publick instruments continued irregular (19). All the reflection we shall make upon this story, is, that in the Civil Law, the clandestine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falsi*, and the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falsi*.

[N] *His dispute with Mr Hoadly concerning the advantages of virtue with regard to the present life.* Dr Atterbury's sermon, which occasioned this dispute, was on 1 Cor. xv. 19. *If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.* Which he explains thus: 'If all the benefits, we expect from the Christian institution, were confined within the bounds of this present life, and we had no hopes of a better state after this, of a great and lasting reward in a life to come; we Christians should be the most abandoned and wretched of creatures: All other sorts and sects of men would

(17) *History of the Convocation, which met Feb. 6, 1700.* Lond. 1702, 4to.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) See a small Treatise, intitled A Letter from the South, by way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern Divine; giving an account of a strange Attempt made by Dr A—, &c.

(16) *History of his own Time*, Vol. II. p. 249.

occasioned by his Sermon, preached the thirtieth of August 1706, at the funeral of Mr Thomas Bennet, a Bookseller (n). In 1707, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Bishop of Exeter, appointed him one of the Canons Residentiaries of that Church; and, in 1709, Sir John Trevor, a great discerner of men and their abilities, was so struck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls-chapel (o). This year he was engaged in a fresh dispute with Mr Hoadly, concerning *Passive Obedience* [O], occasioned by his Latin Sermon, intitled, *Concio ad Clerum Londinensem habita in Ecclesia S. Elpbegi* (p). In 1710, came on the famous tryal of Dr Sacheverell, whose remarkable speech on that occasion was generally supposed to have been drawn up by our author, in conjunction with Dr Smalridge and Dr Friend (q). The same year, Dr Atterbury was unanimously chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and had the chief management of affairs in that house [P]. The eleventh of May 1711, he was appointed, by the Convocation, one of the Committee for comparing Mr Whiston's doctrines with those of the Church of England; and, in June following, he had the chief hand in drawing up *A Representation of the present State of Religion* (r) [Q]. In 1712, Dr Atterbury was made Dean of Christ-Church

(n) *Sermons, &c.*
Vol. 11. p. 1.

(o) *Memoirs, &c.*
P. 52.

(p) *Sermons, &c.*
Vol. 11. p. 305.

(q) *Poyer's History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne.* Lond. 1722. p. 427.

(r) *Id. Political State, &c. for June 1711.*

'evidently have the advantage of us, and a much surer title to happiness than we (20).' In proof of which assertion, he endeavours to shew, that were there no other life but this, First, men would really be more miserable than beasts; and, secondly, the best men would be often the most miserable: 'I mean, says he, as far as happiness or misery are to be measured from pleasing or painful sensations; and, supposing the present to be the only life we are to lead, I see not, but that this might be esteemed the true measure of them (21).' This doctrine Mr Hoadly examined, in *A Letter to Dr Francis Atterbury, concerning Virtue and Vice* (22), published in 1706; in which he undertakes to shew, that Dr Atterbury has extremely mistaken the sense of his text: that 'the Apostle speaks of Christians professing Faith in Christ; Dr Atterbury, of persons practising the moral precepts of religion; the Apostle speaks of the condition of such Christians, in a state of the most bitter persecution; Dr Atterbury, of the condition of virtuous persons, in the ordinary course of God's providence; the Apostle designs nothing by his assertion and supposition, but to shame those ignorant, unwary, professors of Christianity, out of the denial of a general resurrection; Dr Atterbury, on the contrary, draws from them an absolute argument for the certainty of a future state: So that upon the review it seems evident, that Dr Atterbury has mistaken the assertion itself, the persons concerning whom the Apostle intends it, the times to which he manifestly limits it, and the conclusion which he designed should be drawn from it (23).' Mr Hoadly, then, endeavours to shew, that the practice of virtue, even in this life, contributes more to the happiness of mankind, than that of vice; for which, besides the arguments from reason and nature, he produces the express declarations of scripture. Dr Atterbury, in his volume of *Sermons*, published by himself, prefixed a long preface to the sermon at Mr Bennet's funeral; in which he replies to Mr Hoadly's arguments, and produces the concurrent testimonies of expositors, and the authorities of the best writers, especially our English Divines, in confirmation of the doctrine he had advanced. In answer to this Preface, Mr Hoadly published, in 1708, *A second Letter, &c.* and, in the preface to his *Treatise*, tells us, these two letters against Dr Atterbury were designed to vindicate and establish the tendency of virtue and morality to the present happiness of such a creature as man is; which he esteems a point of the utmost importance to the Gospel itself.

(20) *Sermons, &c.*
Vol. 11. p. 2, 3.

(21) *Ib.* p. 5.

(22) See Hoadly's *Treatise*, London, 1715, 8vo.

(23) Page 111, 112.

[O] *His Dispute with Mr Hoadly concerning Passive Obedience.* Dr Atterbury, in his pamphlet, intitled, *Some Proceedings in Convocation*, A. D. 1705, faithfully represented, had charged Mr Hoadly (whom he sneeringly calls, *the modest and moderate Mr Hoadly*) with, 'treating the body of the established Clergy, with language more disdainful and reviling, than it would have become him to have used towards his Presbyterian antagonist, upon any provocation, charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilst he himself was preaching it up in the State.' This induced Mr Hoadly to set about a particular examination of Dr Atterbury's Latin Sermon; which he did in a piece intitled, *A Large Answer to Dr Atterbury's charge of Rebellion, &c.* London 1710,

wherein he endeavours to lay open the Doctor's artful management of the controversy, and to let the reader into his true meaning and design; which, in an *Appendix to the Answer*, he represents to be 'The carrying on two different causes, upon two sets of contradictory principles,' in order to 'gain himself applause amongst the same persons at the same time, by standing up for and against liberty; by depressing the prerogative, and exalting it; by lessening the executive power, and magnifying it; by loading some with all infamy, for pleading for submission to it in one particular, which he supposes an encroachment, and by loading others with the same infamy, for pleading against submission to it, in cases that touch the happiness of the whole community.' This, he tells us, is 'A method of controversy so peculiar to one person (Dr Atterbury) as that he knows not that it hath ever been practised, or attempted by any other writer.' Mr Hoadly has likewise transcribed, in this *Appendix*, some remarkable passages out of our author's *Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c.* which he confronts with others, from his Latin Sermon.

[P] *He had the chief management of affairs in that house.* Bishop Burnet, in his account of this Convocation (24), having observed, that the Queen, in appointing a committee of Bishops to be present, and consenting to their resolutions, not only passed over all the Bishops made in King William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the Bishops of Bristol and St David's, then newly consecrated, in a distinction above all their brethren, by adding them to the committee, upon the indisposition of the Archbishop and others, adds: 'All this was directed by Dr Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief minister; and because the other Bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former ministry, it was thought fit to put the marks of the Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged.' The same historian informs us (25), that, in this Convocation, a doubt being suggested, whether the Queen's licence, by which she had appointed the above-mentioned committee, did still subsist after a prorogation by a royal writ, and the Attorney-General having giving his opinion, that it was still in force, whereupon the Bishops went on with the business, with which the former sessions had ended; Dr Atterbury thereupon started a new notion, that, 'As in a Session of Parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finished, so that they were to begin all a-new, the same rule was to be applied to Convocations;' in pursuance of his favourite notion, that 'The proceedings in Parliament were likewise to be observed among them.' This being contrary to precedents, and the express words of the royal writ, by which the Archbishop had prorogued the Convocation, the Bishops did not agree to it, but resolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations. And this occasioned a dispute between the two houses, which put a stop to all business, so that they could not determine those points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen.

[Q] *He drew up a Representation of the present State of Religion.* Let us hear Bishop Burnet's account of this affair. The Convocation, he tells us (26),

(24) See the History of his own Time, Vol. 11. p. 569, 570.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 602, 603.

(26) *Ib.* p. 570, 571.

Church [R], notwithstanding the strong interest and warm applications of several great men in behalf of his competitor Dr Smalridge (s). The next year saw him at the top of his preferment, as well as of his Reputation: for, in the beginning of June 1713, the Queen, at the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford, advanced him to the bishopric of Rochester, and deanry of Westminster; and he was consecrated at Lambeth the 4th of July following (t). It is said, he had in view the Primacy of all England, and that his credit with the Queen and Ministry was so considerable, and his schemes so well laid, as probably to have carried it, upon a vacancy, had not Her Majesty's death, in August 1714, prevented him (u). At the beginning of the succeeding reign, his tide of prosperity began to turn; and he received a sensible mortification presently after the coronation of King George I, when, upon his offering to present his majesty (with a view, no doubt, of standing better in his favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his own perquisites as Dean of Westminster, the offer was rejected, not without some evident marks of dislike to his person (w). During the rebellion in Scotland, which broke out in the first year of this reign, Bishop Atterbury gave an instance of his growing disaffection to the established government, in refusing to sign the Declaration of the Bishops [S]. Besides which, he constantly opposed the measures of the Court in the House of Lords, and drew up some of the most violent Protests with his own hand (x). Thus he went on, 'till the year 1722, when, the Government having reason to suspect him of being concerned in a plot in favour of the Pretender [T], he was accordingly apprehended, on the

(s) *Memoirs, &c.*
p. 53.
(t) *Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 528.*

(u) *Memoirs, &c.*
ib.
(w) *Ib. p. 74.*

(x) *Ib. p. 76 & 79.*

having entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a committee being appointed to draw up a Representation of the present State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing up of this might be left to him: And he drew up a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administrations from the time of the Revolution. Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The Lower House, he adds, agreed to Atterbury's draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another Representation to be drawn in more general and more modest terms. But it was not settled, which of these two draughts should be made use of, or, whether any Representation at all should be made to the Queen. The author of the *Memoirs of Queen Anne* (27), speaking of this affair, tells us, 'The leading men among the Clergy, especially those, who fought after honour and preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Ministry, and to strengthen the House of Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr Atterbury had a deep share in this business, and led most of the Clergy by his pretended zeal for their interests. This Representation was very long, and contained a great deal concerning the atheism and irreligion of the times, which they ascribed chiefly to the late growth of heresy and schism, and to the printing of wicked and atheistical books, which tended to promote many dangerous opinions; the fault being laid chiefly on those, who had been lately in power.' The Representation in question, tho' never presented, was yet printed and dispersed; and soon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Nation vindicated from the aspersions cast on it in a late pamphlet, intitled, A Representation of the present state of Religion, &c.* in which the author undertakes to prove, against the Representation, first, that the nation is much mended, in point of licentiousness, and impiety, since the Revolution; secondly, that the Representation gives a disingenuous and unfair account of the spreading of Atheism, Deism, and Heresy, and, whilst it complains of the growth of Popery, advances such notions, as, were they true, would oblige the nation to return to the Church of Rome; and, thirdly, that it has omitted the chief cause of these evils, the misconduct of our spiritual guides; which considered, it is next to a miracle, he says, that the laity are so good and virtuous, as they are at present.

[R] He was made Dean of Christ-Church. 'No sooner was he settled there, says the writer of his life (28), till all ran into disorder and confusion. The Canons had been long accustomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean (*), who had every thing in him that was endearing to mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr Atterbury. That impetuous and despotic manner, in which he seemed

resolved to carry every thing, made them more tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make fewer concessions, the more he endeavoured to grasp at power, and tyrannize. This opposition raised the ferment, and, in a short time, there ensued such strife and contention, such bitter words and scandalous quarrels among them, that 'twas thought advisable to remove him, on purpose to restore peace and tranquillity to that learned body, and that other colleges might not take the infection. A new method of obtaining preferment, by indulging such a temper, and pursuing such practices, as least of all deserve it! In a word, adds this writer, where-ever he came, under one pretence or other, but chiefly under the notion of asserting his rights and privileges, he had a rare talent of fomenting discord, and blowing the coals of contention; which made a learned Successor *, in two of his preferments, complain of his hard fate, in being forced to carry water after him, to extinguish the flames, which his litigiousness had every where occasioned.'

[S] He refused to sign the Declaration of the Bishops. In that juncture of affairs, when the Pretender's Declaration was posted up in most market-towns, and, in some places, his title proclaimed, it was thought proper, by most bodies of men, to give the government all possible assurance of their fidelity and allegiance; and accordingly there was published *A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in, and near, London, testifying their abhorrence of the present Rebellion; and an exhortation to the Clergy, and People under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George.* This paper the Bishop of Rochester, and, by his instigation, Bishop Smalridge, refused to sign, on pretence of a just offence taken at some unbecoming reflections cast on a party, not inferior to any (they said) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were these: *We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the Government upon this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us; and because some, who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with Papists in these wicked attempts; which as they must ruin the Church, if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.* The reader must be left to judge, whether there be any thing in these words so exceptionable, as to countenance such a behaviour, at such a time.

[T] The Government having reason to suspect him of being concerned in a Plot, in favour of the Pretender, &c. Various methods were attempted (as we learn from the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons) and various times fixed, for putting this design in execution. The first intention

(*) Dr Smalridge.

(27) Page 107, 108, edit. 1729, 8vo.

(28) *Memoirs, &c.* p. 62, 63.

(*) Dr Aldrich.

24th of August, and committed prisoner to the Tower [U]. This commitment of a Bishop upon a suspicion of high-treason, as it was a thing rarely practised since the Reformation, so it occasioned various speculations among the people [W]. On the 23d of

was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms, at the time of the Elections for Members of Parliament. But the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, resolved, next, to make an attempt at the time, it was generally believed, his Majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers, as could pass into England, unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormand; who was to have landed in the river, with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose. The Tower at the same time was to have been seized, and the city of London made a place of arms. But this design also being disappointed by many concurring events, the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize, 'till the breaking up of the camp: During which interval, they laboured, by their agents and emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army; and depended so much on their defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the Throne, though they should have no assistance from abroad. What share our Prelate was suspected to have had in this conspiracy, appears from the same Report, which charges him with carrying on a traitorous correspondence, in order to raise an insurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it. In support of which accusation, three letters were produced, supposed to be written by the Bishop, to General Dillon, the late Lord Mar, and the Pretender himself, under the feigned names of *Chivers, Musgrave, and Jackson*. This occasioned a Resolution of the House of Commons, March the 11th 1723, *That Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy, for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender on the Throne.*

[U] He was apprehended, and committed prisoner to the Tower.] Two officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Messenger, went about two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Bishop's house at Westminster, where he then was, with orders to bring him, and his papers, before the Council. He happened to be in his night-gown, when they came in; and being made acquainted with their business, he desired time to dress himself. In the mean time his Secretary came in; and the officers went to search for his papers; in the sealing of which, the Messenger brought a paper, which he pretended to have found in his close-stool, and desired that it might be sealed up with the rest. His Lordship observing it, and believing it to be a forged one of his own, desired the officers not to do it, and to bear witness, that the paper was not found with him. Nevertheless, they did it; and, though they behaved themselves with some respect to him, they suffered the messengers to treat him in a very rough manner, threatening him, if he did not make haste to dress himself, they would carry him away undrest as he was. Upon which, he ordered his Secretary to see his papers all sealed up, and went himself directly to the Cock-pit, where the Council waited for him (29). The behaviour of the messengers upon this occasion seems to have been very unwarrantable, if what the author of *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England*, &c. tells us, be true, that the persons, directed by order of King and Council, to seize his Lordship and his papers, received a strict command to treat him with great respect and reverence. However this was, when he came before the Council, he behaved with a great deal of calmness, and they with much civility towards him. He had liberty to speak for himself as much as he pleased, and they listened to his defence with a great deal of attention; and, what is more unusual, after he was withdrawn, he had twice liberty to re-enter the Council-chamber, to make for himself such representations and requests as he thought proper. It is said, that, while he was under examination, he made use of our

Saviour's Answer to the Jewish Council, while he stood before them; *If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go.* After three quarters of an hour's stay at the Cock-pit, he was sent to the Tower privately, in his own coach, without any manner of noise or observation (30). As to his behaviour, and treatment within those walls, they are neither so material, nor so certainly known, as to deserve a particular narration; though, if his own account may be credited, his usage there was far from being justifiable: for, in his *Speech* to the House of Lords, he makes this complaint: 'I have been under a very long and close confinement, and have been treated with such severity, and so great indignity, as, I believe, no prisoner in the Tower, of my age, and function, and rank, ever was; by which means what strength and use of my limbs I had, when I was first committed in August last, is now so far declined, that I am very unfit to make my defence against a bill of such an extraordinary nature. The great weakness of body and mind, under which I labour, such usage, such hardships, such insults, as I have undergone, might have broken a more resolute spirit, and much stronger constitution, than falls to my share.' And in a letter of his, which was intercepted the 26th of February 1722-3, there is the following passage, of very dark and ambiguous import: 'You may, says he to his friend, when you see Br—y, impart the story of that villainy to him, and desire his advice upon it, at what time, and in what manner, it may be proper for me to bring that matter upon the stage, and shew what extraordinary methods are taken to get at me, and beg the Lords protection in the case against such vile practice. I hope William has not given in to it, and then my way will (some time or other) be clearer towards a complaint: Whenever it is proper, I think the rascal, my neighbour, may be summoned before the Lords, and made to tell, who employed him to proffer such sums, and be punished by them for such practices.' Who the person is, whom he stigmatizes with so odious a character, is not so apparent; but we may venture to say, it could be no one employed by the government to use him ill, much less to oppress him by methods of violence and corruption. It is true, there was an unhappy misunderstanding between him and Colonel *Williamson*, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, from his very first commitment; but, whether this dark passage has any relation thereto, we cannot say.

[W] This Commitment—occasioned various speculations among the people.] Those, who were the Bishop's friends, and pretended to the greatest intimacy with him, laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Ministry. They knew the Bishop so well, they said, his love to our Constitution, and attachment to the Protestant Succession, his professed abhorrence of Popery, and settled contempt of the Pretender, and his caution, prudence, and circumspection, to be such, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of subverting the government, so hazardous in itself, and so repugnant to his principles; and therefore, they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Minister of State or two, who were resolved to remove him, on account of some personal prejudices, as well as the constant molestation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had shewn in the late election. The friends to the Ministry, on the other hand, were strongly of opinion, that the Bishop was secretly a favourer of the Pretender's cause, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power; but upon their re-admission, had relinquished that pursuit, and his confederates therein, and became a good subject again. They urged, that the influence, which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, assisted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things, contrary to his declared sentiments, and inconsistent with that cunning and caution, which, in other cases, he

(29) *Memoirs, &c.*
p. 86, 87.

of March, 1722-3, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, for *inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester*; a copy of which was sent to him, with notice that he had liberty of Counsel and Solicitors for making his defence. Under these circumstances, the Bishop applied, by petition, to the House of Lords, for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture [X]; and, on the fourth of April, he acquainted the Speaker of the House of Commons, by a letter, that he was determined to give that House no trouble, in relation to the bill depending therein; but should be ready to make his defence against it, when it should be argued in another house, of which he had the honour to be a member (y). On the ninth, the bill passed the House of Commons [Z], and was the same day sent up to the House of Lords for their concurrence (z). On the sixth of May, being the day appointed by the Lords for the first reading of the Bill, Bishop Atterbury was brought to Westminster [Z], to make his defence. The counsel for the Bishop were, Sir Constantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Esq; for the King, Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg. The proceedings continued above a week; and on Saturday May the eleventh, the Bishop was permitted to plead for himself; which he did in a very eloquent speech [AA]. On Monday the thirteenth,

(y) Ib. p. 101, 102, 103.
(z) Ib. p. 105, 107.

was master of. And to obviate the difficulty, arising from the Bishop's aversion to Popery, and the *Pre-tender's* bigotry to that religion, they talked of a new-invented scheme of his, not to receive the *Pre-tender*, whose principles were not to be changed, but his Son only, who was to be educated a Protestant in the Church of England, and the Bishop to be his Guardian, and Lord Protector of the kingdom, during his minority (30). These, and many more speculations, amused the nation at that time, and men, as usual, judged of things by the measure of their own affections and prejudices.

[X] *He applied to the House of Lords for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture.* He particularly desired their opinion in relation to a standing order of that House, prohibiting, under a penalty, any Lord to appear, either in person, or by his counsel, before the House of Commons, to answer any accusation there. The Debates among the Lords, upon this occasion, were many; the privileges peculiar to their House were largely insisted on, and the late encroachments, made upon them by the Commons, loudly complained of; but at last it was carried, by a majority of seventy-eight to thirty-two, that the Bishop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that House, appear, if he thought fit, in the House of Commons, and in what manner he thought fit, make his defence and vindication there. The Bishop, however, was not pleased with this concession, nor willing to trust his cause, where he thought himself injured, and even prejudged (31).

[Z] *The Bill passed the House of Commons.* The tenor of it was this: 'That after the first of June, 1723, he shall be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices, ecclesiastical whatsoever, and that, from thenceforth, the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he shall for ever be disabled, and rendered incapable, from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument, within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions; as also from exercising any office, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, whatever; that he shall suffer perpetual exile, and be for ever banished this realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions; that he shall depart out of the same by the 25th of June next; and if he return into, or be found within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, after the said 25th of June, he, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall suffer as a felon, without benefit of Clergy, and shall be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his heirs, or successors: That all persons, who shall be aiding and assisting to his return into this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, or shall conceal him within the same, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of Clergy; that if any of his Majesty's subjects (except such persons as shall be licensed for that purpose under the sign manual) shall, after the 25th of June, hold any correspondence in person with him, within this realm, or without, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, or with any person employed by him, knowing such person to be so employed, they shall, on conviction, be adjudged felons, without benefit of Clergy: And lastly, that offences against this Act, committed out of this

(30) Ib. p. 99-102.

(31) Ib. p. 102, 103.

realm, may be tried in any county within Great-Britain (32).'

[Z] *He was brought to Westminster.* The first day, he was disturbed in his passage thither, by the clamours and insults of the mob; but, upon his application to the House of Lords for safety and protection, strict orders were given to seize and secure all who should be guilty of such inhumanity, and a guard appointed to defend his person; so that, all the week after, he passed along the streets very quietly, and without molestation, being pitied, rather than reviled (33).

[AA] *His Speech.* As it is not our design, and indeed would spin this article out to too great a length, to take a view of the evidence for and against the Bishop, we shall only select a passage or two from his speech, in which he plays the Orator, and endeavours to work upon the passions of his hearers.

'Here is a Plot, says he, of a year or two standing, to subvert the government with an armed force; an invasion from abroad; an insurrection at home; just when ripe for execution, it is discovered; and twelve months after the contrivance of this scheme, no consultation appears, no men corresponding together, no provision made, no arms, no officers provided, not a man in arms; and yet the poor Bishop has done all this. What could tempt me to step thus out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into an higher station in the Church? There is not a man in my office, farther removed from this than I am. Was money my aim? I always despised it too much, considering what occasion I am now like to have for it: For out of a poor Bishoprick of five hundred pounds per annum, I have laid out no less than a thousand pounds towards the repairs of the church and Episcopal Palace; nor did I take one shilling for dilapidations. The rest of my little income has been spent, as is necessary, as I am a Bishop. Was I influenced by any dislike of the Established Religion, and secretly inclined towards a Church of greater pomp and power? I have, my Lords, ever since I knew what Popery was, opposed it; and the better I knew it, the more I opposed it. I began my study in Divinity, when the Popish controversy grew hot, with that immortal book of Tillotson's, when he undertook the Protestant cause in general; and as such, I esteemed him above all. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I mention one thing: Thirty years ago, I writ in defence of *Martin Luther* (34), and have preached, expressed, and wrote to that purpose from my infancy; and whatever happens to me, I will suffer any thing, and, by God's grace, burn at the stake, rather than depart from any material point of the Protestant religion, as professed in the Church of England. Once more; Can I be supposed to favour arbitrary power? The whole tenor of my life has been otherwise: I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my power, constantly maintained it: I may have been thought mistaken in the measures I took to support it; but it matters not by what Party I was called, so my actions are uniform.' Afterwards speaking of the method of proceeding against him as unconstitutional, he says: 'My ruin is not of that moment to any number of men, to make it worth their while to violate, or even to seem to violate, the Constitution in any degree,

(32) See Abstract of the Acts of that Session, p. 38.

(33) *Memirs*, &c. p. 106.

(34) See the remark [F].

he was carried, for the last time, from the Tower, to hear the reply of the King's Counsel to his Defence [BB]. On the fifteenth, the bill was read the third time; and, after a very long and warm debate [CC], passed on the sixteenth, by a majority of eighty three to forty-three. On the twenty-seventh the King came to the House, and confirmed it by his royal assent. It is said, his Majesty passed this bill with some regret, being much concerned, as he expressed it, that there should be just cause of dooming to perpetual banishment a Bishop of the Church of England, and a man of such eminent parts and learning. To alleviate, however, in some measure, the severity of of this sentence, the Bishop's daughter, Mrs Morrice, was permitted to attend her father in his travels; and his son-in-law, Mr Morrice, by virtue of his Majesty's sign manual, had leave to correspond with him. On the eighteenth of June, 1723, this eminent Prelate, having the day before taken leave of his friends, who, from the time of passing the bill against him, to the day of his departure, had free access to him in the Tower, embarked (aa) on board the Aldborough man of war, and landed the Friday following at Calais. From thence he went to Brussels; and afterwards to Paris, where he resided till his death, softening the rigours of his exile by study, and conversation with learned men; and by a constant epistolary correspondence with the most eminent scholars, particularly with M. Thiriot, an ingenious French gentleman, for whom he had a great esteem, and who has obliged the public with some of the Bishop's Original Letters, which are chiefly *Critiques* on several French authors. Bishop Atterbury died at Paris the fifteenth of February 1731. His body was brought over to England, and interred the twelfth of May following, in Westminster-Abbey [DD]. Some time before his

(aa) lb. p. 110
—129.

' which they ought to preserve against any attempts whatsoever. Though I am worthy of no regard; though whatsoever is done to me, may, for that reason, be looked upon to be just; yet your Lordships will have some regard to your own lasting interest, and that of posterity. This is a proceeding, with which the Constitution is unacquainted; which, under the pretence of supporting it, will at last effectually destroy it. For God's sake, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings; set not up these new and dangerous precedents. I for my part will voluntarily, and cheerfully, go into perpetual banishment, and please myself that I am, in some measure, the occasion of putting a stop to such precedents, and doing some good to my Country; and will live, where-ever I am, praying for it's prosperity; and do, in the words of Father Paul, to the State of Venice, say, *Esto perpetua*: It is not my departing from it, I am concerned for; let me depart, and let my country be fixed upon the immovable foundation of law and justice, and stand for ever.' After a solemn protestation of his innocence, and an appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, for the truth of what he had said, he concludes thus: 'If on any account, there shall still be thought by your Lordships, to be any seeming strength in the proofs against me; if, by your Lordships judgments, springing from unknown motives, I shall be thought to be guilty; if for any reasons, or necessity of state, of the wisdom and justice of which I am no competent judge, your Lordships shall proceed to pass this Bill against me; I shall dispose myself quietly and tacitly to submit to what you do; God's will be done: *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return*; and, whether he gives or takes away, *blest be the name of the Lord!*'

[BB] *The Reply of the King's Counsel to his Defence.* Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg were both men of great knowledge and sagacity in the Law, but of different talents in point of Eloquence. Their Speeches on this occasion were made publick; and they seem to have formed their *Replies*, designedly, in a different way. The former sticks close to the matter in evidence, and enforces the charge against the Bishop with great strength and perspicuity: The latter answers all his objections, and refutes the arguments brought in his defence, in an easy, soft, manner, and with great simplicity of reasoning. Mr Reeve is wholly employed in facts, in comparing and uniting together circumstances, in order to corroborate the proofs of the Bishop's guilt: Mr Wearg is chiefly taken up in silencing the complaints of the Bishop and his Counsel, and replying to every thing they advance, in order to invalidate the allegations of his innocence. The one, in short, possesses the minds of the Lords with strong convictions against the Bishop: The other dispossesses them of any favourable impression, that might possibly be made upon them by the artifice of his defence. And accordingly Mr Reeve is strong, nervous, and enforcing;

but Mr Wearg, smooth, easy, and insinuating, both in the manner of his expression, and the turn of his periods. Mr Wearg pays the highest compliments to the Bishop's eloquence; but at the same time represents it as employed to impose upon the reason, and misguide the judgment of his hearers, in proportion as it affected their passions; and he endeavours to strip the Bishop's defence of all it's ornaments and colours of Rhetoric. We shall only transcribe a passage from the conclusion of his speech, in which he asserts the lenity of the government in the mildness of the punishment to be inflicted on the Bishop. 'The nature of the punishment, says Mr Wearg, has been much talked of in the course of these proceedings, and great lamentations made upon it; but surely without any reason; for I may venture to affirm, this is the mildest punishment that ever was inflicted for such an offence. His life is not touched; his liberty nor property affected; he is only expelled the society, whose government he disapproves, and has endeavoured to subvert; and deprived of the publick employment, which the government had entrusted him with: The enjoyment of his life, his private estate, and his liberty under any other government, that may be more agreeable, is allowed him. This is scarce to be called a punishment, being nothing more than what was absolutely necessary for the publick security.'

[CC] — *A very long and warm debate.* The Speakers for the Bill were, amongst others, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Cholmondeley, and Finlater, Lord Lechmere, Dr Willis, Bishop of Sarum, and Dr Gibson, Bishop of London: Those against it, the Earl of Strafford, Duke of Wharton, the Earls Poulet, and Cowper; the Lords Bathurst, Trevor, and Gower; and Dr Gastrel, Bishop of Chester. The principal arguments alledged against the Bill were, the dangerous consequences of such an extraordinary way of proceeding, and the want of legal, and sufficient, evidence against the Bishop: The arguments in it's favour were, besides asserting the legality, and sufficiency of the evidence, the necessity of applying extraordinary remedies to extraordinary diseases, and that, when the very being of the State lies at stake, if the Common-Law cannot reach great offenders, the Legislature ought to exert itself. The Bill did not pass without a strong Protest, signed, Wharton, Strafford, Bruce, Poulet, Dartmouth, Craven, Hay, Bathurst, Gower, Weston, Exeter, Willoughby Br. Cowper, Bingley, Scarsdale, Salisbury, Montjoy, Cardigan, Anglesey, Foley, Osborne, Uxbridge, Arundel, Guilford, Middleton, Hereford, Stawell, Denbigh, Northampton, Fr. Ceftrien, Litchfield, Ashburnham, Trevor, Compton, Masham, Berkley Strat. Pomfret, Brooke, Oxford and Mortimer (35).

[DD] *He was buried in Westminster Abbey.* His funeral was performed in a very private manner, attended only by his Son-in-law, Mr Morrice, and his

(35) See the Historical Register for that time; and the Debates in the House of Lords, &c. for the same period.

death, he published a vindication of himself, Bishop Smalridge, and Dr Aldrich, from a charge, brought against them by Mr Oldmixon, of having altered and interpolated the copy of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* [EE]. Bishop Atterbury's *Sermons* are extant in four volumes in *octavo*: those contained in the two first were published by himself, and dedicated to his great patron Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester; those in the two last were published, after his death, by Dr Thomas Moore, his Lordship's Chaplain [FF]. His *Epistolary Correspondence* with Mr Pope [GG] is extant in the collection of that Poet's *Letters*. As to Bishop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been differently represented by the opposite parties,

two Chaplains, Dr Savage, and Dr Moore. Upon the urn, which contained his bowels, was inscribed, *In hac urna depositi sunt cineres, Francisci Atterburi, Episcopi Roffensis.*

[EE] He published a Vindication of himself — from the charge — of altering and interpolating Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Mr Oldmixon, in the Preface to his *History of the Stuarts*, suggests, that 'The History of the Rebellion, as it was published at Oxford, was not entirely the work of the Lord Clarendon;' that, in the original Manuscript, 'the characters of the Kings, whose reigns are written, were different from what they appear in the Oxford History;' and that the copy had been 'altered and interpolated, while it was at the Press.' As a confirmation of this suggestion, he produces a letter (from Colonel Duckett) in which that Gentleman affirms, that Mr Edmund Smith, of Christ-church, author of the Tragedy of *Phædra and Hippolytus*, had declared to him, a little before his death in 1710, that 'what was published under Clarendon's name, was only patch-work; and that he himself was employed by Dr Aldrich, Dr Atterbury, and Dr Smalridge, successive Deans of Christ-Church, to interpolate and alter the original;' and that, 'Among several hundreds of alterations and additions, he had made by their order, the application of the famous saying, concerning Cinna

(36) He had a head so contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief.

(37) For July, August, and September, 1730. Tom. V. Part i. Art. 5. p. 154, &c.

(38) For October, November, and December, 1731. Tom. VII. Part i. Art. 9. p. 457, &c.

(36) (36), to the character of Mr Hampden was one.' This passage of Mr Oldmixon's preface was translated into French, and published in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, &c (37), and Dr Atterbury strongly called upon to justify himself; which he did in a piece, dated from Paris, the 26th of October 1731, and intitled, *Bishop Atterbury's Vindication of Bishop Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himself, from the scandalous reflections of Oldmixon, relating to publication of the Lord Clarendon's history.* This Vindication was sent by him, with a letter, to the author of the *Bibliothèque*, &c. who published them both in French in that *Journal* (38). The Bishop, in justification of himself, declares, he never saw Lord Clarendon's history in manuscript, either before or since the publication of it, nor ever read a line of it but in print; and that, with regard to Mr Smith, he never (as far as he could recollect) exchanged a word with him in all his life, nor so much as knew him by sight, till after the edition of that history. As for Bishop Smalridge, he was not any way concerned in preparing it for the Press; the revival of the manuscript being solely intrusted to the care of Bishop Spratt, and Dean Aldrich, by the Earl of Rochester, who himself assisted in that work; and all three were persons of known probity and truth, and incapable of conspiring in a design to impose on the publick. He then urges the improbability of any alterations having been made in that history, not only from the express declaration of the editors, in the Preface to the *First Volume*, that *They who put forth the History, durst not take upon them to make any alterations in a work of this kind*, &c. but also from the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of imitating the author's style and manner, particularly his characters, which are allowed to be the most distinguished, and beautiful part of the work, and to be really inimitable. And as to the words in the close of Mr Hampden's character, they are perfectly in my Lord Clarendon's manner, and contain nothing new in them, but only sum up in short, what he has scattered thro' different parts of the *First Volume*. With respect to the testimony of Mr Smith, Dr Atterbury observes, that, as it was undoubtedly false, in regard to Dr Smalridge and himself, so is it as little to be relied upon in regard to Dr Aldrich; his personal aversion for whom, and the well-known reasons of it, making it altogether

incredible, that he should have the least share in his confidence, on so nice, or indeed on any occasion.

[FF] The two last Volumes of his Sermons were published by Dr Moore, his Lordship's Chaplain. The editor, in excuse of himself, for not publishing a greater number of the Bishop's posthumous Sermons, since every one will naturally conclude, that he left a great many more behind him, having been a constant Preacher about twenty years, and an occasional one a great deal longer; tells us, in his preface, that the true reason of his not doing it was this: 'He (the Bishop) burnt a good many of them himself at Paris, and, by a writing found among what were left, signified, that these were the only ones fit to be printed; so that, without acting contrary to the Bishop's opinion of his own performances, of which he was certainly the best judge, no more could, and therefore no more ought to be published: And it being from thence resolved, that no more should, the only effectual way, adds the Editor, was, to commit the rest to the flames: which was accordingly done, in my presence, by William Morrice, Esq; his dutiful and worthy Son-in-law and executor.'

[GG] His Epistolary Correspondence with Mr Pope. Among the letters, which passed between the Bishop, and that Gentleman, for whom he had the highest friendship and esteem, is the following, dated from the *Tower*, April 10, 1723.

'Dear Sir,

I Thank you for all the instances of your friendship, both before, and since my misfortunes. A little time will compleat them, and separate you and me for ever. But in what part of the World soever I am; I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me; and will please myself with the thought, that I still live in your esteem and affection as much as ever I did; and that no accidents of life, no distance of time or place, will alter you in that respect. It never can me, who have loved and valued you ever since I knew you, and shall not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell you so; as the case will soon be. Give my faithful services to Dr Arbuthnot, and thanks for what he sent me, which was much to the purpose, if any thing can be said to be to the purpose, in a case that is already determined. Let him know, my defence will be such, that neither my friends need blush for me, nor will my enemies have great occasion of triumph, though sure of the victory. I shall want his advice before I go abroad, in many things. But I question whether I shall be permitted to see him, or any body, but such as are absolutely necessary towards the dispatch of my private affairs. If so, God bless you both! and may no part of the ill fortune that attends me ever pursue either of you! I know not but I may call upon you, at my hearing, to say somewhat about my way of spending my time at the Deanry, which did not seem calculated towards managing plots and conspiracies. But of that I shall consider — You and I have spent many hours together upon much pleasanter subjects; and that I may preserve the old custom, I shall not part with you now, till I have closed this letter with three lines of *Milton*, which you will, I know, readily, and not without some degree of concern, apply to your ever affectionate, &c.

'Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon:
'The world was all before him where to chuse
'His place of rest, and Providence his guide.

[HH] He

parties, it is universally agreed, that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a most excellent preacher [HH].

[HH] *He was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a most excellent preacher.* His learned friend Bishop Smalridge, in the speech he made; when he presented him to the Upper House of Convocation, as Prolocutor, styles him, *Vir in nullo literarum genere hospes, in plerisque Artibus et Studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus.* i. e. 'One, who is well acquainted with all parts of literature, long and successfully exercised in most arts and studies, and most accomplished in those sciences, which admit of the greatest perfection.' In his controversial writings; he was sometimes too severe upon his adversary, and dealt rather too much in satire and invective: but this his panegyrist imputes more to the natural fervor of his wit; than to any bitterness of temper, or prepossession of malice. *Sit igitur venia, sit laudi, sit gratitudini locus; si quid forte asperius, si quid ardentius, si quid liberius effuderit, lectori paulo humanior id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiae tribuet, sed aut ingenio suapte natura aliquantulum praeservido, aut fortasse iracundiae, in milite pro aris focique acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem suam eripiente, facile ignoscendae. Quod si plures in illius scriptis effulgent virtutes, si res tractaverit cognitum difficiles, utiles, jucundas; si eas validissimis argumentis firmaverit; si puro ac dilucido sermone in ipsis legentium animis inscripserit; eruditioni apud eruditos, eloquentiae apud disertos suis conferat bonos.* i. e. 'Be there then room left for pardon, for praise, for gratitude. If some sharp, warm, and free expressions have fallen from him, a good-natured reader will not ascribe them to resentment, envy, or arrogance; but either to a natural warmth of disposition, or perhaps to a passion, very excusable in a soldier, who is fighting for all that is near and dear to us, and a son, who endeavours to rescue his mother from injury and violence. But if many and great beauties shine in his writings; if he has treated of things, in themselves difficult, so as to make them useful and entertaining; if he has confirmed them by the strongest arguments; if he has imprinted them in the minds of his readers by a purity and perspicuity of style; let the learned give due applause to his learning, and the eloquent set a just value on his eloquence.' In his *Sermons*, however, he is not only every way unexceptionable, but highly to be commended. There is that exactness of method, and justness of thought, those weighty

arguments, judicious reflections, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole; as denote him the celebrated preacher: he was, and not undeserving this commendation given him by his friend. *Quo audientium plausu apud Populum, apud Magistratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos et rostris frequenter concionatus est! Qua facundia et Mariae in caelum jam receptae aures saepe demulsi, et Sororis Animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppressum recreavit!* i. e. 'With what applause has he often preached before the People, the Magistrates, the Clergy, the Senate, and the Court! How often has he charmed the ears of the late Queen Mary, now with God; and with what address did he administer consolation to her sister (*), almost oppressed and overcome by her late affliction (!)!' The truth is, his talent as a preacher was so excellent and remarkable, that it may not improperly be said, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his several promotions in the Church. We shall conclude Bishop Atterbury's character as a preacher, with the encomium bestowed on him by the author of the *Tatler* (39); who, having observed that the English clergy too much neglect the art of speaking, makes a particular exception with regard to our Prelate (!); who, says he, 'has so particular a regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he has to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person (*continues this author*), it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding to the propriety of speech, (which might pass the criticism of Longinus) an action, which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience, who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill. He never attempts your passions, till he has convinced your reason. All the objections, which you can form, are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his Sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart, and never pretends to shew the beauty of holiness, till he has convinced you of the truth of it.' T

(*) Queen Anne.

(†) For the death of the Prince of Denmark.

(39) No. 66.

(!!) Then only Dean.

(a) Memoirs of his Life, prefixed to the first Vol. of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. iii.

(b) See the same Memoirs.

(c) From his own notes.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aubrey, p. iv. Vite Hobbianaë Auctarium, p. 187, edit. 1681.

(1) Memoirs before the first Vol. of Antiquities of Surrey, p. iv. Memoirs before the Miscellanies, p. 11.

(2) Mem. pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes illustres, T. IV. p. 311.

(3) See the article of AUBREY in the edition at Basle, A. D. 1732, and the same article in the last edition. (4) Vite Hobbianaë Auctarium, p. 22. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(5) Id. col. 641.

AUBREY, in Latin ALBERICUS (JOHN), descended from an ancient genteel family in Wiltshire (a), was born at Easton-Piers, in the North division of that county, November the third, but whether in 1625, or 1626, is uncertain (b). He was christened very soon after his birth, being, as himself expresses it, *weakly, and not in a probability of living* (c). He received the first tincture of letters, in the grammar-school at Malmesbury, under Mr Robert Latimer, who taught there forty years, and was the Preceptor of his countryman (as being also a native of Wiltshire) the famous Thomas Hobbes (d) [A], with whom, as he commenced a friendship, even in his childhood, so he maintained it, as long as Mr Hobbes lived, without declension or interruption. May the sixth, 1642, Mr Aubrey was entered a gentleman-commoner of Trinity college at Oxford (e). There he pursued his studies with much diligence, and dedicated himself early to the service of his country, by making her History and Antiquities his peculiar delight. About this time, the scheme of that invaluable work the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, was talked of in the university; to which Mr Aubrey, not only contributed all the assistance which his pains and industry could afford, but preserved to posterity, at his own

(e) Memoirs, p. iv.

[A] *The famous Thomas Hobbes.* The author of the life of Mr Aubrey placed before his Antiquities, and also before his Miscellanies, tells us, that at the grammar-school of Malmesbury, he was contemporary with Mr Hobbes (1). Father Niceron copies this in his Memoirs (2). From him it is transferred into the two last editions of Moreri (3). And yet without question it is a very gross error, as the reader from the following observations will perceive. Mr Hobbes was born, as Mr Aubrey himself tells us, April 5, 1588 (4). When he was fourteen years old (5), he

went from the grammar-school to the university, which of consequence must be in 1602, that is, at least twenty-three years before Mr Aubrey was born. The mistake arose thus: Anthony Wood, who speaks very sparingly of Mr Aubrey, though he was under great obligations to him, tells us as it were by chance in his life of Thomas Hobbes; that Mr Aubrey and he, that is, Mr Hobbes, were bred under the same master, and Dr Blackbourne in the latin life, saying so too (6). The writer of his life supposing they must have been so at the same time, set it down so without any further inquiry, and these implicit copiers have reported it with as little judgment.

(6) See this passage in note [C].

own expence, a curious draught of the remains of *Osney Abbey*, near *Oxford*, which were entirely destroyed in the Grand Rebellion (f) [B]. In 1646, he was admitted a student of the Middle-Temple; but the death of his father, which happened on the twenty-first of October, 1652, and with several estates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, Hereford, Brecknock, and Monmouth, brought him also many law-suits, hindered him from applying himself to that study, to which, otherwise, he would have devoted his thoughts (g). These law-suits, together with other inevitable misfortunes, by degrees eat up all his estates, and forced him to lead a more active life than he was otherwise inclined to, engaged him in frequent and expensive journies, and not a little discomposed the natural mildness of his disposition. He did not, however, entirely abandon his books, or break off his acquaintance with the learned at Oxford, or at London. On the contrary, he kept up a close correspondence with the lovers of Antiquity, and Natural Philosophy, in the university, and furnished the celebrated Anthony Wood, with a considerable share of the materials, out of which he composed his two large and useful works (h). He likewise preserved an intimacy with those great wits and profound scholars, who then met privately, and were afterwards formed into the *Royal Society*. At London, Mr Aubrey frequented Miles's coffee-house, in the New Palace Yard, where the famous Harrington was surrounded every evening, by all the men of parts and reading, which that fertile age produced. There they balloted, disputed on government, and gave a free loose to their sentiments on all sorts of subjects (i). A little after the Restoration, Mr Aubrey went to Ireland, and returning from thence in the autumn of 1660; narrowly escaped shipwreck near Holy-Head (k). On the first of November, 1661, his notes inform us, that he suffered another shipwreck. *I then*, says he, *made my first addresses in an ill hour to Joan Sommer* (l). When he married is uncertain, but from this remark we may be sure, that he found no great felicity in that state. In the year 1662, he was elected and admitted a Fellow of the *Royal Society*. In June 1664, he travelled through France to Orleans, and returned again to England in the month of October. In 1666, he sold his estate in Wiltshire, and his troubles coming then very thick upon him, he was obliged to dispose by degrees of all he had left, so that in the space of four years, he was reduced, not only to straits but to indigence (m). Yet his spirit remained unbroken, as appears by his own remark on his circumstances. From 1670, says he, *I have, I thank God, enjoyed a happy delitescency* (n). This obscurity, which he calls happy, consisted in following the bent of his genius, while he owed his subsistence to the kindness of his friends; and in labouring to inform that world, in which he knew not how to live. His chief benefactress was the late Lady Long, of Draycot in Wilts, in whose house he had an apartment, and by whom he was generously supported as long as he lived. But how long that was is uncertain. All that is known concerning it is this, that he died on a journey at Oxford, in his way to Draycot, suddenly, was there buried, as near as can be conjectured, in 1700 (o). He was a man of good natural parts, much learning, and indefatigable application, a great lover of, and diligent searcher into, Antiquities, a good Latin poet, an excellent naturalist, but withal somewhat credulous, and strongly tinged with superstition. As to his works, we shall give a full account of them in a note [C].

(f) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. II. p. 136.

(g) *Memoirs*, p. vi.

(h) Mr Aubrey's preface to the *Antiquities of Surrey*. See also, *Memoirs*, &c. p. iv.

(i) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 647. See also our article of HARRINGTON.

(k) *Memoirs*, p. vi.

(l) His own notes in the *Memoirs*, p. vii.

(m) *Memoirs*, p. xii. *Vitzæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 137.

(n) His own notes taken from his *Diary*.

(o) *Memoirs*, p. xii.

[B] *Destroyed in the Grand Rebellion.* This curious draught was finely etched by Mr Wencelaus Hollar, and inserted in the *monasticon*, Vol. II. p. 136. with this inscription, *Insignes hujusce Fabricæ Ruinas, quas, Antiquitatis ergo, plurimum suspexit, Adulescentulus jam hinc Oxoniensis ascriptus, & (quod commodius accidit) paulo antequam Bello Civili funditus à medio tollerentur, delineandas curavit, posteris quasi redvivivas, L. D. C. Q. Joannes Albericus de Eston Piers in Agro Wilts, Arm. i. e. The Noble Ruins of this Fabrick drawn from a love to Antiquity, while yet a Youth at Oxford, and (which was not a little lucky) but a short time before they were entirely destroyed in the Civil War, secured now and as it were revived, are dedicated to Posterity, by John Aubrey of Eston Piers in the County of Wilts, Esq; This circumstance ought the rather to be remarked, because by some accident or other, many copies of the monasticon want this plate (7), and he will certainly be no loser by it, who shall be at the expence of having it engraved again.*

[C] *A full account of them in a note.* I. *The life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, MS.* written in english but never published, the principal matter contained therein, being made use of by Dr Blackbourne in his *Vitzæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, which was published in 1681 (8). This is taken notice of by Mr Wood, who adds two or three circumstances relating to our author, but not a word of the assistances he received from him: Whereas Dr Blackbourne, in his list of Mr Hobbes's friends, hath these words, *Jo. Albericus, vulgo Aubrey, è Soc. Reg. Armig. Amicus ejus in primis, ex Vicinia Malmesburienfis Oriundus, & sub communis Preceptore Institutus, Vir Publico Bono magis quam suo Natus; qui Princeps mihi scribendi Ansam præbuit, & Materiam humaniter suppeditavit.* That is, *John*

Aubrey of the Royal Society, Esq; one of his oldest Friends, born in the Neighbourhood of Malmesbury, educated under the same Master. A Man born rather for the publick good than his own, who chiefly encouraged me to the undertaking this work, and kindly supplied me with materials (9). Before this Latin life there is the following Epigram;

In Tho. Hobbes.

Futilis exornet Barbatos pompa Magistros,
Et Schola Discipulos cogat inepta leves:
Afflūt nova Lux tenebroso Hobbesius Orbi,
Quanta est Laus Hominem restituisse sibi?
Jo. Aubrey, Arm. è Soc. Reg.

On Thomas Hobbes.

Exterior Gravity may Schools erect,
Where Idle Folks may empty Notions scan:
But Hobbes new light did on the World reflect,
How great his Praise who Man made known to Man?
Jo. Aubrey, Esq; of the Royal Society.

(9) *Vitzæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 137.

II. *Miscellanies upon the following subjects, 1. Day-Fatality. 2. Local-Fatality. 3. Oienta. 4. Omens. 5. Dreams. 6. Apparitions. 7. Voices. 8. Impulses. 9. Knockings. 10. Blows invisible. 11. Prophecies. 12. Marvels. 13. Magick. 14. Transportation in the Air. 15. Visions in a Beril or Speculum. 16. Conversation with Angels and Spirits. 17. Corpse Candles in Wales. 18. Oracles. 19. Extasies. 20. Glances of Love*

(7) *Memoirs of Aubrey's Life*, &c. p. 5.

(8) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ubi supra.

Love and Envy. 21. Second-fighted Perfons. 22. The Discovery of two Murthers by Apparitions (10). As to the nature of this work it appears sufficiently from the title; however, it may not be amiss to add the first paragraph of the author's dedication, dated in 1696, and addressed to James (Bertie) Earl of Abingdon. 'My Lord, when I enjoyed the contentment of solitude in your pleasant walks, and gardens at Lavington, the last summer, I reviewed several scattered papers which had lain by me for several years, and then presumed to think, that if they were put together, they might be somewhat entertaining: I therefore digested them there in this order, in which I now present them to your Lordship. The matter of this collection is beyond human reach, we being miserably in the dark as to the œconomy of the invisible world, which knows what we do, or incline to, and works upon our passions, and sometimes is so kind as to afford us a glimpse of it's prescience.' In 1697, as appears by a letter dated the first of June in that year, directed to Mr Awnslam Churchill, bookfeller, Mr Aubrey corrected for the press a printed copy of his book with considerable alterations and additions, intended doubtless for a second edition (11), which did not however appear 'till after the death both of the author and the bookfeller, viz. in 1721, in 8vo. containing 236 pages the index included. To this edition is prefixed some memoirs of the life of the author, by the editor of that edition, who was according to my information, a very worthy Gentleman still living.

(11) Printed at the end of the Memoirs of Mr Aubrey, prefixed to the said second edition.

III. *A Perambulation of the County of Surrey, begun 1673, ended 1692.* This work the author left behind him in manuscript, and it was printed and published in the year 1719, in 5 Vols. 8vo. The author's account of this laborious undertaking is worthy notice. 'In the year 1673, says he, it was my intention to have described the pleasant county of Surrey, which I am sorry I did not compleat. Not finishing it, I made an abstract of all natural remarks, a copy whereof, I after gave to Dr Robert Plott of Oxford, when he had published his new history of Oxfordshire, hoping that he would have been pleased to undertake the finishing of mine, and go through with it, but he would not hearken to it. For said he, the next county I go upon in this kind will be Staffordshire, and if any other it shall be my native county of Kent, which is a great county, I lent my papers to my worthy friend Mr A. Wood, to extract some notes for his history of the university of Oxford. In October last 1691, he desired me to take them with me and transcribe them fair, and to preserve them, there being many good remarks, that deserve not to be buried in oblivion. I wish I had done it soon after my perambulation, while the idea of them was fresh and lively.—They will be of some use to such as love antiquities, or natural history; and on that account, I expose them to the view of the candid reader, wishing him as much pleasure in the perusal of them as I had in the seeing of them (12).' This address is dated, St Thomas's day, 1691, but the perambulation itself bears date May 1, 1692, conformable to the title. The editor, who I take to be the same person be-

forementioned, tells us, that he refurveyed the county, and brought the account of monuments, &c. down to 1718.

IV. *The Natural History of the North Division of Wiltshire.* An unfinished manuscript remaining in the Museum at Oxford (13). In the dedication prefixed to this manuscript, addressed to Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, he gives this account of his work. 'I was from my childhood affected with the view of things rare, which is the beginning of philosophy, and though I have not had leisure to make any considerable progress in it, yet I was carried on by a secret strong impulse to undertake this task; I knew not why, unless for my own private pleasure; credit there was none, for it procures the disrespect and contempt of a man's neighbours, but I could not be quiet 'till I had obeyed this secret call.—I am the first that ever made an essay of this kind for Wiltshire, and for ought I know in the nation, having begun it in 1666 (14).' This dedication is dated, Gresham College, June 6, 1685. But he afterwards changed his opinion as to a patron. For in the dedication of his miscellanies before-mentioned, to the Earl of Abingdon in 1696. He has these words, 'My Lord, it was my intention to have finished my description of Wiltshire, half finished already, and to have dedicated it to your Lordship, but my age is now too far spent for such undertakings; I have therefore devolved that task on my countryman, Mr Thomas Tanner *, who hath youth to go through with it, and a genius proper for such an undertaking.' However, this manuscript never was published, though it is said, the copy at Oxford is very fair, and more correct than any other of his writings.

(13) Memoirs, &c. p. ix.

(14) In the Appendix to the fifth Volume of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. 493.

(*) The late excellent Bishop of St Asaph.

V. *MONUMENTA BRITANNICA, or a Discourse concerning STONE HENGE, and ROLLRICH STONES: in Oxfordshire, MS.* This is said to have been written at the command of King Charles II, who meeting Mr Aubrey at Stone Henge, as his Majesty was returning from Bath: He was pleased to converse with him in relation to that celebrated monument of antiquity; as also to approve of his notion concerning it, which was this. That both it and the Stones in Oxfordshire, were the remains of places dedicated to sacred uses by the Druids, long before the time of the Roman Invasion (15). This MS. was in the hands of the late Mr Awnslam Churchill, and is still in being (16), so that very possibly some time or other it will be printed.

(15) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(16) Gibbon's edition of *Cand. Britannia*.

(17) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(18) *Ibid.* p. xiv.

(19) See a Letter from the learned and reverend Mr Andrew Paschall, to Mr Aubrey, printed in the said Memoirs.

VI. *ARCHITECTONICA SACRA: A Dissertation concerning the Manner of our Church Building in England, MS. in the Museum at Oxford (17), 'tis but a very short piece, yet curious, and would be of great use for understanding our British antiquities, if any public spirited person would cause it to be transcribed, and sent abroad into the world.*

VII. *The Idea of Universal Education (18).* Concerning which we can only say, that we know he wrote such a thing (19), though we know not what is become of it. There are besides many letters of our author's, relating to Natural Philosophy, and other curious subjects, published in several collections (20).

(20) Philosophical Letters of the reverend Mr Ray, published by William Derham, 8vo, 1718, p. 144, 250, 251, and 269. Miscellanies on several useful Subjects, 12mo, 1714, p. 11, 13, 15, 22, 47, and 54.

E

A UDLEY, or according to the old and proper manner of spelling it, A LDITHLEY, for the former is only a corruption of the latter (a). An antient and noble family, deriving their name from the village of Aldithley in Staffordshire (b), being in truth, no other than a branch of the most noble and antient family of Cerdon, settled at the aforesaid place in the reign of King John. Of this family was

(a) Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 646.

(b) *Cart. n. Hen. III.* p. 1. m. 6.

A UDLEY (JAMES) Lord Audley, of Heleigh in the county of Stafford, born about the year 1314, being the seventh of Edward II (a). By the special favour of Edward III, he had livery of all the lands of his inheritance, in the third year of that Prince's reign, though he was not then of full age (b). This Prince, soon after, did him a greater favour; Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who was this Lord's guardian, had, in his minority, exacted from him a recognizance for ten thousand marks, which debt, on the attainder of Mortimer, becoming due to the King, he totally discharged the Lord Audley therefrom (c). In 1343, the same Prince made him Governor of Berwick upon Tweed, and the two next years he served in France (d). In 1348, he was elected into the noble Order of the Garter, then first founded (e), and in 1353, he reduced a great part of the country of Valois (f). In 1356, and thirtieth of Edward

(a) Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 648.

(b) *Clauf. 3 Edw. III.* m. 7.

(c) *Clauf. 8 Edw. III.* m. 4.

(d) *Clauf. 16 Ed. III.* m. 32. *Rot. Franc.* *Edw. III.* m. 11.

(e) Institution of the Garter, by Ashmole.

(f) *Leland Collect. Vol. I.* p. 830.

Edward III [A]. He was present at the famous battle of Poitiers, where, having demanded of the Black Prince leave to charge in the front, it was, on account of a vow he had made, given him; there, with four Esquires who attended him, he performed such extraordinary feats of arms, as distinguished him from all the gallant noblemen, who that day engaged; at length, however, he was so grievously wounded, that his Esquires were constrained to bear him out of the field of battle, to lay him under a hedge, and there take off his armour, and bind up his wounds. As soon as the French were beaten, the Prince enquired for Lord Audley, and being informed that he was grievously wounded, and lay in a litter hard by, *By my faith, said he, of his hurts I am right sorry, go and ask if he may be brought hitber, otherwise I will go to him where he is.* Then two of his Knights went to Lord Audley, and said, *Sir, the Prince desireth greatly to see you.* *Ab Sirs,* replied he, *I thank the Prince, that he is pleased to think of so poor a Knight as I am.* Then he directed his servants to carry him in his litter to the Prince, into whose presence when he came, his Highness embraced him with great tenderness, and after many compliments, said, *Sir James, I, and all here present, acknowledge you to have distinguished yourself from us all, in the bloody business of this day, wherefore, I retain you for ever to be my Knight, with five hundred marks of yearly revenue, which I shall assign you of my heritage in England.* *Sir,* said Lord Audley, *God grant me to deserve the great goodness you have shewn me;* and so he took his leave, being very feeble. This annuity Lord Audley bestowed upon his four faithful Esquires, which coming to the Prince's ears, he sending for him, said, *My Lord, we thank you for doing what we ought to have done, and we give you besides, a pension of six hundred marks by the year (g).* This account we have from Froissard, and it appears to have been exactly true from the records, wherein we find an annuity of four hundred pounds to the Lord Audley, charged on the coinage of the Stanneries in Cornwall, during the life of the Lord Audley, and a year afterwards (h). In 1360, he attended King Edward III, and his three sons, in their wars in France (i); and in the year following, swore to the peace then concluded in the Name of King Edward (k). For these services he was appointed Constable of the castle of Gloucester for life (l); and was also Governor of Aquitain, and Seneschal of Poitou (m). He married first, Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (n), by whom he had issue a son, Nicholas, and two daughters, Margaret and Joan. Secondly, he married Isabel, by whom he had a daughter named also Margaret (o). By his will, made in 1386, he directed his body to be buried in the choir of his abbey at Stilton, before the high altar, in case he died in the Marches; but if in Devon or Somersetshire, then in the choir of the Friars Preachers at Exeter, before the high altar there; and he directed that there should be about his corps, five great tapers, and five mortuaries of wax, burning on the day of his funeral, as also forty pounds sterling to be distributed to the poor, to pray for his soul. He gave likewise to his son Nicholas, one hundred pounds in money, one dozen of silver vessels, and all the armour for his own body. To his daughter Margaret Hillary, ten pounds in money; and to the Monks of Stilton Abbey, ten pounds to pray for his soul (p). He deceased the first of April in the same year (q), and was succeeded in his honours

(g) Froissard, p. 81-84.

(h) Pat. 33 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14. per Infex.

(i) Froissard, p. 100.

(k) Id. p. 146.

(l) Pat. 34. Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14.

(m) Froissard, c. 255.

(n) Monast. Anglic. Vol. II. p. 254, b. n. 30.

(o) Claus. 15 Ric. II. m. 3.

(p) Courtney, t. 121. b.

(q) Ech. 9. Ric. II. n. 1. Staff.

[A] In 1356, and thirtieth of Edward III.] The battle of Poitiers was fought on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. The English army was commanded by Edward, Prince of Wales, and did not consist of above nine thousand men at the most; the French Army under King John consisted of fifty-thousand foot, and as many horse, among whom were the flower of the French nobility, as Froissard says expressly (1). The King of France, and his youngest son Philip, who bravely defended his father, when his two elder brothers were fled, were both taken prisoners with many other persons of great quality, with as many private men as the English army could with safety to themselves carry away (2). Daniel in his history gives us a short account of the Lord Audley's adventure, but as short as it is, there are some mistakes. His words are these, *The most remarkable instance of honour and valour, was the Lord James Audley, who having vowed to be the foremost of the battle performed his word, and confirmed it with many wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred marks per annum fee simple in England; he presently gave it to four of his Esquires, who had underwent the same dangers as himself. The Prince knowing it, asked him whether he did not accept his gift? He answered yea, but those men had deserved it as well as himself, and had more need of it. The Prince was well pleased at this reply; and gave five hundred marks more to him; as if he resolved that so much worth should not go unrewarded (3).* It is certain, that Mr Daniel had no authority for suggesting that the Prince at first took amiss what the Lord Audley had done. In the next place, the last gift was not five, but six hundred marks. By his manner

of wording it, one would imagine the last gift was fee simple, whereas, it was not as is shewn in the text. Speed in his history mentions but one gift, which he says, the Lord Audley divided amongst his Esquires, and yet which is remarkable, he cites Froissard (4). It is also observable, that our own old historian Henry Knighton is silent as to him, though he gives us a most particular account of this battle (5), and I should have said the same thing of Walsingham; if I had not found him quoted to prove the contrary in Dugdale. For as he is printed in Mr Camden's collection; thus he writes (6), *Ibi claruit Victoria Domini Jac. Arundel Militis, qui potenti Virtute confregit, & perforavit aciem Gallicorum, &c.* Mr Dugdale leaving out the proper name, applies the rest of the passage to Lord Audley, by what authority I know not (7). He cites indeed another edition of Walsingham in his margin, but in that citation there is a visible error (8), for he makes Walsingham place this victory under 1357, whereas all other historians, and Walsingham with them, fix it to the year preceding. All I would infer from these remarks is this, that the French historians, who treat either expressly or occasionally of our affairs, and especially of our wars in France, ought to be sedulously examined, because in them many particulars are found unrecorded by, and very probably absolutely unknown to, our own historians, who being most of them sedentary men, and taking their accounts from others, are less likely to be acquainted with minute circumstances than those who lived upon the spot, and were more immediately concerned in the event of those military exploits of which they write.

(4) In his Chronicle, p. 712.

(5) Ap. X. Scripta p. 2613.

(6) Hist. Angl. p. 172.

(7) Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

(8) Th. Walsing. A. D. 1357. P. 864, n. 30.

(1) Froissard, p. 83.

(2) Ypodigm. Neustria, p. 521. Speed, p. 712.

(3) Daniel's Hist. in Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 226.

honours and large estate by his only son Nicholas [B], then fifty years of age.

[B] *His only Son Nicholas.* This James Lord Audley, died possessed of a very large estate in several counties, which as is said in the text, descended to his son Nicholas, who dying the 22d of July 1392, being the 15th of Richard II, without issue, John Touchet, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Roger Hillarie, became his heirs. Now this John was the

son of another John Touchet, by Joan the elder sister of Margaret, and daughter of that Lord Audley, whose life this note refers to (9), whereby the ancient Barony of Heleigh, passed into the family of Touchet, and the present Earl of Castlehaven, sits at present in the British House of Peers by that title. E

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(b) Reg. Congreg. Aa. fol. 125, a.

(c) Wood, ubi supra. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 519.

(d) Wood, ubi supra. Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 185.

(e) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. P. i. p. 684. edit. 1616. Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Pat. 8 H. VII, p. 2. m. 2. Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. P. i. p. 544. Wood, ubi supra.

(g) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(h) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 161.

A U D L E Y (EDMUND) son of James, Lord Audley, by Eleanor his wife, but what year he was born in does not appear (a). He was educated in Lincoln college in Oxford, and in the year 1463, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that university, and it is presumed, that of Master of Arts also, though it does not appear from the register, which is imperfect (b). In 1471, he became Prebendary of Farendon in the church of Lincoln, and in October, 1475 (c), attained the like preferment in the church of Wells. On Christmas-day the same year, he became Archdeacon of the East riding of Yorkshire, and had other considerable preferments (d). These preferments he quitted, on his being promoted to the Bishoprick of Rochester, in 1480, being the twentieth of Edward IV, in which see he succeeded John Russell, who was translated to Lincoln, and who was tutor to Edward Prince of Wales (e). In 1492, being the eighth of Henry VII, our Bishop Audley was translated to Hereford (f), and thence in 1502, being the eighteenth of the same King, to Salisbury, and about that time was made Chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter (g). He was a man of learning [A], and of a generous spirit. In 1518, he gave four hundred pounds to Lincoln college to purchase lands, and bestowed upon the same house, the patronage of a chantry which he had founded in the cathedral church of Salisbury (h). He was a benefactor likewise to St Mary's church in Oxford, and contributed to the erecting the curious stone pulpit therein. Bishop Godwin likewise tells us, that he gave the organs (i); but Anthony Wood says that does not appear (k). This good Bishop departed this mortal life, the twenty-third of August 1524, being the sixteenth of Henry VIII, at Ramsbury in the county of Wilts, and was buried in a chapel which he erected to the honour of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, in the cathedral of Salisbury, being then doubtless a very old man, since he had sat forty-four years a Bishop. He was succeeded by Cardinal Campejus (l), but whether he enjoyed the honour of being Chancellor to the Order of the Garter, is uncertain.

(i) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(k) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(l) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. ubi supra.

[A] *He was a Man of learning*] It may appear a little odd to the critical reader, that the life of this Bishop should find a place in this work, tho' he makes no figure in history, and was no writer. But when our reasons are heard, we make no doubt we shall stand excused. It is very reasonable in a Dictionary of this nature, to infer what can be collected of persons any way remarkable. Now Bishop Audley, is certainly the most eminent instance of the early exercise of the power of translating which is to be met with. His being of a noble family, probably was the sole motive to his first preferments, but we may naturally conclude, that he owed his translation to his two last Bishopricks, to the attachment of himself and his family, to the Lancastrian Line. Besides, when Dr Seth Ward endeavoured to fix the honour of Chancellor of the Garter to his see of Salisbury, he modestly called it, a restoring of it, because it had belonged to this his predecessor. Our Bishop Audley was himself a man of letters tho' no author, and a great encourager of learning in others, for which we find him particularly complimented in a letter from the University of Oxford, the occasion this:

Amongst other Oxford Divines, there was one Edward Powell, who had written a book under the Title of *Propugnaculum summi sacerdotii Evangelici ac septennarii Sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum, fratrem fumosum et Wicliffitum insignem. lib. iii.* Lond. 1523. 4to, that is, *The Bulwark of the Papacy and Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, &c.* (1) which, as it was intended to check what was then thought Heresy, was very acceptable to the university, by order of which, a letter was written to compliment the Bishop of Salisbury who was patron to this Powell, and who had given him a Prebend in his Cathedral (2). A Letter was also written to Dr Powell himself, and another to the King, in which all the books compiled against Luther and his writings by members of this university are enumerated, and this book of Powell's is particularly commended (4). Our Bishop also as a mark of his respect to the university of Oxford, in which he had been bred, gave to Chickeley's Chest which had been then lately robbed, the sum of two hundred pounds, which in those days was a considerable benefaction (5). E

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 53.

(2) In Epist. Univ. Oxon. FF. E. 87.

(3) Ibid. E. 88.

(4) Ibid. E. 89.

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

A U D L E Y, or rather A W D E L Y (THOMAS) descended of an antient and honourable, nay, if we might altogether depend on the authority of a certain author (a), we might add, once noble family, of the county of Essex [A]. He was born in 1488, but

(a) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

[A] *Once noble family in Essex.* Lloyd the Biographer speaking of this noble person, says, his birth was generous, his education more, Essex bred him to that honour which his ancestors lost (1). It is true, there is not much to be built on this author's authority, his affectation of eloquence transporting him sometimes, where the love of truth would never have carried him. However, suppose that Lloyd's expression proves only that he was an Essex man, which however, is what might have been proved without him, since it is affirmed by Fuller and the author of the *Worthies of England* (2); and then let us see what we can make of his suggestion, that our Chancellor's family was noble before he was made a Baron by creation. Sir William Dugdale says expressly, that he knows not what family our Audley

sprung from; he goes farther, and from the Arms, asserts that he was not of the antient family of Audley (3), which however may be doubted: for Dugdale himself informs us, that Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, was with others assigned to array all the able men of Essex in the 13th of Edward III. And tho' it be true, that this noble family ended in that Earl, yet it is as true, that there were others of this name settled in the same county of Essex, who had summons to parliament in the reigns of Henry V, and his son Henry VI. Now it is by no means either impossible or improbable, that in the subsequent reigns of Edward IV, and Richard III (4), this family might be much distressed, and there might be very plausible reasons offered in favour of their changing even their paternal coat, in order to preserve a fair estate,

(1) State Worthies, p. 72.

(2) England's Worthies in Ch. and State, 8^{vo}, 1684, p. 190.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 479, 474.

but in what month does not appear. Being by nature endowed with great abilities; from his ancestors he inherited an ample fortune, and was also happy in a regular education; passing from the university, whether of Cambridge or of Oxford, is not certain, to the Inns of Court (b). At what time he was entered of the Inner-Temple, does not appear, but in the year 1526, being the eighteenth of Henry VIII, Mr Audley, then in the thirty ninth year of his age, was Autumn Reader of that house (c). At this time, there is reason to believe, he read on the Statute of Privileges, which he handled with such caution, and, withal, with so much learning and eloquence, that he acquired great reputation thereby (d). This, with the Duke of Suffolk's recommendation, to whom he was Chancellor, brought him to the knowledge of his Sovereign (e), whose affairs, at that time, needing men of Audley's character, who, with the learning of a Lawyer, had all the politeness usually acquired in Courts, favour quickly followed. He was, by the King's influence, chosen Speaker of that Parliament which sat first on the third of November, 1529, in the twenty-first year of the King (f); which, from the acts passed therein, is by some styled the *Black Parliament*, and by others, on account of its duration, the *Long Parliament* (g). As soon as the House of Commons proceeded to business, great complaints were made therein against the Clergy, and against the proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts, upon which, several bills were ordered to be brought in (h), which put the whole Order into a ferment, and especially provoked some of the Prelates. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, inveighed boldly against these transactions, in the House of Lords, with which the House of Commons were so much offended, that they thought proper to complain of it, by their Speaker, to the King (i); the Bishop was thereupon forced to explain himself, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, in the King's name, excusing the matter, with respect to his Lordship, to the House, it ended there with respect to him; but as to the business of Reformation, it went on more briskly than ever, as the reader will see in the note [B]. The best historians agree, that great care was taken by the King, or at least by his Ministry, to have such persons chosen into this House of Commons as would proceed therein readily and effectually, and with the same view, Audley (k) was made choice of, to supply the place of Sir Thomas More, who was become Speaker of the Lord's House, and Chancellor of England. The New House and its Speaker justified his Majesty's expectations, by the whole tenor of their behaviour, but especially by the passing of a law, which, as it is not to be found among our statutes, we shall take the liberty to mention here. The King, it seems, had borrowed very large sums of money of particular subjects, and had entered into obligations for the repayment of the said sums. The House being informed of this, brought in, and passed a Bill, in the preamble of which they declared, that inasmuch as those sums had been applied by his Majesty to publick uses, therefore they cancelled and discharged the said obligations (l), &c. The King, to shew how well he was pleased with this loyal House, continued the Parliament, which sat again in the month of January, 1530-1. In this session also, many extraordinary things were done, amongst the rest, there was a law made, whereby the Clergy were exempted from the penalties they had incurred, by submitting to the legantine power of Wolfsey. This took its rise in the Lord's House, and when it came down to the Commons, they were for inserting a clause in favour of the laity, being conscious, that many of themselves had also incurred the penalties of the statute. But the King took umbrage at this. He said, that Acts of Grace ought to flow spontaneously, and that this was not the method of obtaining what they wanted. In short, the House, notwithstanding the intercession of its Speaker, and several of

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(c) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. edit. 1671. p. 164.

(d) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(e) Fuller's Ch. History, Book vi. p. 306. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(f) Lord Herbert's History, in Bishop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II. p. 136. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 45. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Book II. p. 79. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1529. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 72.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(h) Lord Herbert, p. 136.

(i) Id. ibid. Burnet, Book II. p. 80. Hall, A. D. 1529.

(k) Fuller's Ch. History, Book vi. p. 307. Bailly's Life of Fisher, edit. 1655, p. 94. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(l) Burnet, Book II. p. 81.

(8) Id. p. 96.

(9) Id. p. 97.

(10) Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII, in Bishop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II, p. 137.

estate, and this would tally exactly with Lloyd's expression of our Lord Audley's recovering an honour his ancestors had once possessed. This will appear still more feasible, if we consider this Lord's Arms as they are exhibited by Dugdale himself (5), compared with those of the Earl of Castlehaven, who bears the Arms of the antient family of Audley, as he enjoys a Barony, in right of being descended from a female of that house.

[B] As the reader will see in a note.] It is requisite that we should give a distinct account of this speech, because there is a good deal of diversity among our historians with respect to this matter. In that life of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, which is said to be written by Dr Bailly, we are told, that at the same time the writs were directed to the counties, &c. for the election of Members, there came private letters directing whom they should chuse, which letters few or none durst disobey; so that to use my author's expression, there was a Parliament filled to the King's hearts desire (6). The same author farther tells us, 'The regulation of all abuses of the Clergy were referred to the House of Commons, where severe complaints against the whole Clergy, as well as against particular Clergymen, were daily presented, whereof some the House of Lords took into consideration, and some they rejected (7).' I have transcribed this sentence entire, that the nonsense of it might appear to be the author's own. After this, what credit can we give to his speech which is penned in a file not

agreeable to those times, and concludes thus, 'My Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that except you resist manfully by your authorities this violent heap of mischiefs offered by the Commons, you shall see all obedience first drawn from the Clergy, and secondly, from yourselves; and, if you search into the true causes of all these mischiefs which reign among them, you shall find that they all arise through want of faith (8).' He then proceeds to inform us, that the Commons by their Speaker, Mr Audley, complained grievously to the King, as if the Bishop represented them as Infidels or Hereticks. Whereupon he owns the King sent for Bishop Fisher and reproved him, tho' according to our author, he justified to the King's face all he had said; which drew from his Majesty this admonition, *to use his words for the time to come more temperately* (9). And that, says this author, was all, which gave the Commons little satisfaction. This is so far from being true, that Fisher explained away his speech, and said, That in speaking of want of faith, he intended only the people of Bohemia, which explanation of his was reported to the House of Commons by the King's command, and thereupon the business dropt (10). But what demonstrates the speech in Bailly's life to be a forgery, is the mention therein made of a Bill for vesting the small monasteries in the King; which Bill however was not brought in, in 1529 when this speech was made, but in 1535.

(5) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 185.

(6) Bailly's Life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, edit. 1655, p. 94.

(7) Id. ibid.

- it's members, who were the King's servants, was obliged to pass the bill without the clause; but when they had done so, the King granted them likewise a pardon, and so they parted very well pleased with each other, the Houses rising in the month of June (*m*). In the recess, the King thought it necessary to have a letter written to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, or rather by the three estates in Parliament, which letter was drawn up and signed by Cardinal Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four Bishops, two Dukes, two Marquisses, thirteen Earls, two Viscounts, twenty-three Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven Members of the House of Commons (*n*). Lord Herbert tells us, this letter was written by Parliament, but this is a mistake, since the letter is dated the thirteenth of July, and the Houses rose on the twenty-first of the preceding month (*o*). The purport of this letter, was to engage the Pope to grant the King's desire in the divorce business, for the sake of preventing a civil war, on account of the succession, and to threaten him if he did not, to take some other way. To gratify the Speaker for the great pains he had already taken, and to encourage him to proceed in the same way, the King made him this year Attorney for the duchy of Lancaster (*p*), advanced him in Michaelmas term, to the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*q*), and on the fourteenth of November following, to that of his own Serjeant (*r*). In January 1531-2, the Parliament had it's third session, wherein the grievances occasioned by the excessive power of the Ecclesiasticks and their courts, were regularly digested into a book, which was presented by the Speaker, Audley, to the King (*s*). The King's answer was; He would take advice, hear the parties accused speak, and then proceed to Reformation (*t*). In this session, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, for the better securing the rights of his Majesty, and other persons interested in the care of wards, &c. which rights it was alledged, were injured by fraudulent wills and contracts. This bill, when it came into the House of Commons, could not make it's passage at all, nay the members were so much out of humour, that they expressed a desire of being dissolved, alledging, that they had sat too long, and been at too great an expence. But the King would not permit this; however, after they had done some business, they had a recess to the month of April (*u*). When they next met, the King sent for the Speaker, and delivered to him the answer which had been made to the roll of grievances, presented at their last sitting (*w*). The House was very little satisfied therewith, and indeed their temper was now pretty much altered. For, towards the close of the month, one Mr Themse moved, that the House would intercede with the King, to take back his Queen again (*x*). The King extremely alarmed at this, on the thirtieth of April, 1532, sent for the Speaker, whom he discoursed to this effect. 'That he was amazed at what had passed in the House, and that he marvelled, any among them should meddle in businesses which could not properly be determined there. As for this particular, that it concerned his soul so much, that he many times wished the marriage had been good, but since the Doctors of the universities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no less than abstain from her company. Which therefore, he wished him to take as the true reason, without imputing it to any wanton appetites, since, being in the one and fortieth year of his age, it might be justly presumed, such motions were not so quick with him, all which that they might the better understand, he had informed himself in all parts of Christendom concerning strange marriages, and that, saving in Spain and Italy, he could never find any man had so much as married two sisters, if the first was carnally known. But for the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred among all nations, that he never heard any Christian so did but himself, and therefore wished them to believe that his conscience was troubled (*y*).' On the eleventh of May, the King sent for the Speaker, Audley, again, and then told him, that he had found that the Clergy of his realm were but half his subjects, or scarce so much, every Bishop and Abbot at the entering into his dignity, taking an oath to the Pope, derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which contradiction he desired his Parliament to take away. Upon this motion of the King's, the two oaths he mentioned were read in the House of Commons, which House would probably have complied with the King's request, if the plague had not forced his Majesty to put an end to the session somewhat abruptly (*z*). This was on the fourteenth of May, and two days after, viz. May the sixteenth, 1532, Sir Thomas More, Knt. then Lord Chancellor of England, went suddenly, without acquainting any body with his intention, to Court, his Majesty being then at York place, and there, about three in the afternoon, surrendered up the seals to the King (*a*). The King going out of town to East-Greenwich, carried the seals with him, and there, on Monday the twentieth of May, delivered them to Thomas Audley, Esq; with the title of Lord Keeper, and at the same time conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*b*). On the sixth of September following, Sir Thomas delivered the old seal which was much worn, and received a new one in it's stead, yet with no higher title (*c*); but on the twenty-sixth of January, 1533, he again delivered the seal to the King, who kept it a quarter of an hour, and then delivered it to him with the title of Lord Chancellor, in execution of which office, he sealed, in the King's presence, a subpoena to one John Gilbert (*d*). A little after, the King granted to him the site of the priory of Christ Church, together with all the church plate, and lands belonging to that house (*e*), concerning which gift, there is a great deal said by our historians, and
- (*m*) Hollighhead, p. 923. Herbert, p. 151. Burnet, Book ii. 109.
- (*n*) See the Letter at large in Latin and English in Herbert, p. 143.
- (*o*) Herbert, p. 142.
- (*p*) Pat. 22 H. VIII. p. 2.
- (*q*) Orig. Jurid. in Chron. p. 83.
- (*r*) Ibid.
- (*s*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 115. Hall, A.D. 1532. Herbert, p. 155.
- (*t*) Id. *ibid*.
- (*u*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 117. Herbert, p. 153.
- (*w*) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 66.
- (*x*) Herbert, p. 158. Burnet, Book ii. p. 118.
- (*y*) Herbert and Burnet, as above.
- (*z*) Burnet; Book ii. p. 120.
- (*a*) Herbert. p. 162.
- (*b*) Rymer Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 435. Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. Chron. p. 82. Herbert.
- (*c*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 439. Dugdale, as above.
- (*d*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 446.
- (*e*) Fuller, B. vi. p. 306.

and not a little falshood and confusion in what they say, as in the note the reader will perceive [C]. In his high office, he did the business of the King as effectually as when Speaker of the House of Commons. For in July 1535, he sat in judgment on Sir Thomas More, his predecessor, (as he had before on Bishop Fisher) who, though in the month of November, 1534, he had been attainted of misprision of treason (f), yet he was now indicted of high-treason, for that he had traiterously imagined to deprive the King of his title and dignity of Supreme Head of the Church, in respect to which, he first *maliciose silebat*, i. e. kept a malicious silence, and had afterwards said, the act about supremacy was a two-edged sword, for if one answer one way, it will confound his soul, and if the other, his body. Upon which indictment the jury found him guilty (g). The Lord Chancellor Audley then pronounced judgment of death upon him. This done, we are told that Sir Thomas More said, that he had for seven years bent his mind and study upon this cause, but as yet he found it no where writ by any approved Doctor of the Church, that a layman could be head of the Ecclesiastical State. To this Audley returned, Sir, Will you be reckoned wiser, or of a better conscience, than all the Bishops, the Nobility, and the whole kingdom. Sir Thomas rejoined; My Lord Chancellor, for one Bishop that you have of your opinion, I have a hundred of mine, and that among those that have been Saints; and for your one Council, which what it is God knows, I have on my side all the General Councils for a thousand years past; and for one kingdom, I have France and all the other kingdoms of the Christian world. He added also, that their act was not well made, because they had sworn professedly to do nothing against the Church, which, throughout all Christendom, is one, entire and undivided, wherefore they had not authority, without the consent of other Christians, of making laws, or so much as assembling a council against the union and concord of the Christian world. But I am not ignorant, added he, why you have adjudged me to death, namely, because I would never assent to the business of the King's new matrimony (h). As our Chancellor was very active in the business of the divorce, he was no less so in the business of abbies, and had particularly a large hand in those proceedings, which were previous to the dissolution of the religious houses, which had not two hundred pounds by the year (i). This was in the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII, and the bill sticking long in the House of Commons, his Majesty became impatient, and therefore sent for the members of that House to attend him in his gallery, where he passed through them with a stern countenance, without speaking a word; the members not having received the King's command to depart to their House, durst not return till they knew the King's pleasure, so they stood waiting in the gallery. In the mean time the King went a hunting, and his Ministers, who seem to have had better manners than their master, went to confer with the members; to some they spoke of the King's steadiness and severity, to others, of his magnificence and generosity. At last the King came back, and passing through them again, said, with an air of fierceness peculiar to himself, That if his bill did not pass it should cost many of them their heads. Between the Ministers persuasions and the King's threats, the matter was brought to an issue; the King's bill, as he called it, passed, and by it, he had not only the lands of the small monasteries given him, but also their jewels, plate, and rich moveables (k). This accomplished, methods were used to prevail with the Abbots of larger foundations to surrender. To this end, the Chancellor sent a special agent to treat with the Abbot of Athelny, to offer him a hundred marks *per annum* pension, which he refused, insisting

(f) Herbert, p. 184. Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 201.

(g) Herbert, p. 184. Burnet, Book II. Baily's Life of Fisher, p. 162, 212.

(h) Hist. Martyr. Anglor. ap. Strype, ubi supra.

(i) Parl. Rolls 27 Hen. VIII. Godwin's Annals, ed. 1675, p. 80. Herbert, p. 191. Burnet, Collier, Vol. II. p. 114.

(k) Gordon's Hist. of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 363.

on

[C] *As in the note the reader will perceive.* As to the history of the dissolution of this Priory, it remains at present in a sort of Chaos, out of which it will be a difficult thing to produce order, yet as our subject leads us to it, we shall do therein what we may. Fuller in his *Church History* writes, that 'King Henry VIII, for reasons best known to himself, singled out the Priory of Christ-Church near Aldgate, and dissolved the same. This he bestowed as a boon on Thomas Audley, Speaker in the Parliament, and indeed it was an excellent receipt to clear his voice, to make him speak shrill and loud for his master (11).' Bishop Burnet tells us, that in his opinion this Priory was dissolved, or rather suppressed, in virtue of the Pope's Bull, and censures Fuller for his reflection on the Speaker, because says he, Audley when he received this gift was not Speaker, but Chancellor (12). But both Fuller and he are mistaken in their dates, and in some measure in the fact. Fuller who says, it was surrendered by the Prior, for whose name he leaves a blank on a promise of preferment, places it in the month of July 1531 (13). Bishop Burnet says, it was suppressed in 1533 (14). The truth of the matter is, that the Prior, Nicholas Hancock, with the consent of his chapter, on account of the bad circumstances the convent was in, did surrender under the seal of their house all that they were possessed of into the hands of the King. This Act is subscribed by Nicholas Hancock, the Prior, and eighteen other persons, and is

attested by a Notary Publick to have been done spontaneously, solemnly, and authentically, on the 24th day of February 1531, according to the computation of the Church of England. That is, on the 24th of February 1531-2, and in the 23d of Henry VIII (15). Seven months after the date given us by Fuller, and about two years earlier than the date mentioned by Bishop Burnet. Yet the Bishop is right in censuring Fuller, for though the Priory was surrendered to the King in 31, yet he did not give it to Audley till after he was Chancellor, and this donation was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1534 (16). Fuller is also mistaken in asserting, that this was the first religious House surrendered to the King's use, since it is certain that the Monastery at Sheene had been surrendered in the month of November preceding (17). Hall in his Chronicle tells us, that the Priory church and steeple were offered to whosoever would take them down; but no body accepting this offer, Sir Thomas Audley was forced to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and throwing them down, most part of them were broke in the fall and remained useless (18). Fuller carries this history farther, 'As for the Lord Audley, says he, on whom this Priory was bestowed, Margaret his sole daughter and heir, was married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk who dwelt therein, and from him was called the Duke's-Place (19).'

(15) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV. p. 411.

(16) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

(17) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV.

(18) Hall's Chronicle. A. D. 1525.

(19) Fuller, B. vi. p. 307.

[D] *Justified*

11) Book vi. p. 306. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1525.

12) History of the Reformation. Vol. I. p. 182.

13) Fuller, Book II. p. 306.

14) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

- (*l*) Dugdale's Bar-
onage, Vol. II.
p. 383.
- (*m*) *Id. ibid.*
- (*n*) Dugdale's Bar-
onage, ubi supra,
Lloyd's Wor-
thies, p. 73.
Fuller's Church
History, Book vi.
p. 306.
- (*o*) Godwin's An-
nals, p. 80.
Lloyd's Worthies,
p. 73.
Collier, Vol. II.
p. 116.
- (*p*) Godwin's
Annals, p. 81.
Collier, Vol. II.
p. 117.
- (*q*) See the copy
of the royal
Commission in
the General Dic-
tionary, Tom. III.
p. 452.
- (*r*) Lloyd's Wor-
thies, p. 73.
- (*s*) Speed's Chron.
1037.
Herbert, p. 203.
- (*t*) Speed, Chron.
1039.
- (*u*) Godwin's An-
nals, p. 93.
- (*w*) Godwin,
p. 93.
Herbert, p. 216.
- (*x*) Dugdale's Bar-
on. Vol. II. p.
383.
Par. 30 H. VIII,
p. 5.
- (*y*) Godwin,
p. 93.
Herbert, p. 219.
Collier, p. 168.
- (*z*) Godwin, p.
100.
Herbert, p. 225.
- (*a*) Strype's Me-
morials, Vol. I.
p. 307.
Godwin, p. 101.
- (*b*) Herbert, p.
Collier, p. 178.
- (*c*) Godwin,
p. 101.
Herbert, p. 225.
- (*d*) Godwin, p.
103.
Herbert, p. 229.
- (*e*) Speed, 1046.
Collier, Vol. II.
p. 184.
- (*f*) Herbert, p.
242.
Collier, p. 188.
- On a greater sum (*l*). The Chancellor was more successful with the Abbot of St Osithes in Essex, with whom he dealt personally, and, as he expresses it in a letter to Cromwell the Visitor-General, by great sollicitation prevailed with him; but then he insinuates, that his place of Lord Chancellor being very chargeable, he desired the King might be moved for addition of some more profitable offices unto him (*m*). In suing for the great abbey of Walden, in the same county, which with much ado he obtained, besides extenuating it's worth, he alledged under his hand, that he had in this world sustained great damage and infamy in serving the King, which the grant of that should recompence (*n*). But if the year 1536 was grateful to him in one respect, it was far from being so in another, since notwithstanding the obligations he was under to Queen Anne Bullen, he was obliged, by the King's command, to be present at her apprehension and commitment to the Tower (*o*). He sat afterwards with Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave sentence of divorce on the pre-contract between the Queen and the Lord Percy (*p*); and on the fifteenth of May in the same year, he sat in judgment on the said Queen (*q*), notwithstanding we are told by Lloyd, that with great address he avoided it (*r*). The lengths he had gone in serving the King, and his known dislike to Popery, induced the northern rebels in the same year, to name him as one of the evil counsellors, whom they desired to see removed from about the King's person (*s*); which charge however, his Majesty, as far as in him lay, wiped off, by his well-penned answer to the complaints of those rebels, wherein an excellent character is given of the Chancellor (*t*). When the authors of this rebellion came to be tried, the Chancellor declined sitting as Lord High-Steward, which high office was executed by the Marquis of Exeter (*u*), on whom shortly after, *viz.* in 1538, Audley sat as High-Steward, and condemned him, his brother, and several other persons, to suffer death as traytors (*w*). In the latter end of the same year, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of November, 30 Hen. VIII, the Chancellor was created a Baron of this realm, by the stile of Lord Audley of Walden in the county Essex, and was likewise installed Knight of the Garter (*x*). In the session of Parliament in 1539, there were many severe acts made, and the prerogative carried to an excessive height. The establishing those which were stiled the six bloody articles, may well serve as an instance of the former, and the giving the King's proclamation the force of a law, is a pregnant proof of the latter. It does not very clearly appear, who were the King's principal counsellors in these matters; but it is admitted by the best historians, that the rigorous execution of these laws which the King first designed, was prevented by the interposition of the Lord Audley, in conjunction with Cromwell who was then Prime Minister, and the Duke of Suffolk, the King's favourite throughout his whole reign (*y*). In the beginning of the year 1540, the court was excessively embarrassed. Cromwell had brought about the marriage between his master and Anne of Cleves, and the King from the beginning expressed a great coldness for the lady; however he married her, and heaped extraordinary honours upon his Minister, created him Earl of Essex, made him Lord High-Chamberlain of England, and honoured him with the Garter, which he seems to have done only to make his fall the greater, and by so much the more acceptable to the people; for shortly after he was committed to the Tower, and attainted by bill, which though it seems to have been a method made use of merely to avoid his tryal by his Peers, yet it was passed in the House of Lords without opposition, or so much as one vote against it, which shews the disposition of the times, and the temper of the Chancellor (*z*). Immediately after his fall, a new question was stirred in Parliament, *viz.* How far the King's marriage was lawful? This was referred to the judgment of a spiritual court, and there are yet extant the depositions of Thomas Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and Cuthbert, Lord Bishop of Durham, wherein they jointly swear, that the papers produced to prove the retraction of the Lady Anne's contract with the Duke of Lorraine, were inconclusive and unsatisfactory (*a*). Other Lords and Ladies deposed to other points, and the issue of the business was, that the marriage was declared void by this court, which sentence was supported by an act of parliament, affirming the same thing, and enacting, that it should be high-treason to judge or believe otherwise (*b*). This obstacle removed, the King married the Lady Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and cousin-german to Anne Bullen (*c*). Nothing is clearer from history, than that the Chancellor was freightly attached to the House of Norfolk; and yet in the latter end of the year 1541, he was constrained to be an instrument in the ruin of the unfortunate Queen. Information of her bad life before her marriage, being laid first before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him communicated to the Chancellor (*d*). The King being made acquainted with the matter, appointed Lord Audley one of the Commissioners to examine her, which they did, and there is yet extant a letter subscribed by him and the other Lords, containing an exact detail of this affair, and of the evidence on which in the next session of Parliament the Queen and others were attainted (*e*). The whole of this business was managed in Parliament by the Chancellor, and there is reason to believe, that he had some hand in another business transacted in that session, which was the opening a door for the dissolution of hospitals, the King having now wasted all that had accrued to him by the suppression of abbeys (*f*). Some other things of the like nature, were the last testimonies of the Chancellor's concern for his master's interest, but the next year he did still more for the

the House of Commons. The case is very remarkable and therefore we shall relate it: In the 34th of Henry VIII, George Ferrers, Esq; Burgess for Plymouth, was arrested, and carried to the Compter, by virtue of a writ from the Court of King's-Bench. The House on notice thereof, sent their Serjeant to demand their member, in doing which, a fray ensued at the Compter, his mace was broke, his servant knocked down, and himself obliged to make his escape as well as he could. The House upon notice of this, resolved they would sit no longer without their member, and desired a conference with the Lords; where, after hearing the matter, the Lord Chancellor Audley declared the contempt was most flagrant, and referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons; whereupon Thomas Moyle, Esq; who was then Speaker, issued his warrant, whereby the Sheriff of London, and several other persons, were brought to the bar of the House, and committed, some to the Tower, and some to Nwegate (g). This precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who at that time expected the Commons would offer him a subsidy; the ministry, and the House of Lords, knowing the King's will, gave the Commons the compliment of punishing those who had imprisoned one of their members. Dyer, mentioning this case, says, The Sages of the Law held the commitment of Ferrers legal, and though the privilege was allowed him, yet was it held unjust (b). As the Chancellor had led a very active life, he grew now infirm, tho' he was not above fifty years old, and therefore began to think of settling his family and affairs. But previous to this, he obtained from the King a licence to change the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, into that of Magdalen, or Maudlin (i) some will have it, because in the latter word his own name is included (k). To this college he was a great benefactor, bestowed on it his own arms, and is generally reputed it's founder (l). His capital seat was at Christ-Church in town, and at Walden in Essex; and to preserve some remembrance of himself and fortunes, he caused a magnificent tomb to be erected in his new chapel at Walden (m). About the beginning of April 1544, he was attacked by his last illness, which induced him to resign the seals; but he was too weak to do it in person, and therefore sent them to the King, who delivered them to Sir Thomas Wriothesley with the title of Keeper, during the indisposition of the Chancellor (n); which is a circumstance not remarked by any of our historians, and which notwithstanding we shall fully justify in a note [D]. On the nineteenth of April, Lord Audley made his will, wherein, amongst other things, he directs, that his executors should, upon the next New-year's day after his decease, deliver to the King a legacy of one hundred pounds, from whom, as he expresses it, *he had received all his reputations and benefits* (o). He died on the last of April, 1544, when he had held the seals upwards of twelve years, and in the fifty-sixth of his life, as appears by the inscription on his tomb (p) [E]. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by

(g) History of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 365.

(b) Lex Parliamentaria, 263.

(i) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 120.

(k) Sceleton Cant. MS.

(l) Fuller, as above.

(m) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(n) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

(o) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(p) Weaver's Funeral Inscriptions, p. 614.

[D] *Justified in a Note* We are indebted for this remarkable passage to Mr Rymer's excellent collection, wherein we have the following account of this matter, Memorandum quod Die Lunæ, &c. i. e. Memorandum that on Monday the 21st of April, in the year of the reign of our Lord Henry VIII, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and of the Churches of England and Ireland, Supreme Head, the thirty-fifth, Thomas Audeley, Knight, Lord Audeley of Walden, the Chancellor of England being then thro' infirmity of body weak, and considering his incapacity to execute the functions of his office, either in doing justice to the King's subjects, or in overlooking the processes passing under the Great Seal of our Sovereign Lord the King; the said seal then in the hands of the said Thomas Lord Chancellor, to our said Lord the King, by Edward North, Knight, and Thomas Pope, Knight, sent, and the said Edward and Thomas, the said seal in a certain white leathern bag included and sealed with the seal of the said Lord Chancellor to the King's Majesty, at his New Palace in Westminster, about three in the afternoon, in the presence of Thomas Hennagè, Knight, and Anthony Denny, Esq; did there present, humbly beseeching on the part of the said Thomas Lord Chancellor, his said Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to accept the said seal. Whereupon our Sovereign Lord the King, the seal, by the hands of the said Edward and Thomas did receive and accept, and in his custody did retain 'till the next day, viz. until Tuesday the 22d of April, in the 36th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; on which day, about three in the afternoon, our said Lord the King, the said seal, in the same chamber, in presence of Anthony Denny, Esq; and Thomas Carden, Esq; unto the Honourable Thomas Wriothesley, Knight, Lord Wriothesley, to keep and exercise during the infirmity of the said Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor committed, and him the said Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Lord

Keeper of the King's Great Seal, during the infirmity of the said Lord Chancellor there constituted and ordained, with authority to exercise and perform all and singular such acts, as the Lord Chancellor of England, by virtue of his office, might do and perform; and the said Thomas Lord Wriothesley, the said seal, from the hands of our Sovereign Lord the King, thankfully receiving the care and custody of the said seal upon him took, and therewith retired (20).

(20) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

[E] *Inscription on his Tomb.*

EPITAPH of Thomas Lord Audley, in Walden Church.

The stroke of death's inevitable dart,
Hath now (alas!) of life bereft the heart
Of Sir Thomas Audley, of the Garter Knight,
Late Chancellor of England, under our Prince of
might;
Henry the eighth, worthy of high renown,
And made by him, Lord Audley of this town.
Obiit ultimo Aprilis, A. D. 1544. Henrici 36.
Cancellarius sui 13. ætatis 56. (21)

(21) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 614.

To this we will add his character as contained in the following Elegy, the diction of which is far from being despicable, as the matter is perfectly consistent with his history.

Treasure of arms and arts, in whom were set
The mace and books, the court and college met,
Yet both so wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, and neither, either wrong,
But pois'd and temper'd, each reserv'd it's seat,
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat;

by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Mary, Mary died unmarried, so Margaret became his sole heir (q). She married first Lord Henry Dudley, a younger son of John Duke of Northumberland, and he being slain at the battle of St Quintin's in Picardy, in the year 1557 (r), she married a second time, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to whom she was also a second wife, and had by him a son Thomas, who by act of Parliament, in the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth, was restored in blood; and in the thirty-ninth of the same reign, summoned to Parliament by his grandfather's title as Baron of Walden (s). In the first of James I, he was created Earl of Suffolk, and being afterwards Lord High-Treasurer of England, he built on the ruins of the abbey of Walden, that noble palace, which, in honour of our Chancellor, he called Audley-End (t).

The courtier was not of the furious strain,
The hand that acts, doth first consult the brain;
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice and might,
The scholar did direct the courtier right,
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conspire
And twist their curls about the hallow'd fire,
'Till in that harmony of sweets combin'd
We can nor musk, nor single amber find,

But gums meet gums, and their delights so crowd,
That they create one undistinguish'd cloud;
So to thy mind these rich ingredients press,
And were the mould and fabrick of thy breast,
Learning and courage mixt, and temper'd so,
The stream could not decay, nor overflow;
And in that equal tide, thou didst not bear,
From courage, rashness; nor from learning fear (22).

(22) Lloyd's Stat. Worthies, p. 75

AVESBURY (ROBERT of) a very antient English historian. We are altogether ignorant at what time he was born, or who were his parents; but as to his condition, he tells us himself, in the title of his history, that he was register of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court (a). His design seems to have been the composing a history of the reign of that glorious Prince Edward III, from such authentick materials as came to his hands, but when he had ran through about thirty years, he was very probably surprized by death, in the latter end of the year 1356, or in the beginning of the year following (b). As he propos'd to himself only a plain narrative of facts, illustrated by exact copies of such publick papers as came into his power; he did not trouble himself much about the elegance of his stile. We may however affirm, that it is far from being harsh, or disagreeable, allowing for the bad taste and rudeness of those times, and that the apparent candour and impartiality of the historian, makes us full amends for his want of eloquence. His accuracy in point of dates, is another very great advantage, which our author has, over most of the writers of his time, and his care in stating all publick actions from records, rather than from his own notions, is another incident, which renders his history truly valuable. One may justly wonder how so curious a MS. as this came to lie so long hid, even from some of the most industrious searchers after English antiquities. The learned and industrious Leland, most certainly never saw it, otherwise he had not doubt of his taking notice of it. It was likewise unknown to Bale, though he had a great collection in this way, and was particularly curious about MSS. which concerned our history. Fox, the Martyrologist, had seen it (c). Archbishop Parker, had it in his custody, and perused it (d). So had John Stowe, who mentions Avesbury in his Chronicle (e), and, from him, Pits ventures to tell us, that he flourished about 1340, though he is so modest, as not to pretend to any acquaintance with his works (f). A foreign writer following this authority, fixes him to the same year (g). What is not a little extraordinary, the famous Mr Jocelin, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, never saw this MS. though in his patron's possession (h): neither in later times did it come to the hands of the industrious Anthony Wood (i), otherwise he would certainly have cited it in his history, and antiquities of the university of Oxford, there being in this history, a large account of a squabble between the scholars and townsmen of Oxford, in 1354 (k), of which Wood speaks copiously from other writers (l). At last, after being so long buried in obscurity, the indefatigable Thomas Hearne, printed it at Oxford, from a MS. belonging to Sir Thomas Seabright (m). This MS. was the same that had formerly been in the hands of Archbishop Parker, from whom it passed to William Lambard, the famous Antiquary, from him to Thomas Lambard, and at length it came to Sir Roger Twisdale, a remarkable lover of English history, and with the rest of his valuable library, was purchased by Sir Thomas Seabright (n). Besides these, there are two other MSS. in being, one in the Harleian Library, and the other, in the University Library at Cambridge, with both which, the accurate printed edition was compared: All these MSS. are thought to be as old, as the time in which our author flourished. There is joined to this history, and in the same hand writing, a French chronicle, from the first planting of Britain, to the reign of King Edward III; but this, Mr Hearne, with good reason, conceives to have been the work of some other author, and therefore did not print it with Avesbury's history (o). In all probability, the reason they were thus joined together was this, that the French chronicle ends exactly where our author begins. That Avesbury himself could not so easily write in French, appears plainly from this, that he chose to insert long papers in that language, in his Latin history; whereas, he would surely have translated them, if he had been so well skilled in French, or else have written the whole in that language, which would have made it more uniform. In the Harleian MS. this chronicle hath the following title, *Cronica Gallice, cujusdam Anonimi, à primis incolis Britanniæ usque, ad initium Regni Regis, E. III, vulgo nuncupat, fructus temporum* (p). This title was placed there by Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, a cele-
brated

(q) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(s) Journal of Parliament 27 Eliz.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 280.

(a) See the rubric on the MS. in the Harleian Library.

(b) Prefat. T. H. p. 5.

(c) Act. & Monum. T. I. p. 472.

(d) Vid. Prefat. T. H. p. 48.

(e) Page 282, edit. 1631.

(f) In Appendice ad Opus de illustrib. Scriptor. ib. Angliæ, p. 399.

(g) Carol. Du Fresne in indice Scriptorum ad A. D. 1340.

(h) Prefat. T. H. ad Hist. R. de Avesbury, p. 22.

(i) Prefat. T. H. p. 26.

(k) Page 197.

(l) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. ad An. Dom. 1354.

(m) Prefat. T. Hearne, p. 22.

(n) Ibid. p. 23.

(o) Ibid. p. 12.

(p) Ibid. ubi supra.

brated Antiquary, and once the possessor of that MS. There were likewise added to the MS. copies, certain notes of a miscellaneous nature, under the title of, *Minutiæ, i. e. Trifles*, these too are denied by Mr Hearne, to have been written by Avesbury, however, he has preserved them, as well as a genealogical table, which shows the right Edward III, had to the crown of France (9). As this antient historian is so little known to the generality of readers, and as the printed copy of his works is now become as scarce as many MSS. it cannot be improper to give a concise account of his work, and the character it bears in the judgment of some of the ablest critics in this kind of learning, in the notes [A]. In the same place, the reader will also find a farther account of Mr Hearne's edition of this author, which is the more necessary, because, in his appendix, there are several curious pieces, which the inquisitive reader will be glad to hear of, and know where to find. This method we shall make use of, whenever we mention any of the old historians published by him, because as these books grow every day more scarce, their contents ought to be published elsewhere, and especially in a work like this; wherein is endeavoured an historical and critical account of all our antient historians, for the works of many of whom, the publick stands indebted to the labours of this industrious man [B]. A few of the *Minutiæ* also are added as curiosities worthy particularly the

(7) Vide Hist. R. de Avesb. p. 264.

Englilh

[A] In the Notes] The title of this history in the MS. ran thus, *Mirabilia gesta magnifici Regis Angliæ Domini Edwardi tercii post Conquestum, Procerumque, tactis Primitus quibusdam gestis de tempore Patris sui Domini Edwardi secundi, quæ in Regnis Angliæ, Scotiae & Franciæ, ac in Aquitania & Britannia, non humana sed Dei Potencia, contigerunt, per Robertum de Avesbury, Curie Cantuariensis Registrum Custodem, compilata, Anglorum Memoriam merito commendanda Legi poterunt in hac verba.* That is, *The wonderful acts of the most magnificent Lord Edward the third, after the Conquest, King of England, and of his Peers, with some touches of what happened in the time of his father Edward the second, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, as also Aquitain and Britanny, not through the will of Men but of God, compiled as worthy of being known to Englishmen, by Robert of Avesbury, Keeper of the Registry of the Court of Canterbury, in the following Words* (1). He opens his history with the marriage of Edward the second with Isabella the daughter of Philip the French King, firnamed the Fair, which was solemnized the 25th of January 1307. By which lady he had his son Edward, afterwards King Edward the third, in the year 1313. He then proceeds to shew, that King Edward the second reigned with a continued series of ill fortune for nineteen years, till Queen Isabella and her son Edward landing with some foreign troops at Harwich, and joining with the Barons, dethroned him. Edward the third, then entered on the government, being but fourteen years old, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster on the feast of the conversion of St Paul, in the year 1326 (2). After this, we have the history of the famous Roger Mortimer to the time of his fall and death. The pretensions of Edward the third on the kingdom of Scotland come next under the author's care, and are very largely treated, and then in it's order. The history of the war carried on in that country, the victory of Hunnington, and the peace with the Scots (3). After this we have an account of King Edward's pretensions to the French crown, with the war that followed in support of them. A particular account of the great achievements of King Edward, and of his son Edward the Black Prince, with several original letters of the Prince and Sir John Wyngfeld (4). Another Scots war employs afterwards his pen, in which King David Bruce was taken prisoner. He also relates very minutely, all the transactions between King Edward and the Baliol family, the taking and retaking the town of Berwick, and concludes his work with an account of a bad season in the year 1356 (5). Then follows a list of the persons killed and taken prisoners in the famous battle of Poitiers, which was fought by Edward the Black Prince, on the 19th of September in the same year (6). Dr Robert Brady made great use of our historian, and mentions him with much respect in these words. Robert of Avesbury wrote the life of Edward the third, and as he reports of himself, was Keeper of the Registry of the Court of Canterbury, he lived in the time of Edward the third. A MS. in Sir Simonds D'Ewes library in Stow Lanthorn in Suffolk (7). Mr Tyrrell cites him also, and says he was a considerable writer of that age, and very exact in his account of King Edward's actions beyond

the sea, as having taken them from several original letters of persons of note (8). It seems the MS. this gentleman had, went no lower than the year 1355, but that published by Mr Hearne, contains the occurrences of the next year to the end of Summer, or rather to the beginning of Autumn (9). [B] To the labours of this industrious man.] Before this edition of Avesbury by Hearne, there is a Preface of forty pages, dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, the 21st of November 1720. It contains a very large account of the MSS. made use of in this edition, together with abundance of literary anecdotes which one would hardly expect there. He is particularly hard upon Anthony Wood, whom he charges with making use of the MS. collections of Twyne and Langbain, without quoting them, and this he tells us of his own knowledge (10). There are also some curious remarks on the story of Rosamond, and explanatory notes on the fray between the townsmen and scholars of Oxford mentioned in the text (11). Then follow testimonies relating to the author, and a list of the subscribers to this edition. The book itself comes next, and contains 255 pages. It is very carefully printed from the MS. with various readings, and all the marginal remarks of the several possessors of the MS. he had consulted, together with such emendations as could be collected from Walsingham and other antient-English historians. The *Minutiæ* take up eleven pages exclusive of a scheme, shewing the genealogy of Edward the third, and his claim in consequence thereof to the crown of France. Thus far the MS. We have then in one leaf, a list of the Saxon authors which had come to the hands of Mr John Jocelyn mentioned in the text (12). To this is added another list of the MS. writers of English history, and the places where their works were to be found (13). It contains 28 pages. Both these were printed from MSS. in the Cotton library. We come now to Mr Hearne's appendix. The first piece we meet with there is a transcript of an old Beadle's book at Oxford, it belonged formerly to Anthony Wood, and contains a great many curious things, it consists of 14 pages, and is illustrated with notes and references (14). The second paper is a collection of MS. notes, relating to the antient orders of the University of Oxford (15). Then we have a letter written by Dr Christopher Potter, relating to the privileges of the University of Oxford, with the form of degrading Mr William Prynne, this was sent to the editor by the reverend and learned Mr Baker of St. John's (16). The fourth piece is a transcript of a very antient roll relating to the manor of Woodstock, made in the reign of Edward the first, and of which the editor had this copy, through the kindness of John Brydges, Esq; of Lincoln's-Inn, a great collector of such curiosities (17). The last piece, and indeed the most curious of them all, is a transcript of the love letters, between Henry the eighth, and Anne Bullen, taken from the originals kept in the Vatican at Rome, A. D. 1682 (18). After the index, there follows in this as in most of Mr Hearne's books, a list of the pieces published by him to that time, and which is a full proof of the usefulness of such notes as this. There is inserted in this catalogue a very curious piece printed from an authentick MS, the title of which follows,

(8) In the Preface to his third Volume of his General History of England.

(9) Vide Hist. p. 252.

(10) Prefat. ad R. de Avesbury p. xxviii.

(11) Ibid. p. xxxiii.

(12) Hist. p. 367.

(13) Ibid. p. 269.

(14) Ibid. p. 299.

(15) Ibid. p. 314.

(16) Ibid. p. 328.

(17) Ibid. p. 334.

(18) Ibid. p. 347.

(1) Avesb. Hist. de reb. gest. Edward III, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. p. 6.

(3) Ibid. p. 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 218, 224.

(5) Ibid. p. 252.

(6) As all our historians say.

(7) In his account of authors and records made use of by him in the last volume of his history.

English reader's notice, who cannot so much as have a chance of meeting with them any where else. Besides they serve to show, what odd fragments are sometimes met with in ancient MSS, and the care that was taken before printing was invented, to preserve whatever might be of use, either to the learned, or to the common sort of people [C].

follows, *Injunctiōnes* given in the visitation of the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord C. Pole's Grace, Legate de Latere, by his Subdelegatē, James by the permission of God, Bishop of Gloucester throughout his Diocese of Gloucester 1556. (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 376.

[C] *Either to the learned or common sort of people.* These mixed memoranda seem to have depended wholly on the will of the transcriber, who added them to the MS. merely that the worth of the one might preserve the other. As for instance, the following genealogy, showing how the British King Arthur was allied to Joseph of Arimathea. Helanis nepos Joseph genuit Josue, Josue genuit Aminidab, Aminidab genuit Castellens, Castellens genuit Manael, Manael genuit Lambrod et Urlard, Lambrod genuit filium qui genuit Ygernam, de qua Rex Uter Pendragon genuit nobilem & famosum Regem Arthurum, per quod patet, quod Rex Arthurus descendit de Joseph

(20). The following was better worth preserving. (20) Ibid. p. 259. Nota, quod in Anglia sunt Ecclesie parochiales, XLVI. M. VIII. XXII. Item villa, LII. M. CC. III. V. Item episcopatus, XVII. Item Feoda Militum, LIII. M. CC. XV. de quibus religiosi habent, XXVIII. M. that is, Note, that in England there are parish Churches 46822, Towns 52285, Bishopricks 17, Knights Fees 53215, of which there are 28000 in the hands of the Clergy (21); the Reader must observe that this note was written about the middle of the XIVth Century (22). The following is a receipt printed exactly after the MS, whereby the orthography of that age appears. *For to stanche bledyng atte the nose, take clene clay, and temper hit with wyngre, and with the juys of an herbe that is y clepud burfa pastoris, and make there of a chapelet of good brede, and do a boutte the bed of hym that bledeth, and hit shal stanche* (23). E

(21) Minut. p. 264.

(22) See in the text.

(23) Minut. p. 264.

AUGUSTIN, or, by contraction, AUSTIN (*St*), usually stiled the *Apostle of the English*, and the first Archbishop of Canterbury, was originally a Monk in the convent of St Andrew at Rome, and had his education under St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I [A]; by whom he was dispatched into Britain, together with forty other Monks of the same order, for the conversion of the English Saxons to the Christian religion (a). This mission was undertaken about the year of Christ 596 [B]. Augustin and his companions, having proceeded a little way on their journey, began to disrelish their employment, and concluded it was more advisable to return, than to take so long a journey to a savage and infidel nation, to whose language they were utter strangers. This resolution being taken, they dispatched Augustin to Rome, to obtain the Pope's leave for their return: but that Monk soon came back with a letter of exhortation

(a) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 33. See also H. Huntingdon Hist. Liii. int. apud Script. post Bedam Fran. cof. 160r.

[A] *St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I.* This pious and good Pope had himself projected, and undertaken, the conversion of the English Saxons, before his advancement to the See of Rome. For, walking one day thro' the market, and observing certain beautiful youths exposed to sale, he asked of what country they were; and being informed they were Britons, he fetched a deep sigh, and said, it was a lamentable consideration that the prince of darkness should be master of so much beauty, and that so fine an outside should have nothing of God's grace within. The sight of these youths made so great an impression on Gregory's piety, that he applied himself to Pope Benedict, earnestly requesting that some persons might be sent to preach Christianity in Britain. But perceiving no body willing to undertake the mission, he offered himself for the service, and, with the Pope's leave, set forward on his journey, to the great regret of the clergy and people of Rome. He had not been gone above two or three days, before the Pope had a remonstrance delivered to him in the streets for sending away Gregory, and was therefore obliged to re-call him. Johannes Diaconus, in his *Life of St Gregory*, tells this story so well, that the learned reader shall have the pleasure of seeing here the Original. *Quadam die, cum advenientibus nuper negotiatoribus, multa venalia in foro Romanæ urbis fuissent proposita, multique ad emendum unaque confluxissent; contigit et Gregorium virum Deo dignissimum præterire. Qui cernens inter alia pueros corpore candidos, forma pulcherrimos, vultu venustos, capillorum quoque nitore perspicuos, esse venales, interrogavit mercatorem de qua patria illos attulisset. Ille respondit, de Britannia insula, cujus incolarum omnium facies simili candore fulgescit. Gregorius dixit: Christiani sunt iidem insulani, an adhuc Paganis erroribus implicentur? Mercator respondit, Non sunt Christiani, sed Paganis tenentur laqueis irretiti. Tum Gregorius graviter ingemiscens, heu, prob dolor, inquit, quam splendidas facies principes tenebrarum nunc possidet, tantaque frontis speciei vacuam ab interna Dei gratia mentem gestat! Rursum interrogavit quod esset vocabulum gentis illius? Mercator respondit, Angli vocantur. Bene, inquit, ANGELI, quasi ANGELI, quia Angelicos vultus habent, et tales in cælis Angelorum decet esse concives. Iterum ergo interrogat, quod*

nomen haberet ipsa Provincia? Mercator respondit, Provinciales illi DEIRI vocantur. Et Gregorius, Bene, inquit, DEIRI, quia DE IRA sunt eruenti, et ad Christi gratiam convocandi. Rex, ait, illius provincie quomodo nuncupatur? Mercator respondit; Aelle. Et Gregorius alludens ad nomen, dixit, Bene rex dicitur AELLE, ALELUIA etenim in laudem creatoris in partibus illis oportet decantari. Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum Apostolicæ sedis Pontificem, cœpit vehementer expetere, ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi ministros mitteret. Quo cum neminem velle ire cognosceret, semet ipsum quoque non dubitavit ingerere, dummodo sibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi, Gregorium sponte proficisci cupientem, abire permisit, imprecatus ei divinitus prospera ministrari. De cujus absentia Romani plurimum perturbati, deliberato consilio, trisario per loca viæ contigua unde Pontifex ad B. Petri Basilicam profecturus erat, partiuntur, eumque turmatim taliter alloquuntur: Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti, quia Gregorium dimisisti. Quibus sententiis omnino Papa perterritus, misit continuo nuntios qui virum domini revocarent. A quibus, trium dierum itinere jam emenso, compulsus est (licet magnopere tristaretur) ad proprii monasterii curam redire (1). I hope Punning is no offence to Religion: if it is, I know not how we shall excuse St Gregory, who, upon so very serious an occasion as the conversion of poor ignorant Pagans to Christianity, could not forbear quibbling three times in a very short conversation with a merchant upon that subject.

(1) Joan. Diacon. Vit. S. Gregor. l. ii. c. 21.

[B] *This mission was undertaken in the year of Christ 596.* Bede, and the whole stream of authors after him, assign this date; so that the year, in which Augustin was sent into Britain, is past dispute. How long he continued in this island, till death took him away, is not so generally agreed. Most of the writers in Wharton (2), who have given us the succession of the archbishops of Canterbury, tell us, that Augustin sat sixteen years, and place his death in the year 616, about twenty years after his arrival in Britain. But Wharton (3) and the Editor of Bede (4), have shewn, with great probability, that he died in 604 or 605, and consequently the interval from his mission to his death comprehends no more than eight or nine years.

(2) Anglia Sacra, Tom. 1. passim.

(3) Ubi supra, p. 89, See the remark [1].

(4) Bede, Hist. Eccles. &c. published by J. Smith, S. T. P. Cantab. 1732, p. 84, note.

[C] Ppoe 2.

exhortation to the Missionaries [C], by which they were encouraged to prosecute their undertaking (b). At the same time the Pope wrote to Etherius, Archbishop of Arles (c) [D], and to the King and Queen of the Franks, to assist them with necessaries in their journey: by means of which recommendations they were every where entertained with great kindness and respect, and furnished with interpreters [E]. And now Augustin and his companions, having taken their journey through France, embarked for Britain, and, landing in the isle of Thanet, sent some of the French interpreters to King Ethelbert [F], acquainting him that they were come from Rome with the most joyful tidings, and offering him an everlasting kingdom in Heaven. The King, having for the present ordered them to continue in the isle of Thanet, some time after sent for them, and gave them audience, sitting in the open air [G]. Augustin having opened his commission, the

(b) Id. *ibid.*

(c) *ibid.* c. 24.

[C] Pope Gregory's Letter of exhortation to the Missionaries.] In this Letter he tells them 'it is better not to enter upon a worthy design, than to break off what is commendably begun.' For this reason he earnestly beseeches them 'to exert themselves to the utmost in carrying on the great work they were engaged in, and not to be discouraged at the fatigues of the journey, or censures of bad men; but to press forward with the greatest zeal and application, being well assured they should be rewarded with eternal glory in heaven.' By the same Letter he enjoined them to pay obedience to Augustin as their Abbot, and concludes with his benediction, and wishing them success in their labours. But let us produce the letter itself. It is extant in the sixth Book of St Gregory's Letters (5).

Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Servus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.

QUIA melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his quæ cæpta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilectissimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Deo cœpistis, impleatis. Nec ergo vos labor itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ deterreat: sed omni instantia omnique fervore quæ inchoastis, Deo auctore, peragite; scientes quod laborem magnum æternæ retributionis gloria sequitur. Remeantem autem Augustino præposito vestro, quem et Abbatem vobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite, scientes hoc vestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid in vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus sua vos gratia protegat, et vestri laboris fructum in æterna me patria videre concedat. Quatenus et si vobiscum laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia laborare scilicet volo. Deus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii. Data die decima Kalendarum Augustarum, imperante Domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto, anno decimo quarto, post consulatum ejusdem Domini Nostri anno decimo tertio, Indictione XIV.

[D] — Etherius, Archbishop of Arles.] It is generally taken for granted, that here is a mistake in the printed copies of Bede, and that Etherius is put instead of Virgilius, since Etherius was at that time Bishop of Lyons. But whether the mistake consists in that, is a matter of doubt. For, in the first place, the Letter, which is in Bede inscribed to Etherius Archbishop of Arles, is not to be found under that title in the collection of Gregory's Letters. In the next place, there is in that collection another Letter to Virgilius, Archbishop of Arles, of the same tenor, but a different form. From whence we may collect, that the mistake is rather in the Letter itself, than in the inscription. Augustin being ready to set out on his journey, Pope Gregory wrote several letters in the same day; the originals of which lying together in his Holiness's scrutoire were transcribed by Nothelmus: and why might he not take one for another, and, by mistake transposing the names and titles, carry to Bede the letter which was written to Etherius, Bishop of Lyons, in the room of that which was written to Virgilius, Archbishop of Arles?

[E] They were — furnished with French interpreters.] Bishop Godwin observes from hence, that the language of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks was at that time much the same: which is not unreasonable to suppose, since those two nations were both of German original, and were transplanted into Britain and Gaul much about the same time, it being not above an hundred and fifty years since the arrival of the Saxons in this island. *Nam præterquam quod humanissime ubique accepti sunt, comitatus illo-*

rum non paucos adinvenerunt qui interpretum vice fungerentur; ut eadem quodammodo lingua Angli Francique tunc usi viderentur; quod à ratione quidem non abhorret, cum uterque et Franci et Angli (sive Anglo-Saxones malueris appellare) Germaniæ fuerint populi, unde isti in Britanniam ante annos 150, illi in Galliam 130 vix dum elapsi migraverint (6).

[F] — Ethelbert, King of Kent.] This prince's dominions, as Bede observes (7), extended as far as the Humber. It is true, the kingdoms of the East-Saxons and the East-Angles were now in being: but Ethelbert being a more potent prince than the rest, several of those petty kings were tributaries to him. He was at that time married to Bertha, daughter of Clotaire I, king of the Franks. That Lady was a Christian, and, by the articles of her marriage, had the free exercise of her religion allowed her, and a church in the suburbs of Canterbury, called St Martin's. One Luidhard a French Bishop (8), who came over with her, officiated as her chaplain and confessor (9). Christianity having this countenance at Ethelbert's court, we may reasonably imagine that several of the Saxons were either brought over, or at least disposed for conversion, before the arrival of Augustin. And thus, by these preparatory steps, the way was plained for the Missionaries, and King Ethelbert disposed to give them a more favourable reception. For this reason Capgrave (10) calls Luidhard Augustin's Harbinger, and affirms, that he prepared the way for his coming, and made his enterprize more practicable. Which remark will appear very reasonable to any one, who considers with what unexpected kindness Augustin was received at his first arrival in Britain.

[G] The King — gave them audience, sitting in the open air.] The reason why Ethelbert received them in this manner proceeded from a superstitious fancy, which made him decline trusting himself in a house with these strangers; for fear, if they had dealt in the black art, they might have surprized his understanding, and proved too hard for him. *Caverat enim ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, veteri usus augurio, ne superuentu suo, si quid maleficæ artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent (11).* 'But these good men,' continues Bede, 'held no correspondence with the Devil, but had their authority and credentials from Heaven. When they were introduced to the King, they carried a silver cross for their banner, together with the picture of our blessed Saviour, and, singing divine service, they put up their prayers to God Almighty for his blessing on themselves and those they came to convert.' *At illi non demoniaca, sed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini salvatoris in tabula depictam, letaniiisque canentes, pro sua simul, et eorum propter quos et ad quos venerant, salute æterna Domino supplicabant (12).* Baronius (13), in transcribing this passage of Bede, falls into some tragical reflexions on the condition of the modern Church of England. He represents the case, as if the English, in his time, had, in a manner, apostatized from Christianity. He tells us, that Augustin the Apostle of the English was a monk, and that the rest of the Missionaries were of the same order; that they appeared at their audience, and made their entrance into Canterbury, with the cross and the picture of our Saviour carried before them: and then he complains, that these things were all forgotten and laid aside by the modern English. Let us hear how Mr Collier replies to this charge. That author observes, that the terms of communion stand by no means upon the same foot, they did in Gregory the Great's time (14). Then he proceeds to a particular refutation of the Cardinal's charge.

(6) Godwin, de Presul. Angl. edit. 1616, p. 43.

(7) Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 25.

(8) The historians style him Episcopus Sylvaniaectensis, i. e. Bishop of Saultis. M. Rapius, by mistake, calls him Bishop of Soissons.

(9) Baronii Annual. T. VIII. ad. an. 597.

(10) In Vita S. Augustini.

(11) Bede, ubi supra.

(12) Id. *ibid.*

(13) Ubi supra, c. 23.

(14) Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 65.

the King told them, their doctrine was new to him, and that he could not suddenly recede from the religion of his country: however, as their coming was with a kind intention, he gave them leave to convert as many of his subjects as they could, and assigned their place of residence at *Dorovernum*, since called Canterbury [H]; which they entered in procession, singing an hymn (d) [I]. Here Augustin and his companions applied themselves to the strict severity of the monastic life, and preached the Gospel jointly with the French Christians in the church of St Martin's; to which they were confined till the conversion of the King himself [K]; after which they had full liberty to preach in any part of that Prince's dominions (e). Augustin was so successful in his labours for the propagation of Christianity, that it is said he baptized ten thousand persons of both sexes, in one day, in the river Swale [L]. And now, by direction of the Pope,

he

charge. 'It may be replied, in the first place (says he) as to the monastick life, that the Church of England has not declared against it in any of her articles. Besides, the Cardinal may remember, that the dissolution of Abbies here, was an act of the State, and not of the Church; that it was prior to the Reformation, and carried on by a prince and parliament of the Roman Communion in all points, excepting the Supremacy. Secondly, As to the cross and our Saviour's picture, the Church of England has a great regard for both of them, and makes use of the first in the solemn administration of Baptism. 'Tis true, we dare not carry our respects to the lengths of the Church of Rome. And if we examine the passage in Bede, though we find St Augustin, and his companions, carried the cross, and our Saviour's picture, in their procession, yet there is not the least intimation that they worshipped them. Nay, 'tis plain that image-worship was none of the doctrine of Rome in that age: for Pope Gregory the Great determines flatly 'against it.' Here Mr Collier produces partly of two letters, written by St Gregory to Serenus Bishop of Marseilles (15), in proof of his assertion; and then goes on to shew, that this Pope did not carry the supremacy up to the pretensions since insisted on by the court of Rome, as appears from his complaint against John Bishop of Constantinople, for taking the title of *Universal Bishop* upon him (16), and from three other letters, one to the Emperor Mauritius (17), the second to Anastasius Bishop of Antioch (18), and the last to Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria (19).

[H] *The King assigned their place of residence at — Canterbury.* Namely, in the parish of St Alphege, on the north-side of the *High or King's Street*, where, in Thorn's time, the Archbishop's palace stood, now called *Stable-gate* (20). Before Augustin's time, here was a kind of Oratory, or Chapel for the Royal Family, where they worshipped and offered sacrifice to their Gods. *Concessit iis locum habitationis in civitate Doroberniæ situatum, videlicet in parochia sancti Alphegi ex opposito regie strætæ versus aquilonem, per quam murus palatii archiepiscopalis in longitudine se extendit — situs ille Stablegate vocatus est; fuerat enim tunc temporis quasi oratorium pro familia regis, ut ibi adorarent, et diis suis libamina immolarent* (21).

[I] *They entered Canterbury in procession, singing an hymn.* It was a very short one, consisting only of this petition. 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia (22). — O Lord, according to thy mercy, we beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from this city, and from thy holy place; for we have sinned. Hallelujah.'

[K] — *Till the conversion of the King himself.* This Prince could not long hold out against the exemplary life of the Missionaries, the reasonableness of their doctrine, and the miracles wrought by Augustin, in confirmation of it. In short, King Ethelbert was baptized, and his example had a wonderful effect in promoting the conversion of his subjects. One part of his conduct on this occasion deserves the highest commendation. Though he was extremely pleased at his subjects becoming Christians, yet he compelled no body to his own belief, only bestowing more countenance and affection upon those that were profelyted to Christianity. For he had learned (says venerable Bede) from his instructors in the way of salvation, that force and dragooning was not the method of the Gospel; that the religion

of Jesus Christ was to make his way by argument and persuasion; to be matter of choice, and not of compulsion. *Didicerat enim a Doctõribus auctoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere* (23). I shall leave the reader to make his own reflexions on this matter, and to compare the spirit of moderation and Christian charity, which actuated St Augustin and King Ethelbert, with that persecuting, inquisitorial spirit, which has since prevailed in the Church of Rome.

[L] *Augustin baptized ten thousand persons in one day in the river Swale.* This we are told by Gervase: 'Beatus autem Augustinus verbum Dei prædicans, et ubique pedibus non in equis faleratis incedens, concurrentibus populis baptizavit una die promiscui sexus decem millia in flumine quod ab incolis *Sualeve* vocatur, prope Eboracum (24) — But St Augustin, preaching the word of God, and going about every where on foot, not on a horse with rich trappings, baptized in one day a mixed multitude of both sexes, in number ten thousand, in a river near York, called by the inhabitants *Sualewe*.' Camden (25) gives us the following extract from an antient fragment of that age, in which the story is thus related. *Upon one single Christmas-day (to the eternal honour of the English nation) Austin baptized above ten thousand men, besides an infinite number of women and children. But, pray, how should Priests, or others in holy orders, be got, to baptize such a prodigious number? the Archbishop, after he had consecrated the river Swale, commanded by the criers and the principal men, that they should with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other. Thus were they all regenerate, by as great a miracle, as once the people of Israel passed through the divided sea, and through Jordan, when it was turned back. For in the same manner here, so great a variety of sex and age passed such a deep chanel, and yet (which in human account is incredible) not one received harm. A strange miracle this was! but what is yet a greater, the river cures all diseases and infirmities. Whoever steps in faint and disordered, comes out sound and whole. What a joyful sight was this for angels and men! so many thousands of a profelyte nation coming out of the chanel of the same river, as out of the womb of one mother! one single pool preparing so many inhabitants for the heavenly mansions. Hereupon Pope Gregory (with all the companies of the Saints above) broke forth into joy, and could not rest till he had written to Eulogius, the holy patriarch of Alexandria, most joyfully to congratulate him upon so vast a number being baptized on one Christmas-day. But this story is not without it's difficulties. For in the first place, the river Swale, in which this wonderful Baptism was performed, is said to be near York. But it does not appear from Bede, that Augustin ever travelled so far northward.*

In the next place, what these authors ascribe to Augustin, is by Bede related of Paulinus Archbishop of York; who, according to that historian, baptized in the river Swale, which runs by Catterick. *Baptizabat in fluvio Sualeva, qui vicum Cataractam præterfluit* (26). Nevertheless we have the testimony of Pope Gregory, in the above-mentioned letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, that Augustin baptized no fewer than ten thousand converts. The truth of the case seems to be, that our missionary baptized his converts, not in the Swale near York, but in another river of the same name at the mouth of the Medway. The mistake of Gervase and others arose from confounding Augustin with Paulinus. I shall only observe farther, that the view of these writers,

(d) Ibid. c. 25.

(e) Ibid. c. 26.

(15) Gregorii Epistolæ, l. vii. epist. 109, & l. ix. epist. 9.

(16) Ib. l. iv. epist. 34.

(17) Ib. l. vi. epist. 30.

(18) Ib. ep. 24.

(19) Ib. l. vii. epist. 30.

(20) Dart's Hist. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 2.

(21) Chronica W. Thorn. apud X Scriptorum, col. 1759.

(22) Bede, ubi supra.

(23) Bede, ubi supra, c. 26.

(24) Gervasi Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1632.

(25) Britannia, published by Bishop Gibson, in fol. p. clxvi.

(26) Bede, l. ii. c. 14.

he went over to Arles in France, where he was consecrated Archbishop and Metropolitan of the English nation [M] by the Archbishop of that place; after which, returning into Britain, he dispatched away Lawrence a Priest, and Peter a Monk, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope with the success of his mission, and to desire his resolution of certain questions. These emissaries being returned, brought with them Gregory's answers to Augustin's queries [N], together

writers, in sending him so far northward, seems to have been, partly to give the higher idea of his labours and his authority, and partly to make it the more probable that he was the occasion of the slaughter of the Monks of Bangor (27).

[M] He was consecrated Archbishop and metropolitan of the English nation.] Baronius pretends, that Augustin was consecrated a Bishop in France, before his arrival in Britain (28). This he infers from St Gregory's letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, in which he acquaints him that the new English converts were baptized the Christmas after Augustin's arrival (29). If this be true, Bede must be mistaken in reporting that he travelled from Britain to Arles for the Episcopal character. But, in the beginning of the next century (30), the Cardinal seems to quit the authority of Pope Gregory's epistle, and rely upon Bede; for he tells us, that Augustin, pursuant to the Pope's instructions, went from Britain to Arles for his consecration. M. Rapin censures Augustin for being in too much haste to take upon himself the dignity of an Archbishop. 'Had he been content (says that author) with the simple title of Bishop, there would have been nothing extraordinary in it. But one cannot help being surprized to see him aspire to the dignity of an Archbishop, at a time when there was as yet no Bishop under his jurisdiction. It is true, the Pope had given him leave to assume that title in case his mission was followed with success. But, by success, it is most probable Gregory meant the general conversion of the English, and not that of a part only of the kingdom of Kent, one of the smallest of the Heptarchy. How great a progress soever Augustin had made in respect to the short time of his abode in Britain, it was however but small in comparison of what remained to be converted. So that his precipitation in assuming the dignity of Archbishop and Primate of England, at a time when there was but one single church there, namely that of Canterbury, is doubtless not very much to his honour. All that can be said in his justification is, that the progress, which Christianity made at it's first setting out at Canterbury, gave him reason to think that the conversion of the rest of England would soon follow' (31).

[N] Gregory's answers to Augustin's queries.] Venerable Bede has reported them at length (32); and here follows an abridgment of them, to satisfy the curiosity of the English reader. I. *Question*. 'How ought the Bishops to behave towards their Clergy?' Into how many portions ought the offerings at the altar to be distributed? And how is a Bishop to act in the church?' With respect to the first point, the Pope refers Augustin to St Paul's Epistles to Timothy. With regard to the second, he tells him, that the Roman Church requires the Bishops to divide the revenues of the church into four portions; the first for the Bishop, the second for the Clergy, the third for the Poor, and the fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the third point, which would have been very obscure, if the Pope had not cleared it up in his answer, he says, that Augustin being a Monk, ought not to live separated from his brethren, but after the custom of the first Christians, who had all their goods and possessions in common. He adds, that if there were any of the brethren, who had not received holy orders, and who could not contain, they were at liberty to marry, and might receive their portions in their own houses; because it is said in Scripture, that, in the beginning of Christianity, distribution was made to each according to their necessities. As to other Christians, the Pope tells him, it was not necessary to prescribe any rule concerning the giving alms to them, since Jesus Christ himself has said, *Give alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you*. II. *Question*. 'Since there is but one Faith, how comes it to pass, that the customs of Churches are different in relation to publick worship, and that

the Gallican and Roman Churches are not uniform in this matter?' The Pope advises him, upon this head, to take from each Church, what he should judge to be most suitable and convenient for the Church of England. III. *Question*. 'What punishment ought to be inflicted on those, who rob or plunder the church of it's goods?' Gregory answers, that we ought to distinguish the motives of the theft, whether it was through necessity or covetousness; and that, in punishing the robber, we should proceed with gentleness and charity. As to the measure of the restitution to be made to the church, he decides, that she ought by no means to receive more than she lost. IV. *Question*. 'May two brothers marry two sisters, who are not related to them by blood?' Gregory answers, that such marriages are lawful. V. *Question*. 'Within what degree of consanguinity are marriages lawful?' Pope Gregory bars this relation no farther than Cousin-Germans; so that one remove from this nearness of blood, leaves the parties at liberty to inter-marry; which is more than the present Church of Rome allows. VI. *Question*. 'May a Bishop be consecrated by one Bishop alone, when the distance of place makes it inconvenient for the Bishops of other dioceses to assemble for that purpose?' Gregory replies, that, for the present, Augustin being the only Bishop in England, there was a necessity he should ordain Bishops without assistants: But, to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he orders him to establish Bishops in places not too far distant from each other. VII. *Question*. 'How am I to behave with respect to the French, and British Bishops?' The Pope answers peremptorily, that he gives him no jurisdiction over the French Bishops, because the Archbishops of Arles had for a long time received the Pall from his predecessors, and he did not think it lawful to deprive them of the authority they were in possession of; but as to the British Bishops, he puts them all under Augustin's jurisdiction. VIII. *Question*. 'Is it lawful to baptize a woman, who is with child?' The Pope answers in the affirmative, not apprehending any inconvenience that might arise from such practice. IX. *Question*. 'How long ought a woman to stay, after her lying in, before she is re-admitted into the church?' Gregory limits no time, but allows women to enter into the church as soon after their delivery, as they can with safety. X. *Question*. 'How long after the birth of a Child, ought the ceremony of baptism to be deferred?' The Pope allows baptism to be administered, the very moment after the birth. XI. *Question*. 'How long ought the husband to stay, after the Wife's lying-in, before he returns to her embraces?' Gregory gives a very long answer to this question, and takes occasion to blame those mothers, who suffer their children to be suckled by strange nurses, ascribing so blameable a practice to their incontinence; for which reason he decides, that the husband ought not to return to his wife, till after the child is weaned. Nevertheless he permits those women, who do not suckle their children, to lie with their husbands after the usual time of purgation. XII. *Question*. 'Is it lawful for a woman to enter into the church at all times?' The Pope has a great deal of reasoning upon this head, and concludes, that the infirmities of women ought not to hinder them from assisting at the public devotions of the church. XIII. *Question*. 'May a Man, who has lain with a woman, come into the church, or receive the Communion, before he has washed himself?' Here, Gregory, as usual, makes a good number of distinctions, and concludes, that such men would do better to refrain some short time from going into the church, or receiving the Communion. XIV. *Question*. 'Is it lawful for a man, after impure dreams, to receive the Communion; and, if he be a Priest, may he administer it?' The Pope's answer to this question is exceedingly full of distinctions, between what is, and what is not a sin. At last he concludes, that a man, under such circumstances, ought to abstain

(27) See the remark [N].

(28) Annal. ad an. 597. Sect. 26.

(29) Gregor. Epist. 30, l. vii.

(30) Baron. ib. an. 601. Sect. 62.

(31) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, l. iii. Etat de L'Église de Kent.

(32) Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.

together with a Pall [O], and several books, vestments, utensils, and ornaments for the churches (f). His Holiness, by the same messengers, gave him directions concerning the settling episcopal Sees in Britain [P], and ordered him not to pull down the idol-
temples,

from the Communion. Nevertheless, he allows a Priest in this case to administer the Sacrament, provided no other can be found to officiate in his room. These are the difficulties, of which Augustin desired a solution from his Holiness. It is true, they do not serve to give us the highest idea imaginable of this Missionary's judgment. However Gregory thought it proper to reply to them in the fullest manner, as if they had been of the last importance. He had the conversion of the English very much at heart; and for this reason, he is so far from discouraging Augustin, that he bestows the highest commendations on him.

[O] He received from Pope Grégory the Pall] This being the first example in our history of the Pall being sent into England, I shall here entertain the reader a little with the form, antiquity, and design of this habit of distinction, and the great consequences it has drawn along with it. The PALL, as Harpsfield (33) describes it, is a small piece of woolen cloth, put over the Archbishop's shoulders, when he officiates. It is not ornamented with any rich dye, but is of the original colour of the wool on the sheep's back. It is laid upon St Peter's tomb, by the Bishops of Rome, and then sent away to the respective Metropolitans. This ancient ceremony is supposed to signify these two things; first, that the homeliness of the Pall might prevent the Archbishop's growing vain, from the richness of the rest of his habit; secondly, that, considering the Pall was taken from St Peter's tomb, he might be careful to adhere to St Peter's doctrine. Thus far Harpsfield. But the learned Peter de la Marca, Archbishop of Paris, has a much larger and more instructive discourse upon this subject. As to the form, he observes (34), that the modern Pall is very different from the ancient. That now in use is nothing but a border of white woolen cloth, made round, and thrown over the shoulders; from which hang two other pieces, the one falling down upon the breast, and the other upon the back; the whole ornamented with red crosses, and tacked on with three golden pins. But the ancient Pall was a rich robe of state, and hung down to the ground, being the same with that which the Greeks called *ἠμοφορεον*. This the Latins called *Pallium*; which is a proof that it was an entire garment, and not, as at present, a cover only for the shoulders, breast, and back. And Pope Gregory informs us, in one of his letters (35), that it was a magnificent habit, designed to put the Prelate in mind, that his life ought to answer the dignity of his habit. The learned Peter de la Marca observes farther (36), that the Pall was part of the Imperial habit, and that the Emperors gave the Patriarchs leave to wear it. Thus Constantine's *Donation*, inserted in Gratian's *Decretum*, informs us, that the use of the Pall was given to the Bishop of Rome by that Prince. It is true, De Marca acknowledges this donation to be a counterfeit evidence: nevertheless the antiquity of it is not very inconsiderable, it being extant in the time of Charles the Great, and Adrian I (37). So that the Pall's being a favour from the Emperors, is an opinion of above eight hundred years standing. This point may be farther proved by unquestionable authority; for Liberatus Diaconus tells us (38), that Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, being expelled his See, returned the Pall to the Emperor Justinian; which must imply, that he had received it from that Prince. De Marca produces some other proofs of this point (39), which the reader may consult, if he is not already satisfied. Among other encroachments of the Papal on the Imperial power, the privilege of granting the Pall was no inconsiderable one, as it made the Archbishops and Patriarchs entirely dependent on the See of Rome. The necessity of procuring the Pall, was decreed in the eighth General Council of Constantinople, held in the year 872, in the Pontificate of Adrian II. This council passed a Canon to oblige the Metropolitans to receive confirmation from their respective Patriarchs, either by imposition of hands, or the grant of the Pall. This Canon is not in the Greek text of the council, but only in the version of A-

naftafus. However we may infer thus much from it, that it was no less customary for the Eastern Patriarchs, to send the Pall to the Metropolitans within their jurisdiction, than for the Pope to send it to those of the West (40). After the Metropolitans of Europe had submitted to the above-mentioned Canon, and owned themselves obliged to receive the Pall, they had new conditions of servitude imposed upon them by the See of Rome. For now they were obliged to promise obedience and subjection to the Apostolic See under their hand-writing. This new law was introduced by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, in the Synod held by him, A.D. 742 (41). Gregory VII, who was of an enterprising temper, resolved to secure the subjection of the Metropolitans by a stronger tie, and accordingly changed the promise of obedience into the following oath of allegiance; *Non ero in consilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra, aut Papatum perdam.* i. e. 'I will neither be assisting with my person or advice, to the intent that they (the Popes) may lose life, limb, or Popedom (42).' As to the Pall, the *Decretals*, published by order of Pope Gregory IX, in the XIII Century, obliged every Archbishop not to call a council, bless the chrysm, consecrate churches, or ordain Bishops, till he had received his Pall from the See of Rome; at the delivery of which he was to swear fidelity to the Pope.

[P] *The Pope gave him directions concerning the settling Episcopal Sees in Britain.*] This he did in a letter dated the 10th of the Kalends of June. After acquainting him, that he had sent him the Pall, as a mark of his esteem for the great service he had done in converting the English, he orders him to erect twelve Sees within his Province, and that the Bishop of London should receive the Pall from the Apostolic See. He likewise orders him to settle a Bishop at York; adding withal, that, if that city and the adjacent country should become Christians, he was to form it into a Province, with twelve Suffragans under the Metropolitan of York; to which Archbishop his Holiness designed to send a Pall, with this reservation, that he should be subject to the Primate of Canterbury. His Holiness proceeds to direct, that, after Augustin's death, the Archbishop of York was to preside over the Bishops ordained by him, and to be perfectly independent of the See of London; that the precedence of the Bishops of London and York was to be regulated by the priority of their consecrations; and that they should act with unanimity for the common interest of Christianity, and not clash or interfere with each other. I shall transcribe the letter itself. It is extant in Bede (43).

Reverendissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino Coepiscopo Gregorius servus servorum Dei.

CUM certum sit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni regni præmia reservari; nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia nova Anglorum Ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei Gratiam eodem domino largiente, et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi Pallii in ea ad sola Missarum solemnia agenda concedimus: ita ut per loca singula duodecim Episcopos ordines, qui tunc subjaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundoniensis civitatis Episcopus semper in posterum a Synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris Pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deservio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque duodecim Episcopos ordinet, et Metropolitanam honore perservat; quia ei quoque, si vita comes fuerit, Pallium tribuere Domino favente disponimus; quem tamen tunc fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere: post obitum vero tuum ita Episcopos quos ordinaverit præsit, ut Lundoniensis Episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ Civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur qui prius fuerit

(33) Hist. Eccl. Angl. c. 6.

(34) De Concord. Sacerd. et Imper. l. vi. c. 6 & 7.

(35) Epist. 122. l. vii.

(36) Ubi supra, c. 6.

(37) Id. ibid. & l. iii. c. 12.

(38) In Breviar. c. 21.

(39) Ubi supra, l. v. c. 30. Sect. 3. & ib. c. 33, 36. item l. vi. c. 6. Sect. 10.

(40) De Marca, ubi supra, l. vi. c. 7. Sect. 5.

(41) Id. ib. Sect. 6.

(42) In Registro Gregor. VII, l. vi. post Epist. 17.

(43) Lib. i. c. 29.

temples, but convert them into Christian churches [Q]; cautioning him withal not to be puffed up with the miracles (g) he was enabled to work in confirmation of his ministry [R]. Augustin, having fixed his See at Canterbury, dedicated an old church; formerly built by some Roman Christians, to the honour of our Saviour; and King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, since called St Augustin's (b) [S]. Being thus supported by the interest of King Ethelbert, Augustin made an attempt to settle a correspondence with the British Bishops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church [T]. To this purpose a conference was held at a place in Worcester-

(g) See the remark [A. A].

(b) Ibid. c. 32.

shire fuerit ordinatus: communi autem consilio et concordia actione quæque sunt pro Christi zelo agenda; dissonant unanimiter, recte sentiant, et ea quæ fefellerint, non sibi met discretando percipiant. Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos Episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacæ Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britannicæ Sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ sanctitatis, et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes, ad cælestia, cum dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reverentissime frater. Data Die decima Kalendarum Juliarum, Imperante Domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto, anno decimo nono, post Consulatum ejusdem Domini anno decimo octavo, Indictione quarta.

This letter is the more curious and important, as it contains the original plan of the English Hierarchy, and as it gave rise to the frequent disputes in succeeding ages between the Sees of Canterbury, York, London, and St Andrew's in Scotland.

[Q] Gregory ordered him not to pull down the Idol temples, but convert them into Christian churches.] The reason of this injunction was this; that the natives, by frequenting the same temples they had been always accustomed to, might be the less shocked at their entrance into Christianity. And therefore his Holiness directed, that the idols should be destroyed, and those places of worship sprinkled with holy water. And, whereas it had been their custom to sacrifice oxen to their false gods, he advised, that, upon the anniversary of each church's consecration, the people should erect booths round about it, and feast therein, not sacrificing their oxen to devils, but killing them for their own refreshment, and praising God for the blessing. And thus by allowing them some gratifications of sense, they might relish Christianity the better, and be raised by degrees to the nobler pleasures of the mind. And here Gregory alleges the example of God himself, who, when he discovered himself to the Israelites in Egypt, did not forbid them the customary rites of sacrificing, but transferred their worship from the devil to himself (44). Thus Pope Gregory wisely condescended to the weakness of the new converts, and complied with part of their prejudices, as a more likely expedient to reconcile them to Christianity, than if he had indulged them in no circumstance of their former customs, but drove them wholly from one extreme to another.

[R] — Cautioning him not to be puffed up with the miracles, he was enabled to work, in confirmation of his ministry] After having premised his great satisfaction at the conversion of the English, he lets him know he was convinced, that God had wrought surprizing miracles in favour of his mission. He tells him, he had reason to rejoice, that the exterior pomp and dazzling lustre of miracles, had brought the English to the inward reformation and spiritual advantage designed by them; but, on the other side, he ought to be afraid, lest, through human infirmity, he should grow vain upon this privilege. And therefore he desires him to remember, that, when the disciples told our Saviour, with an air of transport, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name, they received this answer, Rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven, Luke x. 17. He proceeds to exhort the Archbishop to examine the state of his mind with great care and impartiality, otherwise the power of working miracles might prove a snare to him. He advises him to consider, how much the English were the favourites of heaven, since God enabled him to

alter the course of nature, and perform such wonderful things, to promote their conversion. He advises him farther, frequently to recollect his own failings, this being a good expedient to preserve his humility, and suppress the tumours of pride. Lastly, he puts him in mind, that whatever degrees of supernatural power were bestowed upon him, they were not designed for figure and greatness, nor given for his own sake; but intended principally for the advantage of those, whose happiness he was sent to procure. Scio, frater charissime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem quam eligi voluit, magna miracula ostendit; unde necesse est, ut de eodem dono cælesti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudento pertimescas. Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorum gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimescas vero, ne inter signa quæ sunt infirmus animus sui præsumptione se elevet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etenim debemus, quia discipuli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cælesti magistro dicerent; Domine, in nomine tuo etiam dæmonia nobis subjecta sunt; protinus audierunt: Nolite gaudere super hoc, sed potius gaudete quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælo. In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem posuerant qui de miraculis gaudebant; sed de privato ad communem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiæ revocantur quibus dicitur: In hoc gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælo. Non enim omnes Electi miracula faciunt; sed tamen eorum nomina omnium in cælo tenentur adscripta. Veritatis etenim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent. Restat itaque, frater charissime, ut inter ea quæ operante Deo exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter judices, ac subtiliter intelligas, et temetipsum quis scis, et quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cuius conversione etiam faciendorum signorum dona percepisti. Et si quando te Creatori nostro seu per linguam, sive per opera reminisceris deliquisse, semper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis figuris accepisti vel accepisti, hæc non tibi sed illis deputed donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata sunt (45).

[S] King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, since called St Augustin's.] Cænobii magnificissimi (says Godwin) jecit fundamenta sub ipsis mœnibus Cantuariensis civitatis, ab ipso Petri et Pauli, sed a posteris Divi Augustini in hodiernum usque diem nuncupati. Nam nondum demolitum visitur adhuc, et pars patrimonii regii censetur. Regia vero, succedentium deinceps Archiepiscoporum semper fuit et est adhuc palatium (46).

— He (King Ethelbert) laid the foundation of a most magnificent convent, close by the walls of the city of Canterbury, to which he gave the title of St Peter and St Paul; but in after-times it was called the Abbey of St Augustin, which name it retains to this day. For it is not entirely destroyed, and what remains is looked upon as a part of the royal patrimony. It was antiently the residence of the Kings of Kent; afterwards it was given to the Archbishops, whose palace it still continues to be.

[T] Augustin attempted to settle a correspondence with the British Bishops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church.] The Britons, from the first time of planting Christianity in the island, had constantly followed the rules and customs left them by their first masters. But the Church of Rome had made certain alterations in the manner of celebrating divine service, to which it pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The Churches of the West, as being the nearest to Rome, were the most easily gained; and almost all of them, excepting those of France and Milan, conformed at last to the Roman Ritual. But Britain still continued, as it

(45) Bede, l. 5. c. 31.

(46) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 46.

(44) Gregor. Epist. 71. l. ix.

shire since called *Augustin's Oak*; where the Archbishop endeavoured to persuade the British Prelates to make but one communion, and assist in preaching to the unconverted Saxons. But failing in this attempt, he was willing to appeal to the supernatural evidence of a miracle, and accordingly, at the close of the dispute, a blind Saxon being brought to the British Bishops for a cure, and not meeting with relief, was carried to St Augustin, who presently restored him to sight. But this not yet satisfying the Bishops, a second conference was proposed and held [U]; which proving as unsuccessful as the former, Augustin is said to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity, as a punishment of their disobedience; which, the historians tell us, accordingly fell upon them

were, A World apart. Since the embassy of Lucius to Pope Eleutherius, the Britons had very little communication with the Bishops of Rome. They acknowledged them only as Bishops of a particular Diocese, or, at most, as heads of a Patriarchate, on which they did not think the British Church ought to be any way dependent. They were so far from receiving orders from the Pope, that they were even strangers to his pretensions. But Augustin, full of zeal for the interests of the See of Rome, made an attempt to bring them to acknowledge the superiority of the Pope over all other Churches. It is not easy to say, how far Augustin intended to have led them, since it does not appear, that he had any instructions on this head from Gregory I, who was very far from aspiring to that excess of authority, which his successors arrogated to themselves. However it cannot be denied, that this Pope claimed a jurisdiction over the churches of Britain, since, in his letter to Augustin, he appointed him Metropolitan of the whole island. Nor can it be supposed, that Augustin would have insisted so strongly on this article, if he had not been very sure of the Pope's approbation.

[U] *A second conference was proposed, and held.* The appearance at this assembly was much greater than at the former; for now there came seven British Bishops, and a great many learned Monks from the monastery of Bancornaburg or Bangor, who were under the direction of their Abbot, Dinoth. These Britons, at their setting forward to the Synod, applied themselves to a certain Hermit, eminent for virtue and good sense; and asked his opinion, whether they should give up the usages and traditions of their Church, and acknowledge the pretensions of Augustin. His answer was; if he was a man of God, they ought to be governed by him. They desired to be informed how they should know whether he was, or not. He replied, 'Our Saviour says; *Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and lowly in heart.* If therefore Augustin be a man of an affable and humble disposition, it is very probable he has taken the yoke of Christ upon him, and offers you the same privilege. But if his behaviour be haughty and insolent, it is plain he is no agent from Heaven, nor is his discourse to be regarded.' They asked him farther, by what marks they were to discover his temper of mind. The Hermit answered, they should manage it so, that Augustin and his company should come first to the place; and then, if he rose up to salute them at their coming in, they might conclude, that he was sent from God; but if he neglected to pay them this civility, they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him (47). Baronius is by no means pleased with the Hermit's criterion: he calls him a false Prophet, and charges him with laying down a wrong mark of humility (48). But why all this hard language upon the poor Anchorite, whom Bede acknowledges to have been eminent both for piety and prudence? But the Cardinal pretends to justify his satire from this text of St John: *If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed.* Where he seems not to have considered, that those who were to be received thus coldly, and kept at such a distance, were such as *denied our Saviour's being come in the flesh.* But Augustin could not charge the Britons with any infidelity or apostasy from the faith; and therefore he might have received them with respect and civility. But Baronius will have it, that Augustin knew them to be an obstinate people, and that they were not to be moved by the authority of the Apostolick See. If this be true, why did he give himself all this trouble, and

appoint a second meeting? Besides, the Cardinal might have remembered, that it was always the custom of the Church, to treat Hereticks, and even Heathens, with common civility. But still the Cardinal will not allow, that Augustin's not rising up to salute the Britons, was a sufficient ground for rejecting his proposals. *What, says he, are malefactors to except against the authority of their judge, because he will not compliment them? Our Saviour enjoined obedience to the Scribes and Pharisees, because they sat in Moses's seat; for their pride was no forfeiture of their authority.* Thus Baronius argues upon the supposition of the Pope's supremacy, which was a doctrine the British Church knew nothing of. But to proceed to the conference. When the Britons came into the Synod, and found that Augustin received them sitting, they resented the affront, and warmly opposed every thing offered by him. The articles insisted on by Augustin were; that they should celebrate Easter, and administer Baptism, according to the practice of the Roman Church; and that they should acknowledge the Pope's authority. If they would comply in these respects, and assist in the conversion of the Saxons, he would bear with the disagreement of their customs in other cases. But the Britons replied, they could yield none of the points contested (49). As to the Pope's authority, what their sense was upon that article, appears by Abbot Dinoth's answer, who spoke for the rest. He told Augustin, 'That the British Churches owed the deference of brotherly kindness and charity to the Church of God, the Pope of Rome, and to all Christians; but they knew of no other obedience due from them to him, whom they called the Pope; that, for their parts, they were under the direction of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who, under God, was their spiritual overseer and director.' This part of the conference is not related by Bede, but was transcribed from a manuscript by Sir Henry Spelman (50), who has given it us in Welsh, English, and Latin, and tells us, he had it from Mr Peter Mostin, a Welsh gentleman. It appeared to Sir Henry, to be a very old manuscript, transcribed from an older, but without date or author. However, to weaken the authority of this manuscript, it is objected, that there was at that time no Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, nor had been, since the metropolitanical jurisdiction had been translated to Menevia, by St David. In answer to which, it is granted, that, from the time of Dubricius, the See was transferred, first to Landaff, and then to St David's; but this latter translation was not agreed to by all the British Bishops; and Caerleon being the ancient Metropolitanical See, it was no absurdity to mention that place, in a dispute which turned upon ancient right. But the certainty of the British Churches rejecting the Pope's authority, does not depend on the credit of this Welsh manuscript. For the point is sufficiently clear from Bede, who tells us (51), the British Clergy declared against owning Augustin for their Archbishop; whereas, had they acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, they could not but have submitted to Augustin, who acted under his commission. If it be enquired why the British Clergy were so tenacious of their old customs, as to break with Augustin, rather than alter their way of keeping Easter, and administering Baptism; it may be replied, that these terms were not required of them, as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of submission and inferiority. And therefore, the British Bishops, perceiving their liberties were struck at, and relenting, at the same time, the seeming disrespect with which they were treated, were by no means in a disposition to comply with any propositions Augustin could make to them.

(49) Bede, ubi supra.

(50) In the first Volume of his Councils, p. 108, 109.

(51) Ubi supra.

(47) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(48) Baron. ad an. 604. sect. 71.

them (i) [W]. In the year 604, Augustin consecrated two of his companions, Mellitus and Justus, the former to the See of Rochester, and the latter to that of London. The same year, having appointed Laurence to succeed him, this Apostle of the English died at Canterbury, and was buried in the church-yard of the monastery that went by his name, the cathedral being not then finished: but, after the consecration of that church, his body was taken up, and deposited in the north porch (k); where it lay, till, in the year 1091, it was removed and placed in the church, by Wido Abbot of Canterbury (l) [X]. The inscription upon St Augustin's tomb, given us by Bede (m), is generally thought

(i) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(k) Ibid. c. 3.

(l) Chronica W. Thorn. apud X Scriptorum, col. 1793.

(m) Ubi supra.

[W] Augustin is said to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity — which — accordingly fell upon them.]

Being disappointed in the success of this Synod, he said to them, at going away, *If ye will not accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall receive war from your enemies; and if ye will not preach the way of life to the English, ye shall suffer death from their hands, by way of revenge.* This unfriendly prediction, Bede tells us, was afterwards fulfilled; for Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, marched with a great army to Caerlcon, and made a terrible slaughter of the Britons. The description of this battle, in which near twelve hundred of the Monks of Bangor were put to the sword, may be seen in Bede (52), who takes care to inform us, that it was fought after the Death of Augustin. But several writers are of opinion, that this passage of Bede is interpolated, because it is not found in King Alfred's Saxon version. And Bishop Godwin (53) takes notice of a Charter signed by Ethelfrid and Augustin, in the year 605, which he makes to be the year of this battle. In answer to these objections, it may be observed, that, though the contested passage be not in King Alfred's translation, yet it was in all the most ancient manuscripts of the original (54); and that Alfred omitted translating it, because the history of Augustin's Life was not yet finished; for, in the next chapter, he is said to have consecrated two Bishops, Mellitus and Justus. As to the objection of Augustin's signing King Ethelbert's charter, the learned Sir Henry Spelman observes (55), that it was the Saxon custom of that age, to pass estates and privileges without instruments in writing; and that King Withred, who reigned about the year 700, was the first who introduced written deeds; so that all the charters, prior to this time, are to be suspected of forgery. Farther, that Augustin died in the year 604, and before the slaughter of the Monks of Bangor, the learned Wharton endeavours to put beyond all question. For he alleges the testimony of an ancient book, cited by William Thorn; from whence it is evident, that Augustin and Pope Gregory both died in the same year; but it is past all dispute, that the latter died in 604 (56). It is of great consequence to settle this point, since no less depends upon it, than the truth or falshood of an accusation, which reflects the highest infamy on the memory of Augustin. For he is charged with having been, not only the author, but even the principal actor, in the tragedy above-mentioned. Bishop Godwin, who is not inclined to speak favourably of Augustin, calls him, with a sneer, an excellent Prophet indeed, who could so readily foretel, what was in his own power to bring to pass. *Vatem scilicet præclarum, qui illa potuit prædicere, quæ ut efficeret, in sua novit esse potestate* (57)! Then he goes on to acquaint us, that, by his authority and influence over King Ethelbert, he easily prevailed with that Prince, to make war with the Britons, and to excite Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, against them. And in support of this charge, he cites the following passage out of one Thomas Graius, who (he tells us) lived three hundred years ago, and wrote Annals in the French language. 'Augustinus ab Episcopo et aliis inter Britannos doctis hominibus hoc pacto rejectus, Ethelberto Cantiorum regim graviter conquestus est, ut exercitum protinus grandem collegerit, et in eos impetum faciens, magnam illorum numerum interfecerit, quorum nihil magis miserum est quam solet lupus ovcularum. — Augustin, being in this manner rejected by the Bishops and other learned men among the Britons, complained so heavily thereof to Ethelbert, King of Kent, that that Prince immediately levied a considerable army, and falling upon them, destroyed great multitudes of them, taking no more pity of them than a wolf does of a flock of sheep.' Then the Bishop goes on

to acquaint us farther, upon the authority of a very ancient anonymous manuscript, which he does not cite, that Ethelbert, at the instigation of Augustin, borrowed forces of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, for carrying on the war against the Britons inhabiting Wales; and that Archbishop Augustin himself came up with them, and gained a complete victory over them, at Chester (58). If this account were a true one, the Bishop might well exclaim; *Nimum profecto hæc sapiunt ambitionem et potentiam in immensum augendam cupiditatem illam effrenem, qua semper a primis incunabilis Roma laboravit* (59). i. e. 'Such proceedings surely favour a little too much of that ambition and unbounded thirst after power, which the See of Rome has constantly discovered.' But if Augustin, as is most probable, died before the slaughter of the Britons, then one half at least of the story is false; and if one half be not true, the reader is left to judge what credit the other part deserves. As a farther justification of Augustin from the charge in question, let us cite Mr Collier. 'As for Augustin's prediction of this calamity (says that author) it does not at all infer, he was any way instrumental in it. It amounts only to a warm expression, dropt upon a disappointment, and a probable conjecture upon the posture of affairs; for, at that time, the country was much embroiled, and the Britons surrounded with formidable enemies, so that unless, by closing with Augustin, they procured King Ethelbert for their ally, he fore-saw the case might probably go hard with them. Besides, we are to observe, that the defeat was given the Britons by King Ethelfrid, a Pagan Prince, whose dominions lay beyond the Humber, and by consequence could be no homager to King Ethelbert. For these reasons, there is no manner of likelihood, that Augustin should have any interest or correspondence with him. To this we may add, in the last place, that the annals of Ulster reckon the slaughter of the British Monks by King Ethelfrid to the year of our Lord 613, which was certainly after the death of Archbishop Augustin: And this computation is allowed by the learned Primate Usher (60).' Nicholas Trivet, who wrote a Chronicle in Norman French, tells us, as he is cited by Sir Henry Spelman (61), that the cruelty of King Ethelfrid, in falling upon those unarmed Monks, was quickly revenged upon him. For this Prince marching forward, after the victory, towards Bangor, was encountered by a fresh body of Britons, who killed above ten thousand of his men, routed the rest, and pursued Ethelfrid as far as the Humber.

(52) Then called Legceestria.

(53) Godwin, ib. p. 50.

(60) Collier, Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 73.

(61) Concl. Vol. I. p. 112.

[X] His body was removed, and placed in the church, by Wido, Abbot of Canterbury.] William Thorn informs us, that, on the 8th of the Ides of September, A. D. 1091, Abbot Wido translated the body of St Augustin from the place where it had lain near five hundred years, and placed all the larger bones, together with the Saint's head, in a stone-coffin; on which was this inscription:

Inclitus Anglorum Preful, pius, et decus altum,
Hic AUGUSTINUS requiescit corpore Sanctus.

But lest the Danes and Normans, who made frequent incursions on the parts of Kent, should deprive the nation of so valuable a treasure; therefore, when the ceremony of the translation was over, and the people were retired home, the venerable Abbot, with a few of the senior Monks, went privately into the church by night, and taking out the Saint's head, and part of his body, excepting only the smaller bones and some ashes, they placed them in a small urn, strongly secured with iron and lead; which they hid in the wall under the East-window. And as there were but a few brethren entrusted with the secret, the

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ubi supra, p. 49.

(54) Notæ Wharton. in Bede, c. 2. l. ii.

(55) Concl. Vol. I. p. 125.

(56) Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 91.

(57) Godwin, ubi supra.

thought to be spurious [Z]. The Popish writers have, as usual, ascribed several miracles to St Augustin, of which we shall give the reader a specimen below [Z]. As to his character; Bishop Godwin charges him with a restless ambition, by which he occasioned great disturbances in this island [AA]; and that writer is of opinion, that the

the memory of it was soon extinct; and the body lay concealed an hundred and thirty years, till the time of Abbot Hugh III (62); when, on the fifth of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1221, it was discovered, and honourably deposited in three different places. That Abbot, to excite the devotion of the people, did, at his own expence, cause the Saint's head to be ornamented with gold and precious stones, and repositd by itself (63). At last, on the third of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1300, Thomas Findon, then Abbot of Canterbury, deposited St Augustin's relics on a marble tomb, adorned with beautiful carved work; adding withal to the above-mentioned distich, this other, in which he expressed his great affection for the memory of that Saint:

Ad tumulum laudis Patris almi ductus amore.

Abbas hunc tumulum THOMAS distavit honore (64).

[I] *The inscription on his tomb, given us by Bede, is generally thought to be spurious.* It is this: *Hic requiescit Dominus Augustinus Dorwernenfis Archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romano urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Adalbertum Regem, ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est septimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante* (65): i. e. 'Here rests Augustin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, who being formerly sent hither by St Gregory, Pope of Rome, and assisted by God with the power of working miracles, converted King Ethelbert and his subjects from idolatry to the Christian faith; and having finished in peace the days of his ministry, he departed this life on the seventh of the Kalends of June, in the same King's reign.' Against the authority of this inscription, and its pretension to so great antiquity, it is usually objected, that the term *Archiepiscopus* (Archbishop) was not then in use in the Western Church; as not being commonly allowed to Metropolitans (according to Mabillon and others) till about the ninth Century (96). With Augustin, there were buried in the same porch the six archbishops, who immediately succeeded him; and in honour of the whole seven, viz. Augustin, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deus-Dedit, and Theodactus; these verses, Mr Camden tells us (67), were engraven on marble.

SEPTEM SUNT ANGLI PRIMATES ET PROTOPATRES,
SEPTEM RECTORES, SEPTEM COELOQUE TRIONES,
SEPTEM CISTERNÆ VITÆ, SEPTEMQUE LUCERNÆ,
ET SEPTEM PALMÆ REGNI, SEPTEMQUE CORONÆ,
SEPTEM SUNT STELLÆ, QUAS HÆC TENET AREA
CELLE.

Seven Patriarchs of England, Primates Seven,
Seven Rectors, and Seven Labourers in Heaven,
Seven Cisterns pure of Life, Seven Lamps of Light,
Seven Palms, and of this Realm seven Crowns full
bright,

Seven Stars are here bestow'd in vault below.

These seven Prelates were buried in the porch of the Cathedral; but all the succeeding Archbishops were interred in the body of the church, the porch not being large enough to receive any more (68).

[Z] *The Popish writers have—ascribed several miracles to St Augustin, of which we shall give a specimen.* William Thorn relates, that, when Augustin first landed in the isle of Thanet, at his getting out of the ship, he stepped upon a stone, which retained the print of his foot, as if it had been only mud. That historian adds, that this stone was taken up, and preserved in a chapel, built by the Saint in that very place; and that great multitudes of people resorted thither annually, on the day of its deposition, to pay their devotions to it, and for the recovery of their health (69). John Brompton mentions a very clear fountain of water, which Au-

gustin, by his prayers, caused to spring up, at a time when he wanted water for baptizing (70). The same author tells us so very extraordinary a story of St Augustin, that I shall give it the reader at length. That Prelate coming one day to preach at a village called Cumpston, in Oxfordshire, the Priest of that town complained to him, that a certain officer in the army refused to pay him his tythes. Whereupon Augustin sent for the officer, and gently reprimanded him for his obstinacy in withholding the church's dues. But the soldier still refusing to comply, Augustin threatened him with excommunication; and then going up to the altar, he said aloud in the hearing of all the people, *Let no excommunicated person be present at the Mass.* This being said, a dead corpse, which had been buried in the church porch, came immediately out of its grave, and, going into the church-yard, stood there erect and motionless, during the celebration of Mass. The people, who saw it, came in a fright to Augustin, and related the matter. Whereupon the Archbishop, preceded by the Cross and Holy Water, and accompanied by all the people, went to the place, and demanded of the dead body, who he was? To whom the corpse replied: *When you commanded on God's part, that no excommunicated person should be present at the Mass, the Angels of God, who constantly attend your steps, cast me out of the place where I was buried, telling me, that Augustin, the friend of God, commanded all sinking carcases to be thrown out of the Church of God. For, in the time of the Britons, before the fury of the Anglo Saxons had laid waste this country, I was Lord of this village; and, though often admonished by the Priest of this church, I refused paying tythes, till being excommunicated by him I died, and was cast down into hell.* Hereupon Augustin and all the company wept bitterly. Then Augustin bid the dead body shew him where the Priest lay buried; which being done, and a few dry bones being found, the Saint addressed himself to prayer, and then said, *In the name of God, I command thee to arise, for I have business with thee.* Immediately the bones began to unite, and in a short time the Priest stood before them; who, at the Saint's command, pronounced absolution on the excommunicated corpse; after which, both the dead bodies returned to their graves, and fell into dust. Then Augustin, calling the officer, asked him, if he yet persisted in refusing to pay his tythes. But he, trembling and astonished, fell at the Saint's feet, and confessed his crime; and, bestowing all his goods on the church, he became a constant follower of Augustin, till the day of his death (71). If the reader is not yet satisfied, he may read a great deal more of such Legendary stuff in the author cited in the margin (72).

[AA] *Godwin charges him with a restless ambition, whereby he occasioned great disturbances in this island.* 'Homo is (*Augustinus*) videtur sanctitate morum quam scientia aut eruditione laudatior, etsi ut homo vitis non caruerit, ac illo in primis ambitionis, qua dum plusquam nimis ardescit, magnas hic turbas excitavit, ut quasi contagio quodam infectus, a loco unde venerat hanc pestem accepisse videatur, si Pontificum subsequendum superbiæ ad apertam tyrannidem grassantium, potius quam Gregorii, et antecessorum suorum humilitatem spectemus (73).—Augustin seems more worthy of praise for the holiness of his life, than his knowledge or learning; though as a man he was not free from faults, especially that of ambition, with which being too strongly possessed, he was the occasion of great disturbances here; insomuch that he seems to have been infected with the malignity of the plague from whence he came, and to have brought this plague with him from Rome, if we consider the pride of the succeeding Popes, who openly played the tyrants, rather than the humility of Gregory and his predecessors.' What disturbances this author means, or what marks of ambition he discovered in Augustin's conduct, I am at a loss to say; unless he had in view the slaughter of the Britons, and that Prelate's taking upon himself the character of Metropolitan of England,

(62) Chronic. W. Thorn. ap. X Scriptores, col. 1793, 1794.

(63) Id. ibid. col. 1877, 1878.

(64) Id. ibid. col. 1977.

(65) Bede, l. ii. c. 3.

(66) Stillingfl. Orig. Eccles. p. 21, 22.

(67) Britannia. published by Bp Gibson, fol. Vol. I. p. 241.

(68) Bede, ubi supra.

(69) Chronic. W. Thorn, ubi supra, col. 1759.

(70) Chronic. J. Bromton, ubi supra, col. 807.

(71) Id. ib. col. 736, 737.

(72) Goccelini Hist. Minor. de Vita S. Augustini. Apud Wharton, Pars secunda, p. 56, &c.

(73) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 42.

the English were not so much obliged to the Church of Rome for the success of Augustin's mission, as is generally pretended [BB]. But in favour of Augustin, it must be said, that he lived suitably to the character of a Missionary, and practised great austerities. And if he betrayed any restlessness of temper, or strained his authority too far in respect to the Britons, it ought to be placed to the account of human infirmities, and covered by his greater merit: This is certain; he engaged in a glorious undertaking, surmounted danger and discouragement, and was blessed with wonderful success. And what ought to endear his memory to us, is, that he was a signal instrument in the hand of providence establishing Christianity in this island. The observation of the festival of St Augustin was first enjoined in a synod held under Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury (u), and afterwards by the Pope's bull in the reign of King Edward III (o).

(n) Gervas. Aët. Pontif. Cantuar. apud Twyden, col. 164.

(o) Chronic. W. Thorn. apud Twyden, col. 219.

England, before Christianity had extended itself beyond the bounds of Kent, or there were any suffragan Bishops to acknowledge his jurisdiction. But the reader will know better what to think of both these events, if he will consult the remarks [M] and [W].

[BB] ———— *And is of opinion, that the English were not so much obliged to the Church of Rome, for the success of Augustin's mission, as is generally pretended.* Let the Bishop once more speak for himself. 'Cui tamen Apostoli Anglorum non invidibimus appellationem, modo commodè intellectam. Missum siquidem non inficiamus; sed per quem? Per Gregorium Episcopum Romanum, cui nequicquam plus juris erat in nostram Angliam quam ipsi Augustino——Dabimus porro, ut Anglis prædicaret missum. Angliæ tamen pars magna (cur non dixerim maxima) infidelitatis tenebris immerfa jacuit plurimis post mortem ejus annis, donec tandem Paulinus in Septentrione anno 625, Wilfridus apud Australes Saxones 681, Fœlix apud orientales Anglos in Norfolciæ 630, alique alibi postea Christum primi annuntiarunt (74). ———— I shall not deny him the title of Apostle of the English, understood in a proper sense. For I acknowledge, he was sent; but by whom? By Gregory Bishop of Rome, who had no more authority over our England, than Augustin himself. I will grant likewise, that he was sent to preach to the English. Yet a great part (I might say much the greatest part) of England lay buried in the darkness of infidelity many years after his death, till at length Paulinus converted the

'Northern parts in the year 625, Wilfrid the South-Saxons in 681, Fœlix the East-Angles in Norfolk' in 630, and others other parts of the island.' But, with submission to this author, if it be no objection (and I think it never was urged as such) against the merit and character of the first preachers of Christianity, that they did not live to see the Gospel fully established in the countries where they preached; why should it be thought to derogate from the good intentions of Pope Gregory, or the services of Augustin, that the latter died long before the entire conversion of this island? The Britons, it is true, had received the Christian faith a considerable time before Augustin's arrival; but the Saxons, who were idolators, having driven the natives into Wales, and possessed themselves of the greatest part of the island, Heathenism had resumed it's antient seat in Britain, and the great work of conversion was to be undertaken afresh. And if the labours of St Augustin succeeded so far, as to lay a sufficient foundation for the gradual propagation of Christianity, till the whole country should at length embrace it; the praise and the thanks due to so blessed a work ought not to be the less, because it pleased God to take the labourer to himself long before it was finished. I might add, that Paulinus, who preached to the Northumbrians, was consecrated by Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was contemporary and fellow-labourer with Augustin himself; so that our missionary may be considered as an instrument in the Conversion of that kingdom, though he did not live to be witness of it. T

AUNGERVYLE (RICHARD) commonly known by the name of *Richard de Bury*, was born at St Edmundsbury in Suffolk, in 1281 (*), the ninth of King Edward I (a). His father, Sir Richard Aungervyle, Kt. dying while he was young, his uncle ——— Willowby, a Priest, took a particular care of his education; and when he was fit, sent him to Oxford, where he studied Philosophy and Divinity (b), and distinguished himself by his learning, and regular and exemplary life [A]. When he had finished his studies there, he became a Benedictine Monk at Durham (c). Soon after he was made tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward III (d). And being Treasurer of Guienne in 1325, he supplied Queen Isabel, when she was plotting against her husband King Edward II, with a large sum of money out of that Exchequer. For which being questioned by the King's party, he narrowly escaped to Paris, where he was forced to hide himself seven days in the tower of a church (e). When King Edward III came to the Crown, he loaded his tutor Aungervyle with honours and preferments. For he at first made him his Cofferer, then Treasurer of the Wardrobe, Archdeacon of Northampton, Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Litchfield (†), and afterwards Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This last place he enjoyed five years, and was in that time sent twice ambassador to the Pope. In 1333 he was promoted to the Deanery of Wells, and before the end of the same year, being chosen Bishop of Durham, he was consecrated about the end of December [B] at Chertsey in Surrey; the Kings of England and Scotland, the Queen, the two Archbishops, five Bishops, seven Earls, and many other persons being present. The next year he was appointed High-Chancellor, and in 1336 Treasurer of England (f). In 1338 he was twice sent with

(*) This is evident from the memorandum mentioned below, note [C].

(b) Rossus Warwic. apud Baleum, ibid. Godwin, ibid.

(c) Pits, ubi supra.

(d) Godwin, ibid.

(e) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 130.

(†) Br. Willis Survey of the Cathedrals, &c., p. 241.

(f) Ibid.

[A] He distinguished himself by his learning] Boston and Rolfe of Warwick testify, that *In utraque (philosophia tam divina quam humana) magnus evasit; i. e.* He became very eminent for his knowledge both in philosophy and divinity (1).

[B] He was consecrated about the end of December.] Bishop Godwin says, he was consecrated the 19th of December; but it appears from Walsingham that it was a mistake. For the person consecrated about that time, was a Monk of Durham, whom the rest of the Monks had chosen Bishop, against the

King's inclination. Wherefore, upon the King's recommendation, the Pope nominated Richard de Bury, who was consecrated accordingly, *cito post festum natalis domini*, soon after Christmas. The Monk being a Bishop without a Bishoprick, *sine Episcopatu Episcopus*, returned to his cloyster, where he died soon after (2). I cannot, by the way, but take notice of a very visible mistake that hath crept into Walsingham, at line 24 of the same page; the words — *nomine Richardum de Bury* — ought certainly to be blotted out.

(2) T. Walsingham Hist. Edw. II, edit. Francof. 1603, p. 133.

(74) Id. ibid. p. 45, 46.

(a) Godwin de Præfatis, Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 129. Baleus de Script. Cent. V, n. 69. Pits de illustr. Angl. Scrip. an. 1349.

(g) H. de
Knyghton de
Eventibus An-
glicis, col. 2572.

with other Commissioners to treat of a peace with the King of France, tho' to no purpose (g). As to his character, he was not only one of the learnedest men of his time, but also a very great patron and encourager of learning. Petrarch he frequently corresponded with: And had for his chaplains, Thomas Bradwardin and Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbishops, the first of Canterbury, and the second of Armagh; Richard Bintworth soon after Bishop of London, and Walter Segrave of Chichester; and Walter Burley, J. Mandut, Rob. Holcot, R. Killington, Doctors of Divinity, the most eminent men in that age. His custom was, to have some of his attendants read to him while he was at meals, and when they were over, to discourse with his chaplains upon the same subject. He was likewise of a very bountiful and charitable temper; every week he made eight quarters of wheat into bread, and gave it to the poor. Whenever he travelled between Durham and Newcastle, he distributed eight pounds sterling in alms; between Durham and Stockton five pounds; between Durham and Auckland five marks; and between Durham and Middleham five pounds (h). But the noblest instance of his generosity and munificence, was the publick library he founded at Oxford, for the use of the students (i). This library he furnished with the best collection of books that was then in England; fixed it in the place where Durham, now Trinity-college, was built afterwards; and writ a treatise containing rules for the management of the library, how the books were to be preserved, and upon what conditions lent out to scholars [C]. He appointed five keepers, to whom he granted yearly salaries [D]. This worthy person having thus employed himself in works of charity and munificence, died at his manor of Auckland, April 24, 1345; and was buried in the south part of the cross isle of the cathedral church of Durham, to which he had been a benefactor (k).

(h) Godwin, ubi
supra, p. 131.

(i) Godwin, Ba-
leus, & Pits, ubi
supra.
A. Wood, Hist.
& Antiq. Univ.
Oxon. Lib. ii.
p. 48.

(k) Godwin, ubi
supra.

[C] *He writ a treatise, &c.* This book he entitled *Philobiblos*, from whence he came to be called himself *Philobiblos*, a lover of books; and very justly if, as he says himself in the preface to it, his love of them was so violent, that it put him in a kind of rapture, and made him neglect all his other affairs. He finished it at Aukland, January 24, 1344-5, being just sixty-three years of age (3). It was printed at Spires in 1483, at Paris by Badius Ascensius in 1500, by the learned Thomas James at Oxford in 1599, 4to. and at Leipzig in 1674, at the end of *Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria una, ex bibliotheca Melch. Haminsfeldii*. It is also in manuscript, not only in the Cottonian library, as appears by the margin, but also in the Royal (4), and other libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, &c (5). The book is written in very indifferent Latin, and a declamatory stile: It is divided into 20 chapters. In the I. he praises wisdom, and books in which it is contained. II. That books are to be preferred to riches and pleasures. III. That they ought to be always bought. IV. How much good arises from books, and that they are misused only by ignorant people. V. That good monks write books, but the bad ones are otherwise employed. VI. The praise of the ancient begging friars, with a reproof of the modern ones. VII. In the 7th he bewails the loss of books, by fire and wars. VIII. He shows what fine opportunities he had of collecting books, whilst he was Chancellor and Treasurer, as well as during his em-

(3) This appears
from a memo-
randum at the
end of the copy
in the Cottonian
Library, inter
Codices MSS,
nondum in loculis
repositos, IV. 3.

(4) 15 C. XVI.
n. 2. 4to.

(5) Pits, ubi
supra.

bassies. IX. That the ancients out-did the moderns in hard studying. X. That learning is by degrees arrived to perfection, and that he had procured a Greek and Hebrew Grammar. XI. That the Law and Law-books, are not properly learning. XII. The usefulness and necessity of Grammar. XIII. An apology for Poetry, and the usefulness of it. XIV. Who ought to love books. XV. The manifold advantages of learning. XVI. Of writing new books, and mending the old. XVII. Of using books well, and how to place them. XVIII. An answer to his calumniators. XIX. Upon what conditions books are to be lent to strangers. XX. Conclusion. Besides this *Philobiblos*, our author writ ——— *Epistolarum Familiarium Librum unum*. Some of these letters are to Petrarch, with whom he kept a correspondence, and who had desired his opinion about the *Thule* of the ancients. ——— He also composed ——— *Orationes ad Principes*, in one book (6). ——— Some think it was not *Aungerwyle*, but his chaplain R. Holcot, who writ the *Philobiblos* (7).

[D] *He appointed five keepers, &c.* At the dissolution of religious houses in Henry VIIIth's reign, Durham college being dissolved among the rest, some of the books of this valuable collection were removed to the publick library, some to Baliol-college, and some came into the hands of Dr George Owen, a physician of Godtow, who bought the said college of King Edward VI (8).

(6) Baleus & Pits,
ubi supra.

(7) See Leland
Itin. Vol. III.
p. 64. and
Hearne's Notes
on Leland's Col-
lect. Vol. II. p.
299.

(8) Camden's
Britannia, edit.
1722. Addit. to
Oxfordshire, col.
310.

A X T E L (DANIEL) a Colonel in the service of the Long Parliament, and executed for the share he had in the murder of King Charles I. The particulars of this gentleman's life, before he engaged in the service of the Parliament, are so deeply buried in oblivion, that notwithstanding all the industry we have used, a very few only, and those of less consequence than we could wish, can be brought to light. He was of a good family, and had a tolerable education, that is to say, such a one as might fit him for that course of life it was intended he should lead, being placed by his relations as an apprentice to a Grocer in Watling-street (a). As he was of a very serious disposition, and had been very early tinctured with those principles, which were in that age stiled Puritanical, he became an eager follower of such ministers, as distinguished themselves by their zealous preaching (b). His great attachment to these sort of people, and the natural warmth of his own temper, were the occasions of his quitting his own calling, and going into the army, to which he was principally determined, by keeping a day of fasting and prayer with Mr Simeon Ath, Mr Love, Mr Woodcocke, and other ministers, in Lawrence-lane, wherein, according to his judgment, they did so clearly state the cause of the Parliament, that he was fully convinced of the justice of their cause, and resolved to venture his life for it (c). Such were the consequences of the professors of the Christian religion, converting their pulpits into schools of politicks, to which it may truly be said, the Civil War owed it's beginning, as most of the dismal consequences with

(a) Echard's Hi-
story of England,
Folio, 1720, p.
780.

(b) South's Ser-
mons, Vol. I.
p. 513.

(c) See Colonel
Axteel's Dying
Speech, in which
this fact is deli-
vered.

with which it was attended, flowed, but too apparently, from the same source [A]. After having thus chosen his party, he behaved in the army with so much zeal, courage, and conduct, that he rose by degrees to the several commands, of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel, in a regiment of foot (d). It was in this last capacity, that he acted with great vehemence against all endeavours for a reconciliation with the King, and particularly concurred in exhibiting a charge of high-treason, against eleven members of the House of Commons, for betraying the cause of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, with other particulars, which obliged those gentlemen to withdraw, which was the first force put upon that House of Commons, and the remembrance of the concern Colonel Axtel had therein, contributed not a little to his destruction (e). Upon several changes that afterwards happened, these members were again admitted, sat, and voted in the House, and new schemes were entered upon, for restoring the Constitution by resettling the government, in order to which the House of Commons, on the fifth of December, 1648, resolved, 'That his Majesty's concessions to the propositions upon the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were sufficient grounds for the Houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the kingdom.' But a great party in the army who thought otherwise, determined to prevent the effects of this, and accordingly placed one Colonel Pride with a guard at the door of the Parliament-house, having in his hands a list of those members who were to be excluded, and accordingly he prevented all of them from entering the House, and secured some of them who were most suspected, under a guard provided for that purpose (f), which act of his, was supposed by some of the wisest men in England, to dissolve and destroy the representative of the Commons of England, and to leave those who remained and acted, without any legal authority [B]. Yet this remnant of the House of Commons, on the thirteenth of

(d) Ludlow's
Memoirs, Vol.
111. p. 89.

(e) See Mr An-
nesley's Speech
in the Star-Cham-
ber, Vol. II. p.
375.

(f) Clarendon's
History of the
Rebellion and Civil
War, Folio,
773^o, p. 563.

December,

[A] *Flowed but too apparently from the same source*] It is certainly a thing worthy of observation, that a spirit of religion ill conducted, was the cause of all the evils with which the histories of those times are crowded. The first ill blood between King Charles and his subjects, was occasioned by the severe proceedings in the High-Commission Court, and the cruel censures in the Star-Chamber; in both of which, the Court Clergy were allowed too much power. But while they studied the art of raising themselves by becoming learned in Fathers, Councils, and Polemic Divinity, the other sort of Clergy applied themselves to a quite different method, which however, was as well suited as theirs, to the purposes they intended it should answer. Instead of the Fathers they quoted Scripture, instead of other people's interpretations they gave them their own; and instead of keeping up the dignity of the subject, they took all the pains they could to make it level to the meanest understandings. By this means, the breach was widened to a monstrous degree, and while one side stood high on their Learning, the other was run away with by their enthusiasm. But what was most wonderful, each side saw the other's error, and remained blind to it's own; though at the same time, what convinced them of the one, would, if it had been impartially applied, have demonstrated to them the other. For the common error of both was, that they contended for things as essential, which at the same time, and in the same breath, they confessed to be indifferent. By this means it was, that such as meant *best*, were drawn to do the *worst* of things for want of clearly apprehending their own meaning. This will fully appear to be the case, if we attentively consider the principal facts mentioned in this life. Since nothing can be plainer, than that King Charles the First was murdered, for maintaining the power of the Clergy, to which he steadily adhered, even after he had given up his own prerogatives. On the other hand, this gentleman, Mr Axtel, thought his cause, the cause of God, and believed to the last moment of his life, that he shed his blood to very good purpose, if it hindered his friends from being ever reconciled to the *Surplice* and *Common-Prayer*. These are reflections that naturally arise from the subject, and which therefore we have a right to make, for certainly the great use of this sort of reading is, to prevent mistakes in our own conduct, by observing the fatal consequences of them in the conduct of other men.

[B] *To leave them who remained and acted without any legal authority*] The beginning of these disputes in regard to civil affairs, was zeal for the constitution. It was thought by many able men, that the King's prerogative had entrenched too much upon the liberty of the subject, which certainly implied, that there was a Constitution, by which both ought to be regulated; and to remedy this, it was thought requisite

to have the assistance of a Parliament, the continuance of which should not depend on the will of the King; to which he assented, and thereby altered the Constitution in a very material point. When this power was taken from the King, the two Houses assumed to themselves a power of making laws, which was as great an encroachment on the liberty of the subject, as the King's expecting as much obedience to be paid to his Proclamations, as to acts of Parliament. By degrees things went much farther, and at last so far, that even the warmest friends to Liberty, and those too who were believed to understand our Constitution best, thought it entirely lost. Serjeant Maynard, who certainly was no courtier, and who was never suspected of inclining too much to the power of the Crown, made no scruple of declaring, when the vote of *Non-Addresses* was under consideration, that if it passed the Parliament was dissolved. He founded his judgment upon this, that the Parliament of England was the great council of the King of England; that therefore the relation was reciprocal, and that one could not subsist without the other. A vote therefore, that they would have no farther correspondence with the King, was a plain declaration that they would be no longer his council, and then it was very natural for a Lawyer, to think *they would be nothing*. It is also very remarkable, that such of the wisest and ablest men, as in the beginning of this Parliament opposed the Crown with the greatest vehemence, made no difficulty afterwards of declaring, that they looked upon the House of Commons as dissolved, after the first force was put upon it. It was from their conceiving things in this light, that Mr Denzil Hollis, afterwards Lord Hollis; Mr Annesley, afterwards Earl of Anglesey; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, sat as judges upon this Mr Axtel, and the rest of the Regicides, without departing in their opinion from their former principles, as appears clearly from their behaviour on these trials, in which they all of them affirmed, the force put upon the House made it *no House*, and that such as endeavoured to screen themselves under the authority of the Parliament, by pleading the warrants they received from the remnant that were left sitting, had no legal justification, because that remainder ceased to be a Parliament. In their judgment therefore, the murder of the King was not only Treason against his Person, Crown, and Dignity, but Treason also against the Constitution, because it was an act done in consequence of the Constitution's being broken and dissolved, by virtue of an usurped power. In all which, they seemed to have acted very sensibly and with great justice. For if a man may be guilty of Treason, and be punished for it by law, tho' he pleads the King's command for what he did, which is what no Lawyer ever denied; then, by a parity of reason, no man can justify the doing an act which is Treason by Law, from the au-
thority

December, revived the vote of non-addresses, and though they were but twenty-six in number, took upon them to issue a commission for trying the King, passing a vote on New-year's-day, *That it was treason in the King to levy war against the Parliament* (g). On the ninth of January, the tryal of the King was proclaimed by sound of trumpet and beat of drum, in Westminster-Hall, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside, and all people were summoned who had any thing to say against the King, to appear and be heard (h). On the twentieth of January, when the King was brought before the High Court of Justice; Colonel Stubberd, and Colonel Axtel, had the command of the soldiers below stairs. The King demanded of Serjeant Bradshaw, who was the President, by what authority they brought him there, and the President appealing to the charge, which was in the name of the Commons and People of England, Lady Fairfax, the General's wife, cried out, *It is a lye, it is false, not a half, not a quarter of the people, Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor*, which words were repeated by Mrs Nelson. Upon this Colonel Axtel cried out, *Down with the whores, shoot them*, which vehemence of his made him taken notice of (i). The people at the time of his Majesty's passing to his tryal, moved by the sadness of the sight, cried out *God save the KING*, which obliged such as drove on his death, to procure another cry to countenance their design, and therefore Colonel Axtel beat the soldiers till they cried *Justice! Justice* (k)! And on the last day of the tryal, when the common people cried *God preserve your Majesty*, the soldiers were again taught, by the prevailing argument of the cane, to cry out, *Execution! Execution* (l)! After the sentence was passed, the King was carried through the middle of King's street, in a common sedan, by two porters, who out of reverence to his person, went bare-headed, till the soldiers, under Colonel Axtel's command, beat them, and forced them to put on their hats (m). After the murder of the King, when Cromwell was sent into Ireland, the regiment in which Colonel Axtel served, was drawn out by lot for that expedition, which occasioned his going over into that kingdom, where he made a considerable figure, was much esteemed and trusted by Cromwell, and raised for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, as General Ludlow tells us, to the command of a regiment, and the government of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important trust, Ludlow farther tells us, he discharged with diligence and success, and in his station, shewed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish, who had been guilty of murdering the Protestants (n). Other writers represent this in quite a different light, and charge him with severities, not at all inferior in cruelty to those committed by the Irish rebels themselves (o) [C]. After Cromwell, on the twentieth of April, 1653, had turned the Long Parliament out of the House, things took another turn, and he having assumed the supreme power to himself, sent over his son Henry to Ireland, where he commanded at first as Major-General, and by his endeavours to establish the new government, so disgusted all the godly, but more particularly the Anabaptists, that on the twenty-eighth of November, 1656, they sent Major Jones, and one Mr Doyley, to acquaint him, that Quarter-master-General Vernon, Adjutant Allen, Colonel Barrowe, and Colonel Axtel, desired to speak with him, upon which he offered to confer with them immediately (p). As soon as they came into his presence, Colonel Barrowe, premising his and their many personal obligations received from the Major-General, told him, that

(g) Diurnal, No. 286, from Jan. 1 to Jan. 8, 1648.

(h) Walker's History of Independency, P. ii. p. 68.

(i) State Tryals, Vol. II. P. 372, 373.

(k) Ibid. p. 371, 372.

(l) Ibid. p. 371, 372, 373.

(m) Ibid. p. 371.

(n) Memoirs, Vol. III. P. 89.

(o) See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, in Ireland, p. 289. Heath's Chronicle, p. 465.

(p) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 671.

(1) Walker's History of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

(2) Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 353.

thority of any other part of the Constitution. Of this Cromwell was so sensible, that when the act for trying the King was moved to be brought into the House of Commons, he said (1), *That if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world. But since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, tho' he were not provided on the sudden to give them counsel.*

[C] *Committed by the Irish rebels themselves.* At the end of the Earl of Clarendon's history of the Irish rebellion there is an Appendix, in which two pieces are contained, the first entitled, A Collection of the several Massacres and Murders committed by the Irish since the 23d of October, 1641; and the second is called, a Collection of some of the Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland, since October 23, 1641. It is from this last, these facts which follow in relation to the conduct of Mr Axtel, while invested with martial power in that kingdom, are taken (2).

1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel, cut off the head of Mr Fitz-Gerret of Browniford's son, and hanged the sons of Mr Butler of Ballickify, and Mr Butler of Bonidstown, because their fathers enlisted themselves in his Majesty's army.

One Francis Frisby, an Englishman and a Protestant, Butler to the Duke of Ormond, having had quarter upon the rendition of Kilkenny to Cromwell, was apprehended by the said Colonel Axtel, and for not confessing his Lord's plate, was tortured to death by burning matches between his fingers, in the castle of Kilkenny.

1651. Major Shertel, an officer of his Majesty's army, having delivered the castle of Ballimay, upon quarter of life and liberty to Colonel Axtel, was run thro' the body by the said Colonel, and all his soldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, were killed.

Captain Thomas Shertel, a Captain of horse in his Majesty's army, coming to Kilkenny upon safe conduct, was hanged by the said Axtel, because he had a good estate within two miles of Kilkenny.

1650. Colonel Axtel hanged fifty of the inhabitants near Thomastown living under his protection, for no other reason, but that a party of Cromwell's army was defeated the day before in that place, by some of the Royalists.

Colonel Axtel meeting one day forty men, women, and children, near the wood of Kildonan, who were coming for greater security to live within his quarters, caused them all to be killed.

Some soldiers of the king's army, being taken in a village in Grace's parish, Colonel Axtel caused all the inhabitants of the said village to be apprehended, hanged three of them, and sold the rest of them to the island of Barbadoes.

The said Axtel (as matter of recreation) commanded his troops to gather together a great number of the protected people near Kilkenny, and being all in a cluster, bid the troops rush thro' them, and to kill as many as happened on the left hand of the troop, and to spare the rest. Thirty persons were murdered then on that account.

that finding themselves of late not made use of they could not with satisfaction to their consciences receive pay from the publick, without doing service for it, and therefore came to acquaint him, that they had upon solemn seeking of God, and serious deliberation with themselves, represented to his Highness and the Lord Deputy, their resolutions to quit their commands, and had sent their reasons for doing it, signifying that they had reserved the delivering up of their commissions to the Major-General, as a particular mark of their respect for him; wherefore he did in his own, and in the name of the rest of the officers, declare, that they were from thenceforward discharged from any publick employment in the army, and at the same time they all of them tendered their commissions, which the Major-General however did not think fit to accept, but they having publicly declared, that they looked upon their offer as a sufficient discharge, he thought fit to appoint them another meeting, the next day, in the afternoon. He told them at this meeting, that he was very sorry to find they were so resolute in what they had proposed the day before, as to giving up their commissions, and that it was no pleasant thing to him to receive them, from persons who had so long served the publick as they had done. If they quitted indeed upon a conscientious dissatisfaction, he knew not well what to reply, but that he hoped, when he parted with them the day before, that they would have given him time to have reasoned the matter with them, and not have put him upon giving so sudden an answer. But since considering how positive they had been, and that they had, contrary to his expectation, and that not in so decent a manner as he could have wished, made it the talk of the town, he thought himself concerned forthwith to declare his acceptance of their proposal; and that he should take care, since they insisted so earnestly upon it, without any provocation of his, and contrary to his desires, they should be fairly discharged the army, and satisfied what was due to each of them; and that since they were resolved to retire, he should wish them well in their private capacities, and shew them all respect befitting the place he stood in there; and hoped that they would mind the promise they made the day before, of serving God, and being always ready to serve the publick, in order thereto. Upon this they seemed to express great thankfulness, and very high satisfaction in the choice they had made, only Colonel Axtel having first premised, that he thought himself now on a level with the Major-General, complained in very rough and bitter language of the ill usage he had met with, and the slights that had been put upon him since the great Revolution in England, and the power of the Parliament had been devolved upon a single person, which Mr Cromwell bore as patiently as he could; but it appears clearly enough from the letters he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that he was extremely sensible of the usage he had met with, and looked upon these people, as absolutely disaffected both to the government in general, and to his family in particular (q) [D]. The condition of Colonel Axtel

(q) Thurloe's
State Papers,
Vol. V. p. 675,
710, 729.
from

[D] And to his family in particular.] The facts contained in this remarkable letter of Major-General Henry Cromwell, the reader has above in the text, and what we are to give here, regards only Mr Cromwell's sentiments, and the apprehensions he was under, from the open railing and private intrigues of the Anabaptists and other sectaries, with which the army in Ireland abounded, even in a greater proportion, than the army in England, where however they were numerous enough. His words are these. 'Now although they pretended, says he, that what they had thus generally charged me with, was the ground of their dissatisfaction; yet amongst all the venom they spit against me, and in all the plainness and freedom they were pleased to use towards me, as looking on themselves to be on even ground with me, they would neither now, nor hereafter, instance any one particular, whereon to bottom their general calumnies, although myself, and others, have been urging them thereunto. I cannot deny, but my actions, and the way I have taken for the management of things here, having thwarted and checked that exorbitant power, which they formerly exercised, may probably, have added to their other discontents. Yet 'tis notoriously known, how these gentlemen did with more than ordinary insolence, manifest their discontents, and that in as publick manner as they could, against his Highness and the government, when his Highness first assumed it, and how they have persisted and grown therein, is as well known, and that they have not acquiesced in their own dissatisfactions, but have likewise endeavoured to corrupt and seduce all others, whom they thought capable of receiving the impressions of their factious and troublesome principle. It has been since observed by others, and since said by some of their own party, that whatever they might pretend to me, as the grounds and cause of this their withdrawing; yet that the apprehensions which two of them, namely Allen and Vernon, had of being under his High-

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ness's displeasure, and the mean esteem the other two had of their commands, with their general dissatisfaction to the government, was the true principal cause which induced them to it; and tho' they have said, that the godly are discouraged, I do yet find a general rejoicing in those that are godly, sober, and well affected; that these gentlemen have thus quitted their employments, and none troubled but a few of their own party, who are more afflicted, that these gentlemen have thus beset themselves, in this their action, rather than for any danger imminent to themselves (3).'

After this, Mr Cromwell grew so uneasy at the aspersions thrown upon him by these people, that in another letter to the Secretary, he intimated a desire to lay down his own command, in order to retire and live in peace; on which the Secretary wrote him a long letter, dated from Whitehall, December 16, 1656, in which there are some things, that may contribute to the reader's more clearly apprehending these matters, and therefore it may not be amiss to transcribe a paragraph or two.

Your Lordship's of the third instant, came to my hands upon Friday last; since which, viz. yesterday, I received another, whereby I was sorry to find your Lordship is under some indisposition of body, but hope that your next will bring us the good news, that the Lord hath again restored you, as also the young Lady, which we heartily pray for. I humbly thank your Lordship, for the great pains you have taken in your's of the third instant, to make so particular relation of what passed between your Lordship, and those officers, who have quitted their commands, which I communicated to his Highness, that as he had an account of the former part of this business, from your own hand, so he might also understand the issue it was brought to.

I am very sorry to see, that discontent hath so far prevailed upon the spirits of those, who do profess to live by higher principles; and truly, I should

(3) Thurloe's
State Papers,
Vol. V. p. 730.

from this time was very unpleasant, he lived in a private condition upon the estate he had acquired in the service, but instead of that power and authority which he had exercised for six years together over the town and district of Kilkenny, he was now in the state of a disaffected man, and not only without trust and without authority, but also so much suspected by his superiors, that he could not take the slightest journey about his private affairs, without having spies set over him, and being very frequently called to account (z). All this was occasioned by the wild principles and restless spirits of the Anabaptists, which as they had brought about the subversion, first of one government, and then of another, were now grown as turbulent under a third. Yet Henry Cromwell, when vested with the character of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was contented to watch over them without persecuting, and except the great jealousy that he expressed of their motions, he kept his word with them very exactly, and treated them as well as they could expect (s). After the death of the Protector, Oliver, which happened on the third of September, 1658, things took a new turn, and his son Richard, who had assumed the title of Protector, immediately after his father's death, saw himself, in the beginning of the next year, reduced to the fatal necessity of dissolving, what he called a Parliament, with which ended his authority, and on the seventh of May, 1659 (t), the remnant of the Long Parliament, resumed the power of which they had been deprived by Cromwell; and his son Henry, who commanded as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, having submitted, as well as his brother Richard, Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow was sent over to take the supreme authority there, and one of the first things he did, being to new model the army, Colonel Axtel came again into play, had a regiment given him, and was one of the few persons, in whom Ludlow chiefly confided (u). It may not be amiss to remark, that though this gentleman changed his opinion with respect to Church matters, and of a Presbyterian became an Anabaptist, yet as to his notions of civil government he remained somewhat more steady, and was always looked upon as a zealous friend to a commonwealth. It was this disposition of his, and his clear reputation for courage and conduct, as an officer, that induced General Ludlow to make choice of him, to command one division of the Irish Brigade, that was sent over to maintain the Parliament in possession of their authority, and to keep out the King, which however they were so far from doing, that they contributed very much to his return (w). The rising of Sir George Booth, which happened in August the same year, was the occasion of their being transported to England, but they had no share in reducing him, which, was performed before their arrival, by Major-General Lambert (x). Their coming however was esteemed of great service to the Parliament, though it proved otherwise, for Colonel Zanche, who commanded them, concurred with the army in putting a new force upon that assembly, which lasted till Christmas, and then the Rump as it was called, was again restored by the terror of Monk's army, which was marching out of Scotland (y). As he at the beginning declared positively for the Parliament, Colonel Axtel, and the rest of the officers of the Irish Brigade, kept that body of troops which were esteemed the best in the kingdom, from acting against him, which if they had done in conjunction with Lambert, his design in all probability had miscarried. But as Monk very well knew, that those forces would never concur in restoring the King, while under the officers who then commanded them, he resolved to try whether it might not be possible, to engage them first to change their officers, and then to fall into his measures, which was the most critical point he had to manage. They were at that time quartered in Yorkshire, and thither he sent Colonel Redman, who had commanded a part of those troops in Ireland, under Henry Cromwell, and who was turned out by Ludlow. He carried with him some of his friends who had served under him, and on his first appearance, the best part of the Irish brigade very fairly told Colonel Zanche, and Colonel Axtel, that they might take what measures they thought fit, but that for themselves, they were determined to serve under Colonel Redman, and their old officers (z). This revolt gave the death's wound to the Republick, for Colonel Redman, pursuant to the orders he had received from General Monk, immediately marched that body of old troops into Cheshire, which so weakened Lambert's army, that was before superior to Monk's, that it left him in no condition to oppose the march of that General to London, which Colonel Axtel perceiving, resolved to shift for himself, and being thenceforward deprived of all command, endeavoured to settle his private affairs, and secure himself the best way he could (a). But when a fresh opportunity offered of asserting the Good Old Cause, Colonel Axtel shewed his affection to it, by venturing his life in a very desperate undertaking, and that too as a private man. The occasion was this, the Council of State had committed General Lambert to the Tower, in the beginning of the month of March, but on the ninth of April, 1660 (b), he made his escape from thence,

(z) Memoirs of the War in Ireland, p. 315.

(s) Ibid. p. 325.

(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 413.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 689.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 692.

(x) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 215.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426, 427.

(z) Barwick's Life, p. 224.

(a) Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 877.

(b) Phillips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 720, 721.

' should look upon it, as a judgment from God,
' upon me, if I should desert my place, and leave
' my station, incapacitating myself for any publick
' service, because all things did not square just with
' my apprehensions (which is the best of their case),
' or rather, as some say, because I could not govern
' absolutely exclusive of all others, this being (as is
' said) the true ground of their discontent. Be it
' what it will, it is from themselves, having no pro-

' vocation thereunto from your Lordship, which I
' do much rejoice in; and I am very confident,
' that when they do seriously consider this action,
' and with an impartial eye view what was in the
' bottom of their spirits, that moved them to take
' and act these resolutions, they will be ashamed
' of themselves before the Lord, and search their
' hearts, what might be the cause why the Lord
' should leave them to this delusion (4).'

thence, and got down as far as Daventry in Northamptonshire, where, having assembled a considerable body of horse, he was joined by Colonel Okey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Cobbet, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, besides diverse foldiers that were Anabaptists (c). Colonel Richard Ingolfsby, and Colonel Streater, who were sent to reduce Lambert, followed him with such diligence, that on Easter-day, which was that year on the twenty-second of April, they came up with him in a plain near Daventry, having only a brook between them. When the two bodies came near, just as Colonel Ingolfsby was going to charge, Streater commanded six files of musqueteers to advance. One file gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lambert's horse. His drums beat, and in good order he advanced, having given strict command, that his musqueteers should not fire, till they came as near as push of pike. But Lambert's men held the noses of their pistols towards the ground, and Nelthorpe's troop came off to Ingolfsby, Haslerigg's troop having deserted him before. For Colonel Ingolfsby sending Captain Elfemore before him with a party, as he marched to find Lambert, met Captain Haslerigg, and took him prisoner, but released him upon his parole, to send his whole troop over to join Ingolfsby, which he faithfully performed, sending it to them by his Quarter-Master, but he retired himself. Colonel Ingolfsby told Lambert he was his prisoner, whereupon Creed and the rest, earnestly intreated him to do what he pleased with them, but to let Lambert escape, acquainting him that his life could be of no advantage to him, which Ingolfsby absolutely refused, telling them, that he would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him, by such an ungenerous act. Lambert then turned about his horse, and attempted to make his escape, but Ingolfsby pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and vowed to pistol him if he did not immediately yield. Lambert in great depression of spirits, twice prayed him to let him escape, but when he saw he could not prevail, submitted as all as the rest did, except Okey, Axtel, and Cleer, who escaped (d). There is still in being a very extraordinary letter, written by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, giving an account of this defeat, which deserves the reader's notice, and is therefore preserved in the notes [E]. This was the last struggle that was made in favour of the Commonwealth, and Colonel Axtel used his utmost industry afterwards to conceal himself, as foreseeing that it would not be long, before he might be called to an account, for the large share he had taken in the trial of the King; but his care in this respect was to very little purpose, for before the close of the month, he was discovered and committed to prison (e). We are told by one of his friends, that he was betrayed by a Royalist, who having engaged him at a meeting, on pretence of treating with him for the purchase of some lands, gave notice of the time and place, by which he was apprehended and committed to the Tower (f). After the King's Restoration, the bill of indemnity being then depending in the House of Commons, they, on the fourteenth of June, 1660, resolved, *That Daniel Axtel should be one of the Twenty excepted out of that bill* (g). On the twelfth of July following, a warrant was sent for his detention in the Tower, for high-treason (h). On the twenty-ninth of August, the King passed the so long expected act, of free and general pardon, out of which only two and fifty persons were excepted, of which Colonel Daniel Axtel was the fiftieth, as also the two persons disguised in frocks and vizors, who appeared upon the scaffold at the murder of King Charles I, which persons were left to be proceeded against as traytors, according to the laws of England (i). On the tenth of October following, the grand-jury for the county of Middlesex, having found bills against twenty-eight persons, for their concern in the King's murder, of which Mr Axtel was the last, they were brought to the sessions house in the Old Bailey, where Colonel Axtel was the same day arraigned, upon an indictment for compassing and imagining the death of the late King, when for some time he refused to plead, alledging that what he had done was in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, and therefore he conceived no inferior court ought to judge of it, to which point he desired he might have counsel assigned (k). But the Court having reasoned with him, and told him, that in case of treason, it was the same thing

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 44 f.

(d) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 120.

(e) Continuation of the History of Great Britain, p. 733.

(f) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 42.

(g) Publick Intelligence, 473, by authority of that date, No. 25.

(h) Publick Intelligence, No. 29.

(i) See this act, or Kennet's Register, p. 239.

(k) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 312.

[E] *Is therefore preserved in the notes.* This singular piece was after the Earl of Sandwich's decease found among his papers, and shews plainly the importance of this defeat, in the opinion of that statesman, who was held to have the best head for publick affairs of any man in his time. It is very short indeed, but short as it is, we find it very extensive in point of sense, and we may likewise observe that cant so univerally prevailed at that time, that even those men who most despised it were obliged to use it, and that too not only in publick pieces, but in private letters to their friends.

A letter from Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, directed for General Montague, dated Monday morning, indorfed April the 23d, 1660 (5).

MY Lord, your Lordship's letter brings that account of the fleet, and so satisfactory as might be expected from it, since put under the

conduct of such a general ——— This morning the certain news of Colonel Lambert his being taken, came to the council. There appeared with him six troops of horse in Daventry-Fields in Northamptonshire. Colonel Okey, Axtel, Creed, Sir Arthur Haslerigg's son and others; but when Colonel Ingolfsby came up, the kind men, without much courage, rendered themselves. Thus God has blasted the wicked in their reputations and bloody designs, and I hope, will bless us with a happy settlement, which is the prayers of,

My Lord,
Your most faithful, and
Humble Servant,
ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.

[F] *A query*

(5) Transcript from the Earl of Sandwich's MSS, in the third Vol. of Mr Smith's MS. Collections, p. 325.

thing to stand mute or to confess the indictment, he was prevailed upon to plead Not Guilty. When he was asked How he would be tried? and told that the proper answer was, By God and his country, he said that was not lawful, *God not being locally present*; however, he soon after made the usual answer, and put himself upon his trial. This did not come on till the fifteenth of October, 1660, when after challenging ten of the jury, the indictment was opened, in which the Counsel for the Crown observed, that the High Court erected for the tryal of the late King, had all the formalities of a court, such as their President, their Counsel, their Chaplain, and their Guards, and as some of their Judges, one of their Counsel, and their Chaplain, had been already tried, they had now brought this gentleman to the bar as the Commander of the Guard, and then proceeded to call their evidence (l). Mr Holland Simpson proved, that Colonel Axtel had the command of the soldiers below stairs, and threatened to shoot Lady Fairfax for disturbing the Court. Colonel Hercules Huncks deposed, that on the day the King died, himself, Colonel Phayre, Colonel Hacker, and Cromwell, being in a room together, Cromwell desired him to sign a warrant for the King's execution, which he having refused to do, and Cromwell having given him some harsh language on that account, Mr Axtel said, 'Colonel Hunks, I am ashamed of you, the ship is now coming into the harbour, and will you strike sail before we come to anchor'. Mr Axtel positively denied this, and told Colonel Hunks that himself was named in the warrant for execution, and that he wished he did not make others a peace-offering to save himself. Sir Purbeck Temple swore, that Mr Axtel beat the soldiers to make them cry Justice and Execution, that he laughed and scoffed with them during the trial, and that he suffered, and, as the witness believed, procured the soldiers to fire powder in the palms of their hands, which threw such clouds of smook into the King's face, that he was obliged to rise out of his chair, and beat it off with his hand. Mr John Jeonar, who was one of the King's domestick servants, and attended him at the tryal, gave positive evidence, that when the Court broke up the first day, Colonel Axtel ordered the guards to cry Justice, Justice; and the last day, Execution, Execution; and he farther deposed, that being very near the Colonel, he heard him lead that cry, by making use of the same words himself (m). One Samuel Burden, who had been a soldier in the King's army; but at the time of the tryal in Colonel Axtel's regiment, swore, that himself and others were commanded by the Colonel to give evidence against the King, and for that purpose were sent to Mr Cook, who managed the charge against the King, to have their examinations taken, which was accordingly done. This man likewise swore, that the Colonel sent one Elisha Axtel with a file of soldiers, to take boat and go down to the common hangman, who lived beyond the Tower, in order to fetch him to execute the King (n). Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson deposed, that in private conversation at Dublin, Colonel Axtel acknowledged to him, that he was concerned in the secret of managing the King's execution, and being desired by the witness to tell him who the persons were that appeared upon the scaffold in vizors, he told him they were two Serjeants, well known both to him and to the witness, and that their names were Hewlet and Walker (o). Such was the evidence given to support the charge in the indictment, for compassing and imagining the death of the King. In his defence, Colonel Axtel alledged, that he was a commission officer under the Lord Fairfax, as he had been before under the Earl of Essex, and by his commission was to obey his superior officer, (who commanded him that day to Westminster-Hall,) according to the customs of war; so that if he had disobeyed his superior officer, then he had died, and now must die for obeying him. But the Court told him he might have refused without any danger, as well as Colonel Hunks; and that *passive* as well as *active* obedience was required from every man, and that neither his nor his superior's commission bid him kill his father, much less the father of his country. As for the musquets mounted towards the Lady, he said that if a Lady grew uncivil to disturb the Court, he could do no less than check her. That his striking the soldiers for not crying *Justice* was a mistake, for he said he struck them because they did it, saying, *I'll give you Justice*. That his inciting them at the sentence to cry *Execution*, was the execution of *Justice*, and that could do no hurt. The Court took a great deal of pains to shew him the insufficiency of these pretences, and how incompatible they were with the constitution of this kingdom, and the laws of the land (p), upon which subject we meet with a very curious and instructive passage, in the Reports of a very learned Judge [F]. The tryal lasted, on account

(l) Heath's
Chronicles, p.
465.
Ludlow's Me-
moirs, Vol. III.
p. 82.
State Tryals,
Vol. II. p. 371.

(m) Ibid. p. 372.

(n) Ibid. p. 373.

(o) Ibid. ubi su-
pra.

(p) Ibid. p. 374.

[F] *A very curious and instructive passage in the Reports of a very learned Judge.* The person here meant is Sir John Kelyng, some time Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench. But in order to judge of this point, it is necessary to consider Mr Axtel's defence more at large, especially as some writers magnify it, as the strongest, clearest, and most heroick piece any where extant (6). The best and most sensible speech he made was this, wherein he puts the objection resolved by Kelyng, and therefore let it serve as a specimen of his eloquence.

(6) Ludlow's Me-
moirs, Vol. III.
p. 82—86.
Oldmixon's Hist.
of the Stuarts,
Vol. I. p. 482,
483.

' My Lords, I must acknowledge my ignorance
' of the laws, being a thing I never studied, nor have
' the knowledge of. But I have heard it is the duty

' of your Lordships and the Judges to be of counsel
' for the prisoner in things wherein he is ignorant in
' matter of Law, to make his just defence; and there-
' fore, my Lord, the indictment itself being matter
' of Law, if your Lordship pleads not to grant me
' counsel to speak to matters of Law, I humbly pray
' that your Lordships will be pleased that for want
' of knowledge in formalities, punillios, and niceties
' of the Law, I may not undo myself. I have
' heard by a learned Judge, that tho' the Judge be of
' counsel to the King, yet by his oath he is also to
' be counsellor to the prisoner, and stands as mediator
' between the King and prisoner; and therefore, my
' Lord I shall beg that humble favour, that wherein
' I shall

account of the prisoner's long and large defence, for upwards of three hours, but the jury without going from the bar found him guilty. On the sixteenth of October, he was brought up again to the sessions-house, in order to receive sentence, at which time Mr Axtel insisted, that there was no overt-act proved against him sufficient to support the indictment, and suggested, that he died only for words; upon which the Lord Chief Baron observed, that it was otherwise, that he was present in the Court, beating the soldiers, and sending for an executioner, which were all of them facts and not words. Upon this Colonel Axtel appealed to God, that he did not find himself guilty of consulting, contriving, or having any hand in the death of the King, and concluded that he was innocent, and prayed God that his blood might not cry against them (g). Then silence being commanded, the Lord Chief Baron made a long speech, in which he told Colonel Francis Hacker and Mr Axtel, that they had no cause to hope for mercy, nor was there any room for mercy, and then pronounced that sentence which is usually given in cases of high-treason (r). After he was carried back to Newgate, he shewed himself very full of spirit and courage, spoke to every body that was about him with great vehemence and zeal for the cause in which he died, as appears very fully from the account

(g) *Ibid.* p. 402.(r) *Ibid.* p. 403, 404.

of

‘ I shall fall short to make the best improvement
‘ of my plea in matter of Law, that your Lordships
‘ will help me, and not take advantages against me,
‘ as to the niceties, formalities, and punctilioes of the
‘ Law; and my Lord, this is a resemblance of that
‘ great day where Christ will be Judge, and will
‘ judge the secrets of all hearts, and of all words, and
‘ of all persons, and by him all actions are weighed,
‘ he knows all our hearts, and whether there be malice,
‘ or how it stands in the frame of each heart before
‘ him in this place; and therefore I hope, there will
‘ be nothing by prejudging, or any thing by pre-
‘ cluding to be so black a person, as is seemed to be
‘ said against me: my Lords I must shorten the time,
‘ and come to speak as to the authority?

‘ Lord Chief Baron. As to what, Sir?

‘ Col. Ax. I speak as to the authority by which, or under
‘ which, I acted; I humbly conceive, my Lord, under
‘ favour, that I am not within the compass of that statute
‘ of 25 Ed. III. for that questionless must intend pri-
‘ vate persons, *counselling, compassing, or imagining*
‘ *the death of the King*. But you know, my Lords,
‘ the war was first stated by the Lords and Commons,
‘ the Parliament of England, and by virtue of their
‘ authority was forced to be raised; and they pre-
‘ tended by Law, that the right of the militia was in
‘ them, and your Lordships well remember, in several
‘ declarations and acts that were mutually exchanged
‘ between his Majesty and Parliament; and, my Lord,
‘ that was the authority, the Lords and Commons
‘ assembled in Parliament, raised a force, and made the
‘ Earl of Essex General, and after him the Earl of
‘ Manchester of the Eastern association, and after
‘ that, Sir Thomas Fairfax Lord General of the
‘ forces; by this authority I acted, and this authority
‘ I humbly conceive to be legal, because this Par-
‘ liament was called by the King's writ, chose by the
‘ people, and passed a bill they should not be dis-
‘ solved without their own consents, that the Parlia-
‘ ment was in being when the trial was, and a que-
‘ sition whether yet legally dissolved.

‘ In the fourth place they were not only owned (and
‘ obeyed) at home, but abroad, to be the chief au-
‘ thority of the nation, and also owned by foreign
‘ states and kingdoms, who sent ambassadors for that
‘ purpose, under them did all Judges of the land
‘ act, who ought to be the eye of the land, and the
‘ very light of the people to guide them in their
‘ right actions, and I remember the Judges upon trial,
‘ (I have read it of high-treason) Judge Thorp, Ni-
‘ chols, and Jermin, have declared it publicly, that
‘ it was a lawful, justifiable thing, by the law of
‘ the land to obey the Parliament of England. My
‘ Lord, it further appears as to their authority over
‘ the people of this nation, petitioning them as the
‘ supreme and lawful authority; and, my Lords, as
‘ I have heard it hath been objected that the Houses
‘ of Lords and Commons could make no act; truly
‘ my Lord, if you will not admit them to be acts,
‘ tho' they entitle them so, call them so, and are
‘ obeyed as so, by the Judges, ministers, and officers
‘ of state, and by all other persons of the nation, yet
‘ I hope, they cannot be denied to be orders of Par-
‘ liament, and were they no more so but orders, yet
‘ were they sufficient, as I humbly conceive, to bear
‘ out such as acted thereby; and, my Lord, the Par-

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‘ liament thus constituted, and having made their
‘ Generals, he, by their authority, did constitute and
‘ appoint me to be an inferior officer in the army,
‘ serving them in the quarters of the Parliament, and
‘ within their power, and what I have done, my
‘ Lord, it hath been done only as a soldier, deriving
‘ my power from the General. He had his power
‘ from the fountain, to wit, the Lords and Commons:
‘ and, my Lord, this being done, as hath been said
‘ by several that I was there, and had command in
‘ Westminster-hall, truly, my Lord, if the Parliament
‘ command the General, and the General the inferior
‘ officers, I am bound by my commission, accord-
‘ ing to the laws and customs of war, to be where the
‘ regiment is, I came not thither voluntarily, but
‘ by command of the General, who had a commission
‘ (as I said before) from the Parliament. I was no
‘ counsellor, no contriver, I was no Parliament-man,
‘ none of the Judges, none that sentenced, signed,
‘ none that had any hand in the execution, only that
‘ which is charged, is, that I was an officer in the
‘ army; if that be so great a crime, I conceive I am
‘ no more guilty than the Earl of Essex, Fairfax,
‘ or the Lord of Manchester.’ [Who was then sitting
‘ on the bench.] Judge Mallet told him he was not
‘ charged as an officer in the army. ‘ My Lords, said
‘ he, that is the main thing they do insist upon. My
‘ Lord, I am no more guilty, than his excellency the
‘ Lord General Monk, who acted by the same au-
‘ thority, and all the people in the three nations;
‘ and, my Lord, I humbly suppose, if the authority
‘ had only been an authority in fact and not right,
‘ yet those that acted under them ought not to be
‘ questioned; but if the authority commanded, what-
‘ soever offence they committed, especially that that
‘ guided me was no less, than the declared judgment
‘ of the Lords and Commons sitting in Parliament;
‘ they declared that was their right as to the militia,
‘ and having explained several statutes of Henry VII,
‘ wherein the King having interchanged several de-
‘ clarations with the Parliament, the Parliament comes
‘ to make an explanation on that statute, and, my Lord,
‘ it is in folio 280, wherein they do positively ex-
‘ pound it, and declare it as their allowed judg-
‘ ment. To clear up all scruples to all that should
‘ take up arms for them, says the Parliament, there,
‘ as to the statute of the 11 of Henry VII, chap. 1.
‘ which is printed at large, comes there to explain
‘ it in general, and comes here, folio 281, and
‘ gives this judgment: It is not, say they, agree-
‘ able to reason or conscience that any one's duty
‘ should be known, if the judgment of the High
‘ Court of Parliament be not a rule to them. In
‘ the next place, this is the next guidance, rule, and
‘ judgment of Parliament upon the exposition of this
‘ statute, and as they have said in several places (was it
‘ not too much to take up your Lordship's time)
‘ that they are the proper judges and expounders of
‘ of the Law. The High Court of Parliament have
‘ taken upon them to expound the Law, and said
‘ that we Lawyers will give the meaning of the
‘ text, contrary to what they have expounded the
‘ meaning under their hands. In the same decla-
‘ ration, his Majesty is pleased to quit that statute
‘ upon which I stand indicted, the 25 Edward III,
‘ where they do, my Lord, expound this very statute,

H h h

in

of his behaviour, printed after his death, by the care of those of his party [G]. In this disposition he continued, without the least alteration or sinking of his spirits, which must be attributed to his notions of religion, that had made such an impression upon his mind, as entirely prevented his feeling any thing of that weakness and terror, which is incident to human nature, at the near approach of death, and of a violent and shameful death especially (s). But the account beforementioned shews us, that he remained firm to the last, and spoke with the same freedom that day he died, as on any other in his whole life [H].
On

(s) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 482, 483.

(7) State Trials, Vol. II. p. 373, 374.

He added, that if the representatives of the people were guilty, the people were guilty, and then it would be impossible to find a jury.

(8) Kelyng's Reports, p. 13.

' in the declaration made in 1643, folio 722. I come to the declared judgment, wherein they did positively say, that the persons that do act under their authority, ought not to be questioned as persons guilty, folio 727; that is the exposition that the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament do make upon the statute (7).'

This speech, shews how capable Mr Axtel was of defending himself, and pleading for his life, and at the same time demonstrates how calmly, equally, and justly, the court dealt with him, allowing him all the liberty requisite for a man in his condition. But notwithstanding all these plausible arguments, the Lord Chief Justice before mentioned, has told us what the Law is, and what a man has to trust to, when he comes before a court of justice, in these words. "(8) Memorandum, that upon the trial of one Axtel, a foldier, who commanded the guards at the King's trial and at his murder; he justified that all he did, was as a foldier by the command of his superior officer, whom he must obey or die. It was resolved that was no excuse, for his superior was a traitor, and all that joined with him in that act were traitors, and did by that approve the treason, and where the command is traitorous, there the obedience to that command is also traitorous.'

[G] After his death by the care of his party.] He asserted constantly, that he was a martyr for the good old cause; said he wished the King as well as his own soul; but conceived that they had murdered him, and might as well have done it in the Tower, as have made all that bustle, for they had nothing in their own Law, or in God's Law, that would condemn him, but it was enough, his name was Axtel. Such was his disposition, and such his notion of the justice that was done him. But to proceed with that relation which his friends have given of him.

Having given an account to some persons for their satisfaction, about his proceedings against the rebels in Ireland, he said, I can say in humility, that God did use me as an instrument in my place, for suppressing of the bloody enemy, and when I considered their bloody cruelty in murdering so many thousands of Protestants and innocent souls, that word was much upon my heart; give her blood to drink for she is worthy; and sometimes we neither gave nor took quarter, though self-preservation would have said, give that which you may expect to have.

One coming in told him, that his fellow-prisoner died nobly and chearfully; (well said he; how do they stand) answer was made, upon a ladder. Blessed be God, said he, it is a Jacob's ladder.

The sun shining in the room, he said, if it be so glorious to behold the sun, what will it be to behold the Son of Glory? Laying his hand upon (his fellow-prisoner) Colonel Hacker, he said, Come, brother, be not so sad, by this time to-morrow we shall be with our Father in glory; and what hurt will they do us, to bring us through the cross to the crown? Well, our God is the God of Newgate.

Then the officer coming to carry them down into the dungeon, he took his leave of many of his friends then present, saying, Love the Lord Jesus, love the Lord, and weep not for me, for God hath wiped away all tears; and coming to the door of the dungeon said, I am now going to my bed of roses, my last bed.

Many friends being with him, there was an eminent godly minister of the Presbyterian way, and Colonel Axtel taking him by the hand said, I have one word to speak to you, it is much upon my heart, that one great cause, why the Lord contends thus with his people, is for want of their love towards them that were not of their minds; to which the minister replied, truly, Sir, I think so too; the Lord help us, that wherein we see we have done amiss we may do for no more.

Then said Colonel Axtel, I bless God I have not much to charge myself with in this matter, Colonel

Hacker then said, but I have much to complain of in that matter. Colonel Axtel afterwards sitting on his bedside, clapping his hands said, if I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down for the Cause: whereupon another godly minister then present, asked him what he meant by the Cause. Colonel Axtel replied, Sir, I tell you I mean the cause which we were encouraged to and engaged in under the Parliament, which was for common right and freedom, and against the Surplice and Common-prayer book, and I tell you, that Surplices and Common-prayer books shall not stand long in England, for it is not of God.

And afterwards thinking he should not die that day, desired some retirement, but news coming that he must die within an hour; (though it was not so) he quickly made himself ready to go, and looking upon his gloves, said, These are my wedding gloves, my mortal must marry immortality.

Some friends going to see him the night before he was executed, found him at supper very chearful, and many being present, he said, take heed of temporizing, &c. for that hath been the occasion of great evil. Then speaking to an officer there present that had continued till of late in the army, said, Brother, thou hast been greatly guilty herein, the Lord forgive thee, thou hast a great hand in this. To which the person replied, I confess I have been so too much. Colonel Axtel answered, there is yet mercy for thee if the Lord give repentance.

Moreover he said, the Lord forgive that poor wretch, Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson, for he hath sworn falsely in his evidence, and now is that word made good, that brother shall betray brother unto death, and speaking of Colonel Tomlinson said, ah! he hath appeared five pound lighter in twenty, than I thought him to be; and for Colonel Huncks, he was the uncivillest of all about the late King, and yet he comes in a witness against Hacker and me.

That evening many friends being with him, he prayed with them, and in that duty the Lord by his Spirit, filled him with excellent expressions to the great refreshing of those about him, and bewailing the great divisions amongst God's people, he said, Lord, if they will not live together in love, thou wilt make them lie together in sufferings. Then minding their present condition said, Lord, death is the King of terrors to nature, but it is a believer's choice friend, it is thy high-way to lead us into glory. After prayer, taking notice of his daughter, he said to her, get an interest in Christ, and keep close to him, he will be a better father to thee than I; and so took his leave of her (9).

[H] On that day as on any other in his whole life.] It is very clear from the account that has been already given, that no man could behave with greater firmness than Mr Axtel did; yet was he very far from boasting of it, or from attributing it to his natural courage; on the contrary, he checked some of his friends for praising his constancy, and very wisely advised them, to say nothing of him till they saw him upon the uppermost round of the ladder: he told his daughter at the same time, that he had left Jesus Christ an executor in trust for her (10). This was in the evening of the day before he died, in which day, he is said to have prayed solemnly five times, by which, very probably, he heated himself to such a degree, as served to keep up that extraordinary fervour he shewed to the last.

The day of their execution being come, several godly ministers spent some time in prayer with Colonel Axtel and Colonel Hacker, and many friends coming in to pay their last respects, Colonel Axtel seeing one of his familiar friends and companions, said, my dear brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I must go to heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully said to divers then with him, dear friends, rejoice, I am going where ye shall be also; yea, where we shall be for ever with the Lord, and never part, and be without any more change.

I beseech

(9) Speeches and prayers of some of the late King's Judges, 40, 1660, p. 85, 86.

(10) Ibid. p. 84.

On Friday the nineteenth of October, about nine in the morning, Colonel Francis Hacker, and Colonel Daniel Axtel, were drawn on one hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn, where they behaved with great boldness and resolution, more especially the latter, who was the better speaker of the two, and who did not fail to justify his conduct to the people, with the same sort of arguments he had used before his Judges, as may be seen in a note (t) [J]. After the execution was performed, the head of Colonel Axtel

(t) State Trials,
Vol. II. p. 414.

' I beseech you follow the Lamb wherever he goeth, tho' he may lead you in a harsh, dismal, and difficult way; yet at last he will bring you into a pleasant path, and cause you to lie down in pleasant pastures in the land of rest.

' Oh! be faithful unto the death and he will give you a crown of life, as he hath given to your suffering brethren. Oh! all that we have or do suffer, is but to make Christ and heaven more sweet, dear, and glorious unto us; all the sad steps we shall tread on this ladder, is but to mount us to heaven, for at the top are angels ready to receive us, as was on Jacob's ladder; ALL the things I meet with move me not, I bless my God, for I am sure to fight a good fight, and finish my course with joy.'

Afterwards taking his leave of his son, embracing him in his arms, he said, My dear son, fare thee well, I must leave thee, get an interest in Christ and love him, nothing else will stand thee in stead, but an interest in him. Then calling for his Bible he hugged it, saying, this hath the whole cause in it, and I may carry this without offence; and calling to a friend, he desired him to remember his love to the congregation where he was a member; and after took his leave of all his friends, exhorting them, with much cheerfulness, to love the Lord Jesus Christ and keep close to him, and so with great joy addressed himself to go to his next work (11).

[I] As may be seen in a Note.] When they came to the place of execution, Mr Axtel desired leave of the Sheriff to speak freely to the people, because, as he said, it was the last time he was to speak. The Sheriff told him, that he knew very well what the court forbid him to enter upon when at his trial, which therefore he should avoid there and confine himself to his present concern, and then he should have free leave to deliver what he thought fit, the rather because he had intimated that he would speak somewhat for the benefit of the people. This leave thus obtained, Mr Axtel turned towards the people with a rope about his neck; and, because Colonel Hacker was no great Orator, delivered the sense of them both to a prodigious concourse of people, in a speech to the effect following.

I say the very cause for which I have engaged is contained in this book of God (having the Bible in his hand) both in the civil and religious rights of it, which I leave to you (giving the book to Mr Knowles). You see a dead man living, and yet I hope I shall live to all eternity, thro' the mediation of Jesus Christ the mediator of the covenant of Free Grace. I must truly tell you, that before the late war it pleased the Lord to call me by his Grace thro' the work of the ministry, and afterwards keeping a day of humiliation in fasting and prayer, with Mr Simeon Ash, Mr Love, Mr Woodcock, and other ministers in Laurence-Lane, they did so clearly state the cause of the parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own conscience of the justness of the war, and thereupon engaged in the parliament service (which as I did and do believe) was the cause of the Lord; I ventured my life freely for it, and now I die for it.

Then Mr Sheriff said to this purpose, Sir, remember yourself.

Colonel Axtel proceeded: And after the work of the Lord was done in England, my lot cast me in the service of Ireland, and I thank the Lord I was serviceable to the English nation in that country, and have discharged my duty fully, according to the trust committed to me there. As for the fact for which I now suffer, it is for words, only for words, and but for words, and the sentence is already reversed in my own conscience; and it will be reversed by Jesus Christ, by and by; I pray God, from the very bottom of my soul, to forgive all that have had any hand in my death, both witnesses and jury, and the court that passed sentence; for considering the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he hath laid it down. Matt. v. 44. 'It hath been said of old time, love your neighbours, and hate your enemies; but I say unto you, love your enemies, and pray for them that hate and despitefully use you,

' that you may be the children of your father which is in heaven.'

I desire, according to this doctrine, from the bottom of my heart, that God would give them true repentance, and not lay their sin to their charge, nor my blood, which by God's and man's law, (I think) could not justly have been brought here to suffer: But I bless God I have some comfortable assurance, that I shall be embraced in the arms of Christ, and have cause to hope that his spirit shall carry my soul into the Father's hands. And if the glory of this sunshine be so great (the sun then shining bright) how much more is the glory of the Son of God, who is the Sun of righteousness? I think it convenient to give you some account of my faith. I believe all things written in the Old and New Testament, as the principles and doctrine of a believer's faith: I believe the blessed ordinances of Christ, that it is our duty to hear the word preached, to seek unto God in prayer, and to perform family duties, and to walk in the communion of Saints; and for my own part, I am a member of a congregation, which I judge to be the way of Christ, (and were it for that only I were to die I would witness to it) which is a company of men born again by his grace, that walk in the ways of Christ blameless and harmless. I believe Jesus Christ dyed for poor sinners, of whom I am chief as the Apostle Paul saith. This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance. That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners of whom I am chief. And if the Apostle might say so, much more may I.

My friends and countrymen, I have reason to bewail my own unprofitable life, having been very unfruitful unto the people of the Lord. The Lord knows I have much fault upon my part, were it not for the blood of Christ that cleanseth and washeth me, according to his promise saying, I loved you and washed away your sins in my own blood. For there is no remission of sins without the blood of Christ. I desire you all to loath and cast off sin, it were better to suffer than to sin. It is better to die than to sin, nothing could grieve our Saviour but sin, and therefore have a care of that. You and I must meet one day at the bar of Christ, and the Son of God shall be our judge, for God hath committed all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son as they honour the Father. This day is a resemblance of that day, therefore be serious; I beg as much good to your immortal souls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beseech you beg of God, that he would save your souls, and omit no opportunity through the strength of the Lord, to believe and put your trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. Be sure to labour after assurance of your interest in him, or else you will be of all men most miserable; for I of all men were most miserable, if I had not believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

Blessed be the Lord that brings me into this state; let the way or means be what they will, it is God's sovereignty who made these creatures so, to dispose of them how he pleaseth, and God hath ordained this death for me from all eternity. The Lord Christ often prayed, Thy will be done; this is the Lord's will. He hath numbered my days, and my times are in his hand. Many seek the ruler's favour, but every one's judgment is from the Lord. When Pilate said unto Christ, Knowest thou not, that I have a power to crucify thee? Christ answered him, Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore I acknowledge the righteous hand of God; he is righteous, but I am sinful. Therefore will I bear God's indignation, because I have sinned against him.

It is said of Jesus Christ, that for the joy set before him, he endured the cross and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of God, where I hope to see him by and by in glory and majesty, and to see his angels and believers worshipping of him, and therefore I despise the shame; our Saviour died upon the cross without sin; I am a sinful creature, a wretched sinner, and shall I expect better than he that was my master? He who

was

was fet up at the further end of Westminster-Hall, and his quarters were in like manner disposed of, so as to become spectacles in other publick places. But the body of Mr Hacker, was by his Majesty's great favour given entire to his friends, and by their care was decently interred. At the time of his death, the Colonel left behind him a widow and several children, for whose subsistence he had made a competent provision in the time of his prosperity.

was holy, and never had a sinful thought, in all his life, and died not for himself, but for us, that we might live through his death, that through his poverty, we might be made rich; and Christ having done this for his people, it should not be in their eyes thought a despicable thing, that we should suffer for him, having been engaged in the work of God. But Christ must prevail in righteousness, and he will prevail. Now, Mr Sheriff, I thank you for your civility and for this leave (12).

Then Colonel Hacker rose up, and spoke to him in private, after which Colonel Axtel asked the Sheriff, whether they were both to die together, and being answered in the affirmative, Colonel Hacker read a paper, containing what he had particularly to say, and which was very short; he then intreated Colonel Axtel, that he would be (to use his own words) both their mouths to God. Mr Axtel complying with this request, having first entreated the silence and attention of the people, and that they would join with him in his application to God, with a composed frame of spirit, and an audible voice, he prayed for better than half an hour, in which he prayed for the government, the magistrates, and for the executioner; he likewise prayed very heartily for the King, under the name of the Chief Magistrate of this nation, and throughout the whole, did not receive the least interruption (13).

After he had ended his prayer, he gave the Sheriff thanks again for his civility, and then turning to Colonel Hacker, they saluted and embraced each other in their arms, and said, the Lord sweeten our passage, and give us a happy meeting with himself in glory. Then pulling his cap over his eyes, expecting as is supposed, that the cart should be drawn

away, with his hands lifted up, he uttered these words with a loud and audible voice, Lord Jesus receive my spirit; but the cart staying a little longer, he lift up his hands a second time, and with the like audible and loud voice, said, Into thy hands, O Father! I recommend my spirit; and yet in regard there was no man found to put forward the horse to draw away the cart, until the common hang-man came down out of the cart himself to do it. The carman, as many witnesses affirm, saying he would lose his cart and horse, before he would have a hand in hanging such a man; by this means he had opportunity to lift up his hands and utter the like words a third time also (14).

One thing more his friends thought very remarkable, that when Colonel Axtel, and Colonel Hacker, were taken out of the sledge into the cart, the spectators being in great numbers there, behaved themselves very civilly, only two persons among them, as soon as the ropes were put about their necks, cried out very earnestly, hang them, hang them, rogues, traitors, murderers; hang them, draw away the cart. Whereupon a man that stood by them, desired them to be civil, and said, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he has to do; and thereupon they were silent, and gave attention to Colonel Axtel's speech and prayer; but before he had done, those very persons were so affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many tears upon the place, and went aside to a place a little more retired to weep; and that man that before desired them to be civil, went after them, and beheld them to his great admiration, as himself hath narrated (15).

This behaviour fully justifies, what was said in a former note, of the force of Enthusiasm.

(12) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 89, 90, 91.

(13) Ibid. p. 91—96.

(14) State Trials Vol. II. p. 426, concluding the account there.

(15) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 96.

A Y L E S B U R Y (THOMAS) the second son of William Aylebury, by his wife Anne, daughter of John Poole, Esq; was born in the city of London, some time in the year 1576 (a). He received his education in Westminster-school, from whence he went to Oxford, and in 1598, became a student of Christ-Church. He distinguished himself there by his assiduous application to his studies, and especially affected the Mathematicks. This made him known to persons of the greatest parts in the university, and was the reason of his being cared for by some of the greatest quality in the kingdom (b). On the nineteenth of June, 1605, he took his degree of Master of Arts. After he quitted the university, he became Secretary to Charles Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral of England; in which post he had an opportunity of improving his mathematical knowledge, as also of giving many and shining proofs of it. On this account, when George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, succeeded the Earl of Nottingham as High-Admiral, Mr Aylebury not only kept his employment, but was also, by the favour of that powerful Duke, created a Baronet, the nineteenth of April, 1627, having been before made Master of Requests, and Master of the Mint (c). These great employments, as they furnished him with the means of expressing his regard for learned men, so in him they met with a person, who put them to their right use. He not only made all men of science welcome at his table, and afforded them all the countenance he could, but likewise gave to such of them as were in narrow circumstances, regular pensions out of his pocket, and carried them with him to his house in Windsor-Park, where he usually spent the summer. In this manner he treated Walter Warner, a most skilful Mathematician, and who, at his request, wrote a treatise of coins and coinage (d). The famous Mr Thomas Harriot, was another of his dependants, as appears by a poem addressed to Sir Thomas Aylebury, by Bishop Corbet [A], as also from the grateful acknowledgment

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 168. See also the inscription on his grave-stone.

(b) Wood, ubi supra.

(c) Catalogue of Baronets, Temp. Car. 12mo, MS. Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 459.

[A] By Dr Corbet.] This Poem was written on the appearance of the Comet on the 9th of December 1618, and is, considering the stile of that age, a good performance. From the following lines the point mentioned in the text is sufficiently established.

Now for the peace of God and men advise
(Thou that hast wherewithal to make us wise)
Thine own rich studies and deep HARRIOT'S mine,
In which there is no dross, but all refine, &c (1).

The study of the Mathematicks was at this time much encouraged, and had been so for many years. The Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, had some skill in this science, and a great esteem for such as were learned therein. His son, Sir Robert Dudley, was also a patron of Mathematicians, and so was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being confined many years in the Tower of London, diverted himself with the conversation of eminent scholars in this kind of knowledge, among whom our Sir Thomas Aylebury often obtained a seat. His collections of scarce and valuable

(1) See his Poems printed at London, 1672, p. 56.

acknowledgment made by that learned person in his will, whereby he bequeathed to Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, and Sir Thomas Aylebury, Baronet, all his writings, and all the manuscripts he had collected (e). Nor was the assistance which Sir Thomas afforded to men of merit, confined within the bounds of his own capacity, but extended to the recommendation of them to such noble and generous patrons, as he had an interest in. Thus he recommended Mr Thomas Allen of Oxford, to his master the Duke of Bucks, and to other noble persons, who honoured him with their friendship and protection. This very learned person confided his manuscripts, for he would never publish any thing to Sir Thomas, who was in these matters the most knowing and most candid critick of his time (f). In 1642, adhering steadily to the King, he was of consequence stripped of his places, and plundered of his estate. However he bore up cheerfully under his misfortunes till 1649, when having seen the bloody murder of his Sovereign, he grew sick of his country, and retiring with his family into Flanders, lived for some time at Brussels. In 1652, he removed to Breda, where he led a very private life, his loyalty having left him very little to live on; and in 1657, being then eighty-one years of age, he ended his days with honour, and was interred in the great church, through the care of his illustrious son-in-law. He left a son, William, of whom in the next article, and a daughter, Frances, who married Edward Hyde of Petton in the county of Wilts afterwards the justly famous Earl of Clarendon (g).

(e) Wood, ubi supra, col. 461.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(g) Dagdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

valuable books, learned and curious MSS, which he acquired, not only by his own industry, and at great expence, but also as in the text mentioned, by the gifts of his obliged friends, were either lost in our troubles at home, or were disposed of in the time of his distress abroad. Among these were several of Mr Harriot's pieces, and amongst those bequeathed to him by Mr Warner, some of which well deserved to have been made publick. As to those which were given him by Mr Allen, they related mostly to Astrology, and among them, were the second and third books of the famous Ptolemy the Geographer, *de*

Astrorum judiciis cum expositione Thomæ Allen (2). These were in those days, when Astrology passed for a science, held to be invaluable treatises, and therefore some copies were procured, one of which was in the hands of William Lilly, the Almanack-maker, who presented his transcript to Elias Ashmole Esq; (3). It does not appear Sir Thomas Aylebury ever wrote any thing himself, but inasmuch as he bountifully assisted such men of parts as stood in need of his favour, we cannot think the compliment we have paid more than he deserved. E

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(3) Wood, ubi supra.

A Y L E S B U R Y (WILLIAM) son of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Aylebury, Baronet, became very early a gentleman-commoner of Christ-Church, and took a degree in Arts at sixteen years of age (a). Though he had at that time the prospect of a very plentiful fortune, yet he pursued his studies with such diligence, and behaved with so much modesty and prudence, that King Charles I, made choice of him to be governor to George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, and his brother Lord Francis, with whom he went to travel (b). He met in Italy with a very extraordinary misfortune. Walking one evening in the garden of the house where they lodged, he was shot, through a hole in the wall, and a couple of bullets lodged in his thigh: those who did it leaped over the wall, came up, and looked upon him, begged his pardon, told him they were mistaken, and that they intended to have shot another person, which was all the satisfaction he ever received (c). He returned into England with his pupils a little after the Civil War commenced, and carried them with him to Oxford, where he presented them to the King. His Majesty expressed his great satisfaction in regard to Mr Aylebury's conduct (d), and promised on the first vacancy, to make him Groom of his Bed-chamber; which promise however he lived not to perform. His Majesty likewise recommended it to Mr Aylebury, to translate into English the History of the Wars in Flanders, by Davila. How far he complied, the reader will see in the note [A]. After the King's murder, he retired with his father to Antwerp, and dwelt there as long as his circumstances would afford it; but at length, through very want, returned into England in the year 1650; spending his time here, as most of the Royalists did, in seeking shelter and a meal of meat where it was to be had. Living some times in one place, sometimes in another, chiefly at Oxford, which was always loyal, till the year 1657, when the Protector fitting out a fleet to go on some expedition to the West Indies, as also to carry a supply to the island of Jamaica, our author, from pure necessity,

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

(b) Wood, ubi supra, col. 803.

(c) Wood, ubi supra, col. 216.

(d) Wood, ubi supra, col. 803.

[A] The reader will see in a note.] The reason why his Majesty made choice of Mr Aylebury to translate this book was, because he was perfect master of the Italian language. It should seem however, that our author was a little indolent, since even with the assistance of his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, it was not fitted for the press till some years afterwards, when it appeared under the following title, *The History of the Civil Wars of France. Written in Italian by Henry Canterino d'Avila, London 1647 folio.* There was a second edition of this work in 1678, and in the Epistle prefixed thereto, it is said, that the whole was translated by Sir Charles Cotterel, except here and there a passage in the four first books (1). This shews how dangerous a thing it is to write in partnership, for Mr Aylebury had

been then many years dead, and could not therefore possibly answer for himself. Before I close this note, I must crave leave to observe, that there is something very remarkable in King Charles I, commanding this book to be translated, since it is certain, that those dreadful scenes of blood and slaughter, of private calamities and publick confusion, which were so admirably depicted in that work, came afterwards to be acted on the Theatre of Britain, and therefore a better caveat could not have been thought of for preventing those mischiefs, than the timely publication of this book. As to our author Aylebury, and his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, they for some time lived together in the house of Mr Aylebury, at Breda, where Dr Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, officiated as their chaplain,

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

(c) Wood, ubi supra, col. 216. necessity, engaged himself as Secretary to the Governor; which post he enjoyed not long, death removing him when he had been but a short time in the island (e).

(2) Wood, ubi supra, col. 770. 'till Mr Ashmole's misfortunes came upon him (2). By the immature death of our author in Jamaica, the male line of this family extinguished, and his surviving sister Frances, Countess of Clarendon, became heiress of what could be recovered of her father's, Sir Thomas Aylesbury's, estate (3). E

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

AYLMER, or rather as himself wrote it, ÆLMER (JOHN) was descended of a very antient [A] and honourable family, seated at Aylmer-Hall in the county of Norfolk (a). He was born some time in the year 1521 (b), and being a younger brother, was either recommended by his relations, or recommended himself by his pregnant parts even in his nonage, to the then Marquis of Dorset (Henry Gray) afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was pleased to honour him with the title of his scholar, and exhibited to him at the university of Cambridge (c). When he had there attained a competent provision of university learning, the Marquis recalled him from thence, and took him into his own house, where he became tutor to his children, amongst whom was the Lady Jane, who for some days was styled Queen (d). This excellent Lady, under Mr Aylmer's Tuition [B], became wonderfully learned in the Latin and Greek tongues, reading in the latter with great ease and pleasure, the most sublime and difficult authors, and even writing in that language with great elegance, as well as strength of sentiment (e). By the care of Mr Aylmer, she received right principles of religion. For he went early into the opinions of the primitive Reformers, and having for his patrons the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Edward VI, he was for some time the only preacher in Leicesterhire, where he so effectually fixed the Protestant religion in the minds of the people, that neither force nor fraud could blot it out (f). The first preferment bestowed upon him, was the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln (g), which giving him a seat in the Convocation [C] held in the

(a) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk. Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova Lond. 1738, 4to, Vol. III. p. 297.

(b) See the inscription in note [2].

(c) Historical Collections, relating to the Life and Acts of Bishop Aylmer, by J. Strype, M. A. Lond. 1701, 8vo, p. 3.

(d) Fuller, ubi supra. Afcham's Schoolmaster, Lond. 1571, 4to, p. 11.

(e) Afcham's Epistol. edit. Oxon. A. D. 1703, p. 237.

(f) Strype, p. 8.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

[A] *Defended from a very antient family.* There is no doubt of our author's being of a very antient and genteel family, since his elder brother was Sir Robert Aylmer, of Aylmer-hall, in the county of Norfolk, and their ancestor Sheriff of his county in the reign of Edward II (1). But it must be allowed, Mr Strype, in his Life of this Prelate, confounds himself and his reader on this head, and by endeavouring to make the thing excessively plain, hath rendered it scarce intelligible (2). That the Bishop really wrote his name Ælmer, at least sometimes is certain, and that this might proceed from some affectation of descending from a Saxon family, is not improbable, since it is as certain, that the Aylmers of Norfolk, did not use this manner of writing, nor is the name of a Sheriff of London, A. D. 1501, so written, but plainly Aylmer, as in the text (3). The foregoing articles will shew, that there really was such a name as this in use in those times; but then it was a christian name, and Mr Strype does not pretend to account for it's becoming a surname, which however we shall endeavour to do. Fuller had informed him, that Aylmer-hall stood in the parish of Tilsley (4), which parish not being to be found, Mr Strype supposes that it must be in Tilney parish, which lies in Merishland, or Marshland, where a later writer confidently places it (5), though I find no direct testimony that in this parish it really stands. But this part of the country appears so evidently gained from the sea, and was formerly with such difficulty kept from it's old master, that it is not very likely any Saxon family should remain here. But in North Erpingham Hundred, in the same county, there is a considerable village, called Ailmerton or Elmerton (6), which is truly a Saxon name, and signifies a place seated on the Old Marsh, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that after furnaces became fashionable, the possession of this manour took that of Aylmer or Elmer, a thing usual in other places (7).

[B] *Under Mr Aylmer's tuition.* It is not a little strange, that Mr Strype, with all his industry, should not be able to discover at what college in Cambridge our author had his education (8). As to his conjectures that it might be here, or it might be there, they may serve to mislead, but not to instruct us; and therefore it is sufficient to note, that Fuller affirms he was bred there, and that Anthony Wood suggests he took his degrees in Arts at that university (9). In Strype's Life, there is not one date between his birth and first preferment, though there are several circumstances mentioned, the time of which might have been easily fixed. Mr Afcham visited the Lady Jane Gray, in the month of August 1550 (10), and

found her under the tuition of Mr Elmer, who was then in the 30th year of his age. The place at which she then resided, was her father's seat at Broadgate, in Leicesterhire, the family were hunting, and Mr Afcham going to wait on the young Lady, surprized her reading the Phædon of Plato. This naturally led him to enquire, how a lady of her age, for she could not be then above fourteen, arrived at such a perfection both in Philosophy and the Greek tongue. To which she answered thus, as Mr Afcham himself informs us; 'I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits which ever God gave me, is that he sent me sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, and even so perfectly, as God made the world, or else, I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, (and other ways which I will not name, for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in Hell, till time come that I must go to Mr Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him; and when I am called from him, I fall a weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly misliking unto me; and this my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure, and more yet, in respect to it, all other pleasures in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me (11).' So much was Mr Afcham affected with this interview, that in a letter to Lady Jane, dated the 18th of January 1551, he speaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apostrophe, addressing himself to Mr Aylmer, felicitates him on his having so ingenious a scholar, in a strain of compliment, which he says the great Sturmius made use of to him, speaking of his happiness, in having the Lady Elizabeth for his pupil. In this letter it is, that he desires Mr Aylmer, to whom he forefaw it would be shewn, to engage the Lady Jane, to write a letter in Greek to himself, and another to Sturmius, and also desires they might continue to live in the same learned friendship and intercourse, which they had hitherto done (12).

[C] *A seat in the Convocation.* In the beginning of the year 1553, Mr Aylmer succeeded Christopher Massingberd, who deceased the 8th of March,

(11) Afcham's Schoolmaster, p. 11. b.

(12) Afcham. Epist. p. 237.

the first year of Queen Mary, he boldly opposed that return to Popery; to which the body of the Clergy seemed generally inclined. He was one of Six, who in the midst of all the violences committed in that assembly, offered to dispute all the controverted points in religion, against the most learned and famous champions of the Papists. But when the supreme power began to argue, not by words but by force, Archdeacon Aylmer withdrew, and if we may credit one of our ecclesiastical Historians, escaped in almost a miraculous manner [D], beyond the seas (b); where he resided first at Strasbourg, afterwards at Zurich in Switzerland, and there in peace followed his studies, employing all his time [E] in acquiring knowledge, or in providing that others should acquire it (i). During the time of his exile, he improved himself likewise by travel, and towards the end of it, gave a signal proof of his learning, moderation, and love to his native country, by penning a sober answer to an outrageous book, written by John Knox, against the government of women [F]. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth

(b) Fuller, ubi supra.

(i) Strype, p. 10—17.

to

in the same year, in the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln, if Wood may be believed (13); but Mr Strype says, that he succeeded Dr Dedicot (14). However it was, he sat in the Convocation, which met the 16th of October, in the same year at London: The first day he said little, but the next he disputed boldly against the Real Presence, and with great learning, reading several quotations from the Fathers, which he had collected, from his note book. But the history of this dispute is much too long for a note, and therefore we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to a book, where it may still be read at large (15). This conduct though it gained him great reputation, lost him his Archdeaconry; into which came John Harrison, in the year 1554, being no doubt a zealous Papist (16).

[D] *Almost a miraculous manner.* Mr Fuller takes notice, that the ship on board which Mr Aylmer embarked, was so unlucky as to be searched and yet he escaped, partly through the friendship of the captain, and partly through his own lowliness of stature. For there being in the hold a very large wine vessel, with a partition in the middle, Mr Aylmer sat in the one end of it, while the searchers drank wine drawn out of the other (17). No question, but many such contrivances there were in the days of Queen Mary, when the confusions in Church and State, made numbers of all ranks prefer safety in foreign climates, to that affection which nature taught them for their own.

[E] *Employing all his time.* His thoughts, tho' in a distant country, were continually employed in the service of England, and of Englishmen. He published (as Mr Strype supposes) Lady Jane Gray's letter to Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, and who apostatized. He assisted the famous Fox, in translating the History of English Martyrs into Latin, as also in the version of Archbishop Cranmer's Vindication of the Book on the Sacrament, against Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, which version however was never printed or published. When his studies and the care he took of his fellow-exiles allowed him leisure, he visited most of the universities of Italy and Germany, and had an offer from the Duke of Saxony, of the Hebrew Professorship of Jena, which he refused, on a prospect of speedily returning home (18).

[F] *Against the government of women.* As this was the only work of consequence, which our author Aylmer ever published, as it was the groundwork of his future fortunes, and at the same time, the source of those calumnies, which were thrown upon him, it is requisite that we should give here a full and distinct account of the occasion, and the manner in which it was written, and this we shall endeavour to do as briefly as may be. In 1556, John Knox, printed at Geneva a treatise under this title: *The first Blast against the monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women.* The drift of the author was to shew, that by the laws of God women could not exercise Sovereign authority (19). The reason of his writing of it, was his spite against two Queens; Mary of Lorraine, then Regent of Scotland, and Mary Queen of England; it was like the rest of that Divine's pieces, a vehement performance full of strange opinions, supported by a warm flow of enthusiastick Rhetorick, which sufficiently recommended it to all persons of the same complexion. He intended a second, and a third part; but the times altering, he did not rend the ears of the publick with any

more Blasts. However, this first did a great deal of mischief, and prejudiced the Protestant religion exceedingly in the minds of Princes, and those in authority under them. Mr Aylmer perceiving this, and apprehending also the consequences which might attend the leaving this book unanswered, resolved to employ his pen in the performance of a duty incumbent upon him, as a Christian Divine, and a good subject. His piece was entitled, *An Harbour for faithfull and true Subjects, against the late blowne Blasse, concerning the Government of Women. Wherein bee confuted all such Reasons as a stranger of late made in that Behalfe. With a briefe Exhortation to Obedience.* It was printed at Strasbourg, anno 1559, and was dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Robert Duddely (afterwards Earl of Leicester, then) Master of the Queen's Horfes. This book is written with great vivacity, and at the same time discovers it's author's deep and general learning. At the opening of this work, there are some curious remarks on Mr Knox's want of skill in Politicks, and the Law of Nations; the author then proceeds to a logical refutation of his arguments, and in doing this, he enters into a comparison of the Civil or Roman Law, with that of this land. In his exhortation to obedience, he pays great compliments to the new Queen Elizabeth, giving however this reason for his not setting his name to his book, that he might write with greater liberty, and be the less suspected of flattery. A seasonable and well-judged antidote this was to Knox's furious poison, and well calculated to soften Queen Elizabeth's resentment, which had begun to discover itself against the exiles (20). Yet with all this moderation, it so happened, that our author retaining in his mind, too quick a sensation of the severities exercised by Queen Mary's Popish Bishops, let fall some odd expressions, and amongst them these; 'Come off, ye Bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds; as they be in other reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be Priest-like, not Prince-like. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities, and other lands, to maintain these wars, which you procured, and your mistress left her embroiled in; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the Realm. That every parish-church may have his preacher, every city to have his superintendant to live honestly, and not pompously, which will never be, unless your lands are dispersed, and bestowed upon many, which now feed and fat but one.' Other passages there are to the same purport, which Mr Strype tells us very confidently, were intended of the Popish Bishops, which, with his leave, is a visible absurdity, as appears from the words above cited; *other reformed churches.* Not but that the Popish Bishops are also struck at by what follows, but the scope of the words take in the whole order, and in this sense they were understood. Aylmer himself, when this passage was afterwards objected to him, disdain'd such trifling, and answered like a man of sense; *When I was a child, I spoke like a child, and thought like a child, &c* (21). His inclining to what was afterwards called Puritanism in those days, appears further by his choice of his Patrons, the *Earl of Bedford, and Lord Dudley.* This was a topick his enemies would never part with, when he came afterwards to change his opinions, and to act with the same quickness and vehemency in defence of Prelacy, which he had before discovered in this work, in writing

(20) Fuller's Ch. History, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223.

Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 119. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(21) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 269. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 108.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(14) Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 9.

(15) Fox's Martyrs.

(16) Wood, ubi supra.

(17) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk.

(18) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

(19) See the article of FOX.

to the English throne, Aylmer returned home, and was one of the eight Divines, appointed to dispute with as many Popish Bishops at Westminster, in the presence of a great assembly (k). A. D. 1562, he obtained the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, by the favour of Mr Secretary Cecil (l). In right of this dignity, he sat in the famous Synod held the same year, wherein the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and its Reformation, from the abuses of Popery, were carefully examined and wisely settled (m). In this situation he continued for many years [G], and discharged the duty of a good subject to the government under which he lived, in Church and State; being one of the Queen's Justices of the Peace, as also an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, which gave him a great insight into affairs, and rendered him fitly qualified for the episcopal function (n). October the tenth, 1573, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, in the university of Oxford (o). The next year the Archbishop of Canterbury made choice of him, to answer a book written in Latin against the government of the Church of England; but after thoroughly considering it, Dr Aylmer declined the task (p), which some in those days (perhaps unjustly) attributed to discontent, because he was not made a Bishop. To this dignity he had been often named by that excellent man, Matthew Parker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, but always set aside, either through the interest of the Archbishop's enemies, or his own (q). For there were enough of both, and the latter failed not to suggest, that in the same book where Aylmer had made his court to the Queen, he had also shewn his spleen against Episcopacy (r). At last, in the year 1576, on Dr Edwin Sandys being promoted to the Archbishoprick of York, Dr Aylmer was made Bishop of London (s), not without the furtherance of his predecessor, who was his intimate friend, and had been his fellow-exile. Yet immediately after his promotion, Bishop Aylmer found, or thought he found, cause to complain of the Archbishop [H]; however his Grace assisted at his consecration, on the

writing against it. While we are upon this subject, it may not be amiss to note, that the reflection this piece drew upon him, did probably deter Mr Aylmer from meddling with the Press again; to which he retained an irreconcilable aversion, except in cases of necessity, to the very end of his life.

[G] *Continued for many years.* In this note we shall lay before the reader, some particulars worthy his notice, which happened to Mr Aylmer, between his return to England and his promotion to the Bishoprick of London. He was about forty years old when he first became known at court, having for his fast friend, Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and for his Patron, Secretary Cecil. Before the ecclesiastical preferments were settled, Cecil made lists of Divines, proper to be recommended to Bishopricks. In one of these, consisting of nineteen names, stood Aylmer, but though twelve of that number were honoured with mitres, he was passed by (22). However he had no great reason to complain, his Archdeaconry being a very profitable preferment. In the roll of the subscriptions to the thirty-nine articles in the Synod, mentioned in the text, which subscriptions were made on the 15th of February 1562, he subscribed thus; *Johannes Aylmerus, Archid. Lincoln.* (23). He did not stir much in this assembly, and when the great debate was on the six points, relating to feast-days, ceremonies, organs, &c. he was absent, and so were many more to the number of twenty-seven (24). It was doubtless by the Archbishop's interest, Mr Aylmer was made a Justice of Peace, and put into the high commission; and Mr Wood assures us, that his being in these posts, is taken notice of in the Oxford register in the entry of his degrees (25). He was very active in all his several employments; however his book was still harped upon, by such as had no kindness for his person. Amongst the rest, one Mr Norton, a Minister, writing to Dr Whitgift, to dissuade him from answering Mr Cartwright, the Puritan's book, remarked, that Mr Aylmer's unreasonable paradox to truth, had hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment so much as he hoped. But Dr Whitgift in his answer, supported Mr Aylmer's doctrine, and vindicated him from the charge of writing for preferment (26). Many of these reports no doubt, had reached our Archdeacon's ears, and therefore we need not wonder that he declined the Archbishop's motion of writing an answer to the treatise, *de Disciplina*, which would certainly have created him new enemies, and have contributed nothing towards pacifying the old. It was not only Parker, our author's friend and countryman, that thought him the properest person to be employed in such a work, Grindal then lately preferred from London to York, thought

so too; but was apprehensive that Aylmer would not take the pains (27). Indeed it was not reasonable to expect he should. He had already a great deal upon him, and it is admitted on all hands, that he left nothing unexecuted which depended upon him; inasmuch that many years after it was acknowledged, the diocese of Lincoln felt the good effects of his administration. The Archdeacon's diligence was somewhat impeded by a dispute he had with the Bishop, which induced a law-suit; but at length the parties, to avoid scandal, submitted the matter in debate to Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert, Bishop of Winchester, by whom it was finally determined in 1572 (28). When Grindal was made Archbishop of York, Aylmer was talked of for his successor in the See of London, and Parker recommended him warmly to Secretary Cecil. The Earl of Leicester, our author's first Patron, started an objection, though he seemed to espouse his interest; which objection was, that it would seem strange to raise an Archdeacon at once, to so considerable a See; after all, Sandys was preferred for that time (29). It is pretty evident, that neither of the parties which were then in the Church, had any liking to our Archdeacon. Those who were warm for Uniformity, remembered his declamation against Bishops, and the other party again, hated him also on account of his book; for though none durst openly own it, yet Knox's doctrine had many followers. Besides, Aylmer's conduct as an Archdeacon, and an ecclesiastical commissioner, seemed to speak an alteration in his sentiments; and thus, though no objection could be made to his parts, learning, or application to business; yet doubts and jealousies, retarded his preferment for near fifteen years, notwithstanding his own merit, and the warm solicitation of powerful friends.

[H] *Cause to complain of the Archbishop.* The dispute between our Bishop Aylmer, and his predecessor, Archbishop Sandys, is a point not to be sifted over hastily, or treated with any partiality. We shall endeavour to state it fairly, truly, and from proper authorities. Sandys was Aylmer's particular friend, had been his fellow-exile, and recommended him warmly for his successor in the See of London (30). In his farewell sermon preached at Paul's Cross, he was pleased to give this character of him, then, appointed to supply his place. 'My hope is that the Lord hath provided one of choice, to be placed over you, a man to undertake this great charge, for strength, courage, great wisdom, skill in government, knowledge, as in many other things; especially in the Heavenly mysteries of God, that I doubt not, but my departure shall turn very much to your advantage (31).' When Dr Aylmer came

(k) Fuller's Ch. History, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 56.

(l) Strype, p. 18.

(m) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 323.

(n) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 21.

(o) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 318. Life of Aylmer, p. 22.

(q) Strype, p. 20.

(r) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(s) Godwin de Præful. Part i. p. 252. Wood, ubi supra. Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 97.

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 154.

(23) Ibid. p. 323.

(24) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 19.

(25) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(26) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 21.

(27) Ibid. p. 22.

(28) Ibid. ubi supra.

(29) Godwin de Præful. edit. Lond. 1616, p. 252.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 423. Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 27.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 423.

twenty-fourth of March, 1576. But this did not hinder Bishop Aylmer from suing Sandys for dilapidations, which after some years prosecution he recovered (t). December the fifteenth, 1577, our Bishop began his first visitation, wherein he urged subscriptions, which some ministers refused, and not contented therewith, reviled such as saw no reason to hinder them from subscribing, calling them dissemblers, and comparing them to Arians and Anabaptists, such was the temper of the Puritans at their very beginning (u). He was also extremely assiduous in publick preaching, took much pains in examining such as came to him for ordination, and kept a strict eye over all the Dissenters in those times, as well Papists as Puritans. In which he acted so far as his episcopal authority would permit, and where he found that not sufficient, he wrote freely to the Treasurer Burleigh [I], as to what he thought further necessary (w). When the plague raged in London, in the year 1578, our Bishop shewed a paternal care of his clergy and people. For as on the one hand he would not expose the former to needless perils, so on the other he provided, that these last should not be without spiritual comforts (x). In 1581 came out Campion's book, shewing the reasons why he had deserted the Reformed, and returned to the Popish communion. It was written in very elegant Latin, and dedicated to the scholars of both the universities, for which reason the Treasurer, Burleigh, thought it very proper that it should be answered, and referred the care thereof to our Bishop, who though he gave his opinion freely upon the subject, and promised his assistance, if the answering it was put into a method which he proposed, yet he declined the undertaking singly [K], on account of the great business he had upon his hands (y). He was indeed

(t) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 112.

(u) Ibid. p. 29.

(w) Strype's Annals, Fuller's Church History, Peirce's Vindication.

(x) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 44.

(y) Ibid. ubi supra, & p. 53.

to town on this occasion, the Archbishop courteously entertained him at his house; when he departed for York, he left several things in the houses belonging to his Bishoprick, for his use and benefit, all which so obliged the new Bishop of London, that a little before his consecration, he said, he would demand nothing for dilapidations; and a little after, promised to be contented with an hundred pounds, as the Archbishop offered to justify his oath, in a paper under his hand (32). When Sandys was gone to York, our Bishop, or, as Strype says, some busy lawyer for him, set up many demands; requiring first the rent to Lady-day, and some time after sept back to Michaelmas (33). To this Sandys objected, that till Candlemas, he was Bishop of London, and had spent in hospitality there five hundred and fifty pounds, more than he had received since Michaelmas. That neither Bishop Young, nor the late Archbishop Grindal, had been so dealt withal, but enjoyed all they received. This answer which was addressed to the Treasurer, ended with these words; 'He is able, and I am a beggar, I have in that space been at all the costs, and taken all the pains, he none; so that if the restitution-day be found on the Purification of our Lady, it will look farther back than I thought (34).' Bishop Aylmer, it seems, in order to demonstrate the ability of his Grace to answer his demands, sent to the Lord Treasurer, a note of what accrued to the Archbishop in his new diocese. His Lady-day's rents 500*l.* demesnes 400*l.* benevolence of his Clergy 800*l.* in wood 3000*l.* (35). The Treasurer fairly sent a copy of this note to the Archbishop, who in his answer to his Lordship's letter says, 'I have set a brief and true comment on this false text, as by the billet enclosed to your Lordship, you may perceive.' That billet ran thus; *The Lady-day rents are untrue by a great sum, and perhaps part of the tenths will be required of me; the demesnes not 500*l.*, the Clergy's benevolence in two years to come; as to the wood he might as well have rated the houses to pull down and sell, he hath as much wood at London.* At the end of the Archbishop's letter are these remarkable words; 'Coloured covetousness, an envious heart, covered with the coat of dissimulation, will, when opportunity serve, shew itself; my Lord, I am fore dealt withal, and most shamefully wronged on every side; my only comfort is, that a clear conscience will answer for me before God, and that when I shall be tried, *veritas liberabit mibi?*' In another letter to the Treasurer, the Archbishop insinuates, that this note was sent to the Treasurer, rather to bring difficulties upon him, than from any hopes the Bishop had of getting by it himself. 'For how, continues his Grace, came he to look for this, that the Bishop of York would give his revenues to so unthankful a man, that so soon as he had holden him on with his rochet, was transformed, and shewed himself in his own nature (36).' It does not appear how this matter was ended, but Mr Strype tells us, that Bishop Aylmer commenced another suit against his predecessor for di-

lapidations, computing them at upwards of twelve hundred pounds (37), which demand was afterwards carried much higher, as the reader will see in the text.

[I] *To the Treasurer Burleigh.*] By a letter of the Bishop's, dated the 30th of December 1579, it appears, that he kept a very strict eye over the Papists. That letter is directed to the Treasurer, and it relates to one Carter, a Printer, whom together with his Press, the Bishop seized, and sent the man to the Gatehouse. In his custody the Bishop found a French treatise, intitled, *The Innocency of the Scottish Queen*, which his Lordship calls a very dangerous book, because the said Queen, is there filed heir apparent of this crown; he also intimates, that the man was an old offender, out of whom there was nothing to be sifted (38). What influence the Bishop's letter had on the Treasurer at this time appears not, but something may be guessed, from the following passage out of Stowe. 'On the 10th of January 1584, at a Session holden in the Justice-Hall of the Old Bailey London, William Carter, of the City of London, was there indicted, arraigned, and condemned of High-Treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous book in English; intitled, *A Treatise of Schism*; and was for the same according to the sentence pronounced against him, on the next morning, drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered (39).' On all other occasions, the Bishop bore hard upon the Papists, and upon all the favourers of the title of the Queen of Scots. Another particular instance of this, we have in the case of one Mr Thomas Pond, formerly a person of some distinction, now a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Two Ministers it seems, went to confer with him upon religious subjects, but they found him so knotty a disputant, that they could by no means manage him; which when they had reported to the Bishop, he instantly gave directions for his being removed to his castle of Bishops-Stortford, where, as the Papists say, he was confined in a very dark melancholy dungeon (40). The truth seems to be, that the Bishop thought that men of this disposition, in the neighbourhood of London, might do a great deal of mischief, by perverting weak people to their religion, as we may gather by several letters of his to the Treasurer on this subject. In all of them, he writes very pathetically, and expostulates with his Lordship, for not being so warm in this matter as himself was; intimating that rebellion was a thing necessarily connected with their religion, wherefore Statesmen, as well as Churchmen, were bound to look strictly after all favourers of Popery (41).

[K] *Declined the undertaking singly.*] This book of Campion's which was published in 1581, gave the Administration no small uneasiness; it was written in very elegant Latin, in a quick and taking style, dedicated to the scholars in both universities, among whom it was secretly dispersed. One of the principal points insisted on therein, was the strange and contradictory doctrines taught by some of the first Reformers, on which subject

(37) Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 29.

(38) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 45. Annals, Vol. II. p. 587.

(39) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 698.

(40) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 47.

(41) Ibid. p. 3

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 570, 571.

(33) Ibid. p. 426. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 26.

(34) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(35) Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 26. Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(36) Ibid. p. 427, 428.

no great friend to controversy, which he thought turned the minds of the people too much from the essence of religion, made them quarrelsome and captious, indifferent subjects, and not very good Christians. On this account, he held a stricter rein over the Puritans than over the Papists, imprisoning one Woodcock, a Stationer or Bookseller, for vending a treatise, intitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, which tended to subvert the Church as it was then constituted (z). He had likewise some disputes with one Mr Welden, a person of a good estate and interest, in Berkshire, whom he procured to be committed by the ecclesiastical commissioners (a). These proceedings roused the Puritans, who treated him as a persecutor, and an enemy to true religion [L]. However this did not discourage the Bishop, he was a warm and steady man, thought the peace of the Church was to be secured by the authority of it's Fathers, and therefore he executed his episcopal power, as far and as often as it was necessary (b). Thus he suddenly summoned the clergy of London to his palace, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of September, 1579, at one of the clock. On this summons forty appeared, and the Dean being likewise present, the Bishop cautioned them of two things, one was, not to meddle with the Ubiquitarian controversy; the other, to avoid meddling with the points treated in Stubb's book, intitled, *The Discovery of a gaping gulph, &c.* written against the Queen's marriage, with Monsieur, the French King's brother, and wherein it was suggested, that the Queen wavered in her religion (c). This method being found very effectual, he summoned his clergy often, and made such strict enquiries into their conduct, as gained him great reputation with some, though it exposed him to the censures and ill-will of others (d). This disposition perhaps might occasion, in some measure, that violence with which he was prosecuted before the Council, in May 1579, for cutting down his woods, in respect to which he was severely checked by the Lord Treasurer, a circumstance which much raised the Bishop's choler. However, notwithstanding his angry letters to that great nobleman, and his long and laboured defence of himself, he was at length, by the Queen's command, forbid to fell any more [M]. He had notwithstanding better

(x) Ibid. p. 56.
 (a) Ibid. p. 59.
 (b) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Godwin de Praesul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 64.
 (c) Ibid. p. 61.
 (d) Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 110. Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 64.
 (42) Ibid. p. 52. he had a whole chapter intitled *Paradoxa* (42). The Treasurer was very desirous that this book should be answered, and answered effectually, for which reason, he applied himself to the Bishop of London; but it so happened, that his Lordship was then but just recovered of an ague, which at going off left him a fore leg. Besides, he could not with all his industry, procure the book; however he wrote his opinion to the Treasurer freely, and that opinion was this. He thought some of the Deans, Archdeacons, and Clergy who had preferences without cures of souls, should be employed in collecting materials for such an answer, and that others should be appointed to put them in order: He even drew up a list of these, and no doubt his Lordship's design was to have gone to the bottom of things; and to have justified the Reformation thoroughly. He suggested however to his Lordship, that tho' himself had been well acquainted with many of these great men (the chief reason of the Treasurer's applying to him) and had a profound veneration for their virtues; yet that he well knew, even these great men were not free from blame, or their writings from faults; wherefore he was for supporting the Reformation, rather than the Reformers (43). He continued in this sentiment after Lord Burleigh sent him the book, which he was far from thinking so extraordinary a performance as many held it to be (44). The Treasurer thought such an answer as the Bishop desired, too great an honour done him, and so Dr Whitaker was employed to confute it, which he did in a learned piece written also in the Latin tongue (45). [L] *An enemy to true religion.* The opinion the Puritans entertained of our Bishop, will best appear from what is said of him by Mr Peirce in his Vindication of the Dissenters; for as he is a very accurate author, and never speaks but from authority, whatever he delivers may be considered as the judgment of his party in the times of which he speaks, 'Dr John Aylmer, says he, Bishop of London, was a man of a most intemperate heat, who persecuted the Puritans with the utmost rage, and treated Ministers with such virulent and abusive language, as a man of sense, and indifferent temper, would scorn to use towards porters and cobblers (46).' As an instance of this he gives us the examination of one Merbury, a Minister, which is too long to be transcribed here; there are in it abundance of hard names, which are said to have fallen from the Bishop; but then it must be owned, that there is a great deal of impertinency in the Minister's discourse (47). As to the particular instances of his severity mentioned in the text. Thomas Woodcock was a young Stationer, who supposing that the book called an *Admonition to the Parliament*, might be sold to good profit, because it was prohibited, got

a considerable number of them into his hands, which he vended freely, tho' with as much secrecy as he could (48). For this, Bishop Aylmer committed him to Newgate, and tho' he was strongly solicited by eminent persons for his release, yet he absolutely refused it, whereupon the Master, Wardens, and principal persons of the Stationer's company, addressed themselves to the Lord Treasurer for the man's release, but with what success does not appear (49). The affair of Mr Welden gave his Lordship more trouble. In the year 1597, the Ecclesiastical Commission suspended the Minister of Cookham, in Berkshire; Bishop Aylmer sent down one Keltridge, to supply the Minister's place; but Mr Welden, who was a considerable man in the parish, opposed him, and spoke very disrespectfully of the Bishop. Upon this, his Lordship granted an attachment against him, which the Defendant held to be illegal, and did not submit to; which occasioned the Bishop's sending a Pursuivant with a letter, Mr Welden submitted to this, saying, 'That now the Bishop of London had learnt good manners; adding afterwards, what is he but a private man, yet it must be, An't please your Lordship at every word, there never was a Bishop so vilely esteemed as he, I believe he is as ill thought of as ever was Bonner.' These words being proved by deposition, Mr Welden, for speaking them and for refusing to answer, was committed by the Ecclesiastical court in the absence of the Bishop, because it was his own cause (50). However, his Lordship wrote a warm letter to the Treasurer upon this subject, beseeching him to support the Commissioners in their proceedings against this man, for that otherwise the Queen's service must suffer (51).

[M] *Forbid to fell any more.* One of the greatest troubles this prelate ever met with, was an information exhibited against him to the Council, for cutting down his woods, and thereby prejudicing his successors in the See of London. The Bishop justified himself, and gave in a long answer to all the objections, which answer is still extant. The whole amount of the sales, as those who accused him set it forth, was a thousand pounds; the Bishop in the close of his answer, says very cautiously, that in three years, he thinks they may amount to six hundred pounds (52). The Treasurer spoke to him warmly at the Council-table, and went even so far as to tell him, that a Bishop had been deprived for such doings (53). This matter hung a long while before the Council, but in the end, her Majesty thought fit to direct, that he should cut down no more of his wood. After some time this matter broke out again. One Litchfield, a Court Musician, informed against him, that he cut down the elms at Fulham,

(48) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 57.

(49) Ibid. p. 59.

(50) Ibid. p. 60.

(51) Ibid. p. 86.

(52) Strype's Annals, Vol. 11. p. 150, in the appendix.

(53) Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 51.

better success against the Archbishop of York, his predecessor. For instead of his first demand of twelve hundred pounds for dilapidations, upon a view in 1580 (e), they were estimated to be one thousand, six hundred, and two pounds; and though the cause then had not a final hearing, yet the Archbishop of York, only endeavoured to obtain a mitigation of damages, and that a part of the burthen should fall on the executors of Archbishop Grindal, who had been his predecessor in the diocese of London (f). On the sixth of April in the same year, there was a dreadful earthquake, and in the dead of the night on the first of May, it was felt again, which as it exceedingly terrified the people, so the Bishop, that he might turn their concern to a proper object, and at the same time exhibit to them reasonable grounds of comfort, composed certain prayers to be made use of in the publick service (g). In 1581, the Bishop had a pretty rough struggle with the Lord Rich, who kept one Wright a Puritan minister in his house, and would have compelled the Bishop to license him to preach in his diocese. In the end however the Bishop had the better; for on a hearing before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Wright was committed to the Fleet, and some others who had been busy in this affair, to other prisons (h). This increased the number of his enemies, of whom he had not a few before, who daily suggested that he was a violent man, and fought to vest too great a power in Churchmen. These representations had such effect, that sometimes messages were sent to him, to abate somewhat of the rigour of his proceedings (i). His Lordship however still supported the ecclesiastical commission, by his presence and authority, and though a milder course might have made him more easy, yet he thought it better to suffer himself, than that the Church should (k). As he had formerly, so now he had many doubts concerning the Treasurer, from whose hands usually came his reproofs; but upon the winding up of his cause, before the Council about selling of woods, he saw clearly, that he had no friend equal to the Treasurer, who, though he endeavoured by his admonitions to prevent his falling into such difficulties, yet generously exerted his utmost power to help him out of them, so far as was consistent with equity, and the good of the common-weal (l). From this time forward, therefore, the Bishop applied chiefly to the Treasurer, for any favours he expected from Court, particularly with regard to the business of his translation; for what with one thing or other, he was exceedingly solicitous to be removed from London, either to Winchester or Ely; but with respect to this, though he had many fair promises, all his interest could not procure a performance (m). New informations, some with little, many with no cause at all, were exhibited against him, and the trouble these gave him was not a little, notwithstanding that on a thorough examination, his conduct constantly escaped censure (n). In 1583, he performed his triennial visitation, and having therein discovered many scandalous corruptions in the ecclesiastical courts, especially in the business of commuting penances, he wisely and honestly represented what came to his knowledge to the Privy-Council, which was all he could do. About this time also he suspended certain Ministers, who were accused of Nonconformity; and it appears, that upon a thorough examination of the matter, his Lordship did impartial justice, in restoring one Mr Giffard, whom he had twice suspended, when those who had charged him were able to make nothing out (o). In 1584, he obtained judgment against Archbishop Sandys for a thousand pounds. In this year also he committed Mr Thomas Cartwright, a famous Puritan Minister, who had written warmly against the Hierarchy, and was a very stirring man in that cause, which the Bishop understood to be the disturbance of the publick peace (p). Yet for this his Lordship incurred the Queen's displeasure, and a little after his Lordship was given to understand, that he stood accused to her Majesty, for impairing the revenues of his bishoprick, of which he purged himself, by exhibiting a state of the bishoprick as it then stood, compared with the condition it was in when he became Bishop (q). Other difficulties he met with, on account of the share he had in executing her Majesty's ecclesiastical commission, from which there were continual appeals to the Privy-Council, where the Lords who favoured the Puritans, did not fail to object to the Bishop's conduct, which, considering his warm temper, afflicted him not a little (r). In 1585, he composed a prayer to be used on account of the rainy unseasonable weather, which he recommended to private families, as well as directed to be read with the publick prayers. He also used his interest to quiet the murmurs of the common people in London, against the crowds of strangers who fled hither, to avoid the persecutions raised against them, for embracing the Protestant religion (s). In the summer of the year 1586, the Bishop went his next triennial visitation, and at Malden in Essex, his Lordship narrowly escaped an outrageous insult,

(e) *Ibid.* p. 117.

(f) *Strype's Annals.*

(g) *Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 689. *Strype's Life of Aylmer*, p. 78.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(i) *Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 99. *Strype's Annals.*

(k) *Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 89, 94.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 220.

(m) *Strype's Annals.*

(n) *Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 105.

(o) *Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 103. *Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 109.

(p) *Peirce's Vindication*, p. 102. *Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 116. *Strype's Annals.* See the article of C A R T - W R I G H T.

(q) *Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer*, p. 118.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 123.

Fullham, an accusation, which, very luckily for the Bishop, the Queen knew to be false; for she had lodged at Fullham, after the time the elms were said to be cut down, and had complained that the prospect from her lodgings had been spoiled by the over thickness of the trees (54). The Bishop's enemies and especially the Puritans, did not fail to magnify these little imputations, inasmuch as to allege that the Bishop's name ought to be transposed; and that instead of *Elmar*, he should be called *Mar-Elm* (55). Strype

vindicates the Bishop very warmly in his Life, but certain it is, that Bishop Bancroft, amongst other things which he charged upon our Prelate, insisted strenuously on this, that he had spoiled the woods of his See, and left them in such a condition, that they would scarce serve his successor with firewood (56); and indeed, if the reader reflects on the note he gave in to the Archbishop of York, he cannot but discern what right the Bishop had in his own opinion, to the cutting down of timber (57).

(56) *Strype's Life of Aylmer*, p. 195.

(57) His note to the Treasurer about Bishop Sandys, in note [H].

[N] By

54) Admonition to the People of England, printed A. D. 1589, p. 16.

55) Brief View of the State of the Church, by Mr John Harrington.

insult, intended against him by some disaffected persons [N]. His son Dr Theophilus Aylmer, whom he had made Archdeacon of London, did this year also call the clergy before him, and gave them many excellent instructions, being himself a very pious and primitive divine (l). In 1587, the Bishop entered into a new scene of trouble, on account of one Mr Robert Cawdry, schoolmaster, whom the Lord Burleigh had presented to the living of South Luffenham in Rutlandshire, where after preaching sixteen years, he was convened before the ecclesiastical commission, and at length, the Bishop sitting as Judge, deprived (u). Cawdry would not submit to the sentence, whereupon the matter was re-examined by the ecclesiastical commission at Lambeth, where to deprivation, degradation was added. However the thing did not end so, for Cawdry still refusing to submit, made new and warm representations to the Lord Burleigh, who favoured him as much as with justice he could, but after near five years contest, nothing could be obtained, the Bishop's and Archbishop's sentences being strongly supported, both by the Civil and Common lawyers (w). In 1588, his Lordship restored one Mr Henry Smith, a very eloquent and much admired preacher, whom he had suspended for contemptuous expressions against the Book of Common-Prayer, which however Smith denied (x). In 1589, his Lordship expressed, in pretty strong terms, his dislike of certain libels against the King of Spain, giving it as his reason, that on so glorious a victory, it was better to thank God, than insult men, especially Princes (y). That year also he visited his diocese, though he was grown old and very infirm, and suspended one Dyke at St Alban's, though he had been recommended by the Lord Treasurer (z). In 1591, he caused the famous Mr Cartwright to be brought before him out of the Fleet, and expostulated with him roundly, on the disturbance he had given the Church (a). In 1592, he strongly solicited in favour of Dr Bullingham, and Dr Cole, that they might be preferred to bishopricks, but without success, which his Lordship foresaw. For he observed when he applied for them, that he was not so happy as to do much good for his friends; yet he added, he would never be wanting in shewing his good will, both to them and to the Church (b). About this time, casting his eye on Dr Bancroft, a rising and very active man, he warmly endeavoured to obtain leave to resign his bishoprick to him, as a man every way fit for such a charge, but in this also he was disappointed, which it seems lay heavy at his heart; for even on his death-bed, he expressed his earnest desire that Bancroft might succeed him (c). So indeed he did, but not immediately, and dealt as sharply with our Bishop's children, as he had done with his predecessor Sandys; and on the same head, that is, of dilapidations (d). In 1592, the Bishop assisted at his son's visitation, as Archdeacon of London, and it is remarkable, that at this visitation, the Bishop exerted himself with as much zeal and spirit as he had ever shewn in his life (e). His great age, and great labours, however, weighed him down by degrees, so that on the third of June, 1594, he yielded to fate, being seventy-three, and his body being brought from his palace at Fulham, was interred in his own cathedral church of St Paul, before St George's chapel, under a fair stone of grey marble, with an inscription which is still preserved, as the reader will find in a note, though the stone on which it was engraven, together with many others, were demolished by the saints, when St Paul's church was converted to another use than it's founders designed (f). Bishop Aylmer married Judith Bures, or Buers, of a very good family in Suffolk, by whom he had a very numerous offspring, viz. seven sons, and two or three daughters, of whom in their proper place. As to the personal qualities of the Bishop, they were as those of most men are, good and bad, the former perhaps too much magnified by his friends, as the latter certainly were by his enemies. We will speak briefly and candidly, first of the one and then of the other. He was solidly and extensively learned in all things, that became either a great churchman, or a polite man to know. He was very well versed in the three learned languages, had read much history, was a good logician, and very well skilled in the Civil Law. As a Divine, he wanted no accomplishments; for he had studied, and understood the Scripture thoroughly; could preach, not only rhetorically but pathetically; and in the course of his

[N] *By some disaffected persons.* The common people in Essex were extremely averse to our Bishop, and at Malden especially his enemies were not a few. In order to express their resentments, when he came thither in the course of his visitation, certain tradesmen in the town, hired a fellow to come into the church in the guise of an idiot, to whip off the Bishop's cap, and to toss it amongst them, who under pretence of restoring it, were to throw it about the church; this goodly contrivance the Bishop discovered, before it was carried into execution, and prevented it. This he looked upon as a very fortunate thing, because probably, it might otherwise have been attended with great tumult, and might perhaps have produced bloodshed. He inquired narrowly after the authors of this scandalous machination, and having discovered, committed them, which not a little terrified the magistrates of this place, and abated the spirits of the Bishop's enemies. He wrote also to the Council with great ear-

nestness upon this subject, but after all, it seems he did not think fit to proceed farther that way in his visitation (58.) He purchased the Manor of *Much-Hadham* in *Hertfordshire*, and resided frequently at the house belonging thereto, whereby he brought this part of his diocese into better order than it had been before. His son Theophilus he made Rector of this place, and used his assistance in the discharge of a burthen, which was now grown too heavy for him. This, as it was a great ease to the Bishop, so it was of great benefit to the diocese, for Dr Theophilus Aylmer was a most excellent man, and indefatigable in his duty, as appears by the articles drawn up by him, and delivered to his Clergy, which are mentioned in the text. All however could not still the clamours of those, who were offended at our prelate's activity; and who took pains so to misinterpret all his actions, that perhaps, never any Bishop since the Reformation, was pictured in a worse light, than he hath been (59).

[O] *Never*

(l) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 127.

(u) Strype's Annals, Vol. 111. p. 181.

(w) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 147.

(x) Ibid. p. 152.

(y) Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 99. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 157.

(z) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. 1. p. 436. Strype, p. 158.

(a) Neal's Hist. Vol. 1. p. 433. Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 101. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 160.

(b) Ibid. p. 168.

(c) Ibid. p. 169.

(d) Ibid. p. 194.

(e) Ibid. p. 170.

(f) Godwin de Præsul, p. 252. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 171.

(58) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 125.

(59) In the famous pieces Martin Mar-Prelate. Practices of the Prelates. Work for the Cooper. As well as by later authors, such as Peirce and Neal.

his life-time, never buried his talent [O]. He was in his heart from the conviction of his head a Protestant, and opposed Popery warmly, not from a fanatical peevishness, but from a just sense of its errors, which he had the courage to combat openly in the days of Queen Mary, and the honesty to suppress, as it was his duty, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With all this, and indeed with a temper not a little hasty, he was a good-natured, facetious man, one extremely diligent and painful in the several employments he went through; of too generous a temper to be corrupted, and of much too stout a one to be brow-beat. He was a magnificent man in his house, as appears by his household, which consisted of fourscore persons, to whom he was a good master; that is, both a father and a friend. After his fatigues he was wont to refresh himself, either with conversation or at bowls. As to his failings, his temper was without doubt a little too warm, his expressions sometimes a little too blunt, and his zeal, it may be, somewhat above the true standard. His enemies charged him with an exorbitant love of power, which displayed itself in various extraordinary acts of severity, of which the reader will find an account in the notes; with covetousness, which prompted him to spoil his See, and injure a private man; with intemperate heat against Puritans, with a slight regard of the Lord's-day, and with indecencies in ordinary speech; all which are likewise in the notes examined [P]. On the

[O] *Never buried his talent.*] We have already in the course of these notes, as well as of the text, entered so often into the Bishop's character, as a scholar and a divine, that we have not much to say here. Some particulars however, which others have thought remarkable we must not omit, and others that have occurred in the perusal of the history of these times deserve a place; of both we shall treat as succinctly as possible. The Bishop was not only well versed in Hebrew literature himself, but also a great friend of all such as applied themselves to the study of that tongue. Amongst others, he was remarkably kind to the celebrated Mr Broughton, and warmly espoused his interpretation of that article in the Creed, which respects Christ's descent into Hell, a point in those days very warmly disputed. Broughton's interpretation to which the Bishop adhered, was this: That the descent spoken of, was not a local descent into the prison of the damned; but Christ's passing into Paradise, agreeable to the Greek word *Hades*, and the Hebrew *Schoel*; which are often rendered into English by the *Grave*, and do not strictly, or properly signify Hell (60). When he observed the thoughts of the congregation to wander while he was preaching, he would take a Hebrew Bible out of his breast, and read a chapter out of it, at which, when the people naturally gaped and looked astonished, he putting it up again, shewed them the folly of listening greedily to new and strange things, and giving small attention to matters regarding themselves, and of the utmost importance (61). The spirit and eloquence of his discourses recommended him as a popular preacher; and it was observed, that in all times of difficulty or danger, Bishop Aylmer was called to preach at court, which he did willingly, and with such cheerfulness as raised the minds of his audience, and had very happy effects (62). His zeal for the Church was unfeigned, as appeared especially in the latter part of his life, when it bred him nothing but discontent and disquiet; yet he never abated it, never departed from what he thought right on account of any solicitations, or omitted giving advice, and such advice too as he judged most proper, tho' he knew it would neither be well liked or at all followed. In the course of his life he had seen adversity as well as prosperity; and as in the former he had never betrayed any timidity, so he would never forsake or dissemble his principles for the fear of losing the latter.

[P] *Examined in the notes.*] The pains taken by the Bishop's adversaries to draw together whatever might hurt his character cannot be well magnified; nor can it be denied, that in many instances his temper and actions are much misrepresented. In a celebrated work, published on purpose to set certain Prelates in an indifferent light, our Bishop is very roughly handled. Among lesser matters, he is charged with detaining stolen goods. It seems certain thieves, after stealing a parcel of cloth belonging to some Dyers at the Old Swan in Thames-street, left it in his manor of Fulham. The Dyers claimed it, but the Bishop said it was his own, because taken in his Lordship. On which the remarker passes this sentence, *That it being part blue, part green; the former might well serve for the Bishop's liveries, and the latter for covering his cushions and tables.* One George Allen, a Grocer,

dying, and by his will appointing Thomas Allen, and Richard Alworth of London, Merchants, his executors, they finding an entry of fourteen pounds in the decessed's books, as due from the Bishop of London, went on an Easter-Wednesday to demand it: the Bishop answered he owed them nothing; or if he did, they might go sue him. Upon this they expostulated with him, to which if they were to be believed, he returned, *Away citizens! you are rascals! you are worse than wicked Mammon!* then lifting up his hands, and letting them fall again, *You are thieves, you are coseners, take that for a Bishop's blessing, and so get you hence!* And so he caused them to be thrust out of doors. It is said, that he kept one Benison, a poor man, a long time in the Clink prison, without any great cause (63). The ordaining of his porter, and making him Minister at Paddington, and continuing him there long time after he was blind, hath afforded much matter of complaint. That matter however, which we find oftenest objected to the Bishop, is his playing at bowls on the Sabbath-day; and to place this in the strongest light, it is alleged, that he would sometimes lose his temper thereat; or, to express it in the words of our author, following his bowl, he would cry *rub, rub*, adding when it went too far, *the Devil go with it*, and then says the relator, he would follow it himself (64). To most of these charges answers have been given, which it is our duty to report. As to the cloth it was thrown in a dry ditch, where the Bishop caused it to be watched for two nights, in hopes of detecting the thieves, afterwards he directed it to be brought into his own house, where it was kept till the Dyers claimed it, who yet did not make proof that it was their cloth, or that the thieves were executed for stealing it; and, on the other hand, the Bishop was informed by his lawyers, that this cloth being waived in his manor, the property was altered, and transferred to the liberties. The debt due to the Grocer was it seems contracted, without the Bishop's knowledge, it being his constant direction to all with whom he dealt, to suffer none of his family to have anything without ready money; yet it was paid. As to Benison, he was a very refractory stubborn man. However the Bishop overthot himself in committing him, since he was censured for it by the Council; and had it recommended to him to make him some sort of satisfaction. As to the ordaining of his Porter, Mr Strype endeavours to defend it, by urging that there was but a small congregation at Paddington, where commonly for the meanness of the stipend, no Preacher could be had. An odd excuse, if Mr Strype knew, as he might have easily done, that this depended altogether on the Bishop of London; for which reason, when Dr Sheldon leased the manor to his family, he took away this reproach, by obliging them to make a handsome allowance to the minister. In respect to bowling, it is alleged, that the Bishop learned this custom at Geneva, where though the people were very strict, it was never held unlawful, even on the Sabbath after divine service was over. The Bishop himself used to say on this head, that he never withdrew himself from service or sermon. That Christ was the best judge of the Sabbath, and he had said, that it was made for man, and not man for it, and that as to any hasty expressions

(60) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 246.

(61) Fuller's Ch. History, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223.

(62) Fuller, ubi supra.

(63) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 196—203.

(64) Strype, ubi supra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

- the whole, we may justly affirm, that the times he lived in considered, he might be stiled a person of extraordinary wisdom [2], a worthy Prelate, and a blessing to the Church. At the time of his decease he left seven sons, and either two or three daughters (g). His sons were, first, Samuel, who was bred to the Law, in which he became very knowing. He was stiled, of Claydon-Hall in the county of Suffolk, and was High-Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Charles I, and by two wives left a numerous posterity (b). His second, Theophilus, a most worthy Divine, Archdeacon of London, Rector of Much-Hadham in Hertfordshire, and Doctor of Divinity. He was Chaplain to King James, an able and zealous preacher, apt to be a little too warm against the Puritans; charitable to so extensive a degree, that he left his own family in but indifferent circumstances. He lived a true pattern of Christian piety, and died heroically, closing his own eye-lids, and with these words in his mouth, *Let my people know that their Pastor died undaunted, and not afraid of death; I bless my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctancy, but a sure confidence in the sin-overcoming merits of Jesus Christ.* This happened January 1625. He was buried in his own parish church, and the excellent Primate Usher preached his funeral sermon (i). His third, John, who for some eminent service was knighted, and stiled Sir John Aylmer, of Rigby, in the county of Lincoln, Knt (k). Fourth, fifth, and sixth, Zachary, Nathaniel, and Edmund, of whom we know nothing particularly, except that Zachary and Edmund, were the warmest friends that age produced. When Edmund lay sick, Zachary continued with him night and day till his death, and when a person came to measure the body, in order to make a coffin, Zachary would be measured also, and in a very short space, took possession of the coffin made for him, at the same time with that of his deceased brother (l). These gentlemen seem to have been Divines. His seventh, Tobel, i. e. *God is good.* Archbishop Whitgift was his godfather, and the reason he was thus named, was his mother's being overturned in a coach, without receiving any hurt, when she was big with child. He wrote himself, Tobel Aylmer, of Writtle, in the county of Essex, Gentleman. He married a gentleman's daughter in that county, and had by her several children (m). As to the Bishop's daughters, Judith, the eldest, married William Lynch, of the county of Kent, Esq; The second, Elizabeth, married Sir John Foliot, of Perton, in the county of Worcester, Knt. Either a third daughter, or else Lady Foliot, took for her second husband, Mr Squire, a clergyman, a man of wit but very debauched, and a great spendthrift, though he had large preferments. He made a very unkind husband to his wife, which her father, the Bishop, so much resented, that as Martin Mar-Prelate phrases it, *He went to buffets with his son-in-law, for a bloody nose.* This Squire died poor, leaving a son named John, who was well educated, and provided for as a clergyman, at the expence, and by the procurement of his uncle, Dr Theophilus Aylmer, which he repaid with the utmost gratitude (n). To all his children, our Bishop, by his will, bearing date the twenty-second of April, 1594, bequeathed large legacies, as also some to his grand-children, appointing his two sons Samuel and Theophilus his executors, with Dr Richard Vaughan, who was also his relation.

expressions that escaped him, he intended no evil, and that they ought to be looked on in the light of human frailties (66).

(66) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 206, 207.

[2] *A person of extraordinary wisdom.* Our Prelate in his person had nothing extraordinary, being of a mean stature, and remarkable for wearing of a very long beard; in his private life he was a man of economy, but withal, loved magnificence, which induced him to keep so large a family as he did. In his youth, he gave pregnant marks of his courage, which did not desert him in his old age; for it is reported, that when he conceived himself very ill treated, by his son-in-law, Squire, who by a base contrivance would have tarnished the reputation of his wife, the Bishop's daughter; the old man took him into a private room, and having reproached him for his wickedness and ingratitude, afterwards disciplined him stoutly with a cudgel (14). Another instance of his courage, Mr Strype gives us a long account of; which, in few words, amounts to this. Queen Elizabeth was once grievously tormented with the tooth-ach, and though it was absolutely necessary, was yet afraid to have her tooth drawn; Bishop Aylmer being by, to encourage her Majesty sat down in a chair, and calling the tooth-drawer. *Come,* said he, *tho' I am an old man, and have but few teeth to spare, draw me this;* which was accordingly done, and the Queen seeing him make so slight a matter of it, sat down, and had her's drawn also (68). He was very regular in his private devotions, hearing prayers constantly twice a day with his family, and breeding up his children very strictly; he was a wife and careful man, with respect to his temporal affairs; and as he came to his Bishoprick in good circumstances, so he died very rich, having laid out a little before, sixteen thousand pounds in one purchase (69).

(67) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 22.

(68) Life of Aylmer, p. 292.

(69) Ibid. p. 175.

But as he had prosecuted his predecessor, Sandys, very severely for dilapidations; so his successor Bancroft, was no less troublesome to his eldest son, on the same account. Mr Aylmer, who had studied the Law, alledged that his father's personal estate, only was liable on this account, and as the greatest part of that was expended on his funeral, he thought himself safe. But Bishop Bancroft, alledging, that lands being purchased with the money, which should have repaired the houses belonging to the Bishoprick, those lands ought in reason to be liable; he prevailed, and so at last a part of the estate was sold, in order to make him satisfaction (70). The inscription mentioned in the text is still preserved in Stowe's Survey of London, and ran thus.

(70) Ibid. p. 195.

Hic jacet certissimam Expectus
Resurrectionem suae Carnis. D.
Johannes Aylmer, D. Episcopus
Londini. Qui obiit diem suum
An. Dom. 1594. Aetat. suae 73.

Ter Senos Annos Praesul; semel Exul, & idem
Bis Pugil in Causa Religionis erat (71).

(71) Stowe, p. 252.

Here lieth in a certain expectation of the Resurrection of the body, John Aylmer, Lord Bishop of London, who died A.D. 1594, aged 73.

For eighteen years the Prelate's robe he wore,
Once, banish'd for his faith he fled;
Twice, the high post of Champion for it bore,
So just, so active, was the life he led. E

A Y R M I N or A Y E R M I N (WILLIAM), Bishop of Norwich in the reigns of Edward II, and III, was descended of an antient and wealthy family, seated at Osgodby in Lincolnshire (a). He was a Canon in the cathedral church of York, and afterwards in that of Wells; and was for some time Keeper of the Seal, and Vice-Chancellor to King Edward II, under the Chancellor John Bishop of Norwich, who could not discharge his office by reason of sickness (b). About this time, an. 1319, a war being broke out between England and Scotland, Ayrmin had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, in a battle between the Scotch and the Yorkists [A]. Afterwards recovering his liberty, he was made Chancellor of England under King Edward III, and afterwards Treasurer (c). Being sent Ambassador to the court of Rome, he is said to have neglected the business of his embassy, and to have employed his time and interest in obtaining the bishoprick of Norwich, which was then vacant. In which application meeting with success, he returned to take possession of that See: which the King hearing, and being disgusted at his proceedings, sent soldiers to Norwich to apprehend him; but Ayrmin lay hid in the cathedral church, till, by the interposition of friends, the King was reconciled to him, and consented to his consecration (d) [B]. This Prelate gave two hundred pounds to buy lands for the maintenance of two Priests to say mass for his soul for ever (e). Fuller (f) tells us, he was credibly informed, that Bishop Ayrmin purchased the manour of Silk-Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, which, with other fair estates, continued still in the possession of his descendants. He died March the 28th, 1337, after having sat eleven years (g).

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lincolnshire, p. 155.

(b) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(c) Wharton; ibid.

(d) Monachus Norwicensis. Annon. de Episc. Norwic. apud Wharton, ubi supra.

(e) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. inter Episc. Norwic. an. 1325.

(f) Ubi supra.

(g) Godwin says he died at Charing-Croft near London. Sharingæ juxta Londinum. Ubi supra.

(1) Worthies of England, Lincolnshire, p. 156.

[A] He was taken prisoner in a battle between the Scotch and Yorkists. Fuller tells us this from an old anonymous Chronicle in manuscript (1), which take as follows, with that author's translation. 'Episcopus Eborum, Episcopus Eliæ, Thefaurarius, Abbas Beate Marie Eborum, Abbas de Selbie, Decanus Eborum, Dominus Willielmus Arymanec, Vice-cancellarius Angliæ, ac Dominus Johannes Dabeham, cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum, & Civibus propter civitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen Swale nuncupatum sparcis cuneis transeuntes, et indifpositis seu potius confusis ordinibus, cum adversariis congressi sunt. Scoti squidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes, in nostris agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt; nostrorum denique in brevi laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis, corruerunt ex nostris, tam in ore gladii, quam aquarum scopolis suffocati, plus quam 4000, et capti sunt Domini Johannes de Papeham, et Dominus Willielmus de Arymanec, ut praefertur, de Cancellaria, &c.—The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, Lord-Treasurer; the Abbot of St Mary's in York, the Abbot of Selby, the Dean of York, Mr William Arymanec Vice-chancellor, and Mr John Dabehame, with almost 8000 men, as well horse

as foot, and citizens hastily going out of the city, passing over a certain river, called Swale, with scattered parties (*), and with disordered, or rather confused ranks, encountered the enemy. The Scotch, cunning in war, warily ruling the greatness of their army, boldly rushed on our men with well-ordered troops, and afterwards in short time having broken and scattered our parties, there fell of our men, with the mouth of the sword, and choked with the water, more than 4000, and Mr John de Papehame, and Mr William Armanec of the Chancery, as aforesaid, were taken prisoners.'

(*) Fashioned in form of a wedge.

[B] The King—consented to his consecration. The Monks of Norwich had elected into the See, Robert Baldoc, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Chancellor of England; and some pretend he had received the temporalities from the King, but, being informed that the Pope had reserved the disposition of that See to himself, he voluntarily renounced his election (2). But others, with more probability, tell us, the King refused his assent to Baldoc's election (3). However it be, it is certain it was set aside in favour of Ayrmin, who had obtained the Pope's collation to the See of Norwich.

(2) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(3) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. inter Episc. Norwic. an. 1325.

A Y S C U E, A Y S C O U G H, or A S K E W (Sir GEORGE), an eminent English Admiral in the last century. He was descended from a very good family in Lincolnshire, and entered early into the sea-service, where he obtained the character of an able and experienced officer, and the honour of knighthood from King Charles I (a). This however did not hinder him from adhering to the Parliament, when by a very singular intrigue they got possession of the fleet, and so zealous he was in the service of his masters, that when in 1648, the greatest part of the navy went over to the Prince of Wales, he, who then commanded the Lion, secured that ship for the Parliament, which was by them esteemed both an acceptable service, and an action of great importance (b) [A]. As this

(a) Some Notices of Eminent Persons in England, MS. once W. Lilly's.

(b) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

[A] An acceptable service, and an action of great importance. This revolt of the fleet was among those extraordinary things, which it was impossible either to foresee or to prevent. It was owing entirely to the disposition of the common seamen, for scarce any officer was at all concerned in it, and at a time too, when the Parliament was every where victorious, so that it is not easy to conceive the causes of so great a change. In order to understand this matter, it must be remembered, that the Parliament had in the beginning of the war, drawn off the fleet from the King's service, partly by working upon the minds of the seamen, and partly by the turning upon him his own commission of Admiral, which he had granted to the Earl of Northumberland, but with a proviso in that commission, to hold this office no longer than till the Duke of York was of age to execute it, as the King his father intended he should (1). It was of this very clause, which had served them in the beginning, that the Parliament began now to be afraid, and it was their fear that produced the very thing which it apprehended. The Earl of Warwick, and his Presbyterian

officers, who had brought off the navy from the King, were not likely to go all the lengths that were then expected from them. The Parliament therefore thought fit to bring in new officers, and accordingly appointed one Colonel Rainsborough, Vice-Admiral, and sent him into the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet with that title (2). But when he came thither, the sailors had been for some time politicians, and having probably caught up some words that fell from their officers, had, after mature deliberation, settled these three points among themselves. The first was, that the Parliament must be either doing or contriving something very bad, because in Scotland, Essex, Lancashire, Kent, and especially at London, people were generally discontented, and also because they could not trust those good old officers, who had so faithfully served them at sea, but were putting others into the fleet, in whom, though they might, the seamen could not at all confide. They were likewise very clear, that as the King's cause declined from the moment the fleet left him, so without doubt it would recover, when the fleet returned to his service,

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

(1) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 158.

was a sufficient proof of his fidelity, he had the command given him in a squadron, that was employed to watch the motions of the Prince of Wales, and accordingly sailed thence to the coast of Ireland, where, by his vigilance, he prevented his Highness from doing what he would otherwise have done, and by his great interest with the seamen, he drew many of them back to that service from which they had deserted (c). This recommended him strongly to the Parliament, who, the next year, sent him with a considerable number of ships, and the honourable title of Admiral in those seas, to the coast of Ireland, which commission he discharged with equal vigour and vigilance, supplying Dublin with provisions, attending the army upon all emergencies, and contributing in every respect so effectually to the reduction of Ireland, that the Parliament not only thought fit to continue him in his command for another year, but likewise ordered an immediate provision to be made for the payment of his arrears, and presented him with one hundred pounds, as a special mark of their favour, and the just reward of his services (d) [B]. After the war was finished in Ireland, and the Parliament had thereby time and opportunity, to think of the proper means of subduing the rest of the dominions of the crown of England to their obedience, Sir George Ayscue had orders to sail with a small squadron, to reduce the island of Barbadoes, but before he was in any readiness to sail, his orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, that the Parliament had received information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the isles of Scilly put into their hands, and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce these islands first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition (e), in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a considerable force in the island of St Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late King's army, so that if those disputes had been decided by the sword, the engagement must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John easily perceived that this must end fatally in respect to him, and the remains of the King's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake, and Admiral Ayscue, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions, after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue proceeded on his voyage to Barbadoes (f). The Parliament, when they first heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had reason, since privateers from thence did so much mischief, that scarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable security. But when the conditions were known, some great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to understand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, so that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake said, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had done it with good reason; that in the first place, it saved the effusion of English blood; and next, that there was a strong squadron of Dutch ships at no great distance, the commander of which had offered Sir John no less than 100,000 pounds, to put these islands into his hands; that

service, which was a point so clear in marine politics, that it was never once controverted. Thirdly, the Duke of York was now become a fine young Prince, had just made his escape to Holland, and was very capable of making them a good Admiral (3). When Rainsborough therefore came on board in the Downs, they asked him in very plain terms, Whether he would go with them, and seek their Admiral the Duke of York? which he refusing, and beginning to talk in high terms, they very fairly sent him and a boat-full of his new Captains on shore, and hoisted sail, and bore away for the Dutch coast (4). This was in the month of July 1648, and the ships that thus quitted the Parliament's service, were twenty men of war, most of them of the first and second rates, well manned and furnished, and these soon after appeared at the mouth of the river Thames, by which the commerce of the city of London suffered severely (5). We need not wonder therefore, that Sir George Ayscue's preserving, in such a juncture, his ship for the Parliament, gained him a great degree of credit, and confidence, with his masters.

[B] *A special mark of their favour, and the just reward of his services.* In the very beginning of this affair, the Parliament treated Sir George very respectfully, for they desired that he would go over in the expedition to Holland, to look after the ships that had deserted (6). But when their authority was a little better established, they took more upon them, for they did not grant him a commission, and thereby give him the rank of Admiral, but they passed a vote that he should command in those seas as Admiral (7). Yet Sir George was far from regarding these points of ceremony, but did his duty so effectually, that he entirely changed the face of affairs in Ireland, and this with a very small force; for, whereas the garrison of Dublin was in danger of starving, he took care to supply them from time to time with provisions, and

thereby preserved that city. He so carefully watched the revolted fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, that he put it entirely out of his power to execute any thing of importance, and at last blocked him up in the harbour of Kinsale. It was he also, who escorted and secured the landing of Cromwell's army, so that to this gentleman might be justly attributed, the Parliament's recovering themselves, and securing that kingdom after the King's murder, when they had very little hopes of it (8). They might very well thank their Generals at sea, pass congratulatory votes in their favour, order the ministers who preached before them, to take particular notice in their sermons, of their diligence and success, and endeavour to secure such necessary instruments to their service, by providing for the due payment of their arrears (9). All these steps were equally just and natural on both sides, and it was this conduct, that on one hand, raised the reputation of the Parliament so high, for wisdom, policy, and justice, and, on the other, secured them such an uninterrupted series of good fortune in all their designs. This we find very justly remarked by Ludlow, Hollis, and Whitlock, nay, and in some measure, by the great Lord Clarendon himself, who, as he had it not in his power to deny the fact, so he was by no means unwilling to own it; and indeed all the writers of those times agree, that however the Parliament came by their power, they managed it with dignity, decency, and discretion. The observation I would make upon all this, and I hope the reader will agree with me, that it is an observation worth making, is, *That Sir George Ayscue, and the rest of the officers at sea, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their masters, who kept so strict an eye over all the servants of the publick, that it was impossible for men of no merit to rise, or for such as really possessed it to pass unrewarded.*

(c) History of the Civil War, p. 395.

(d) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411—414.

(e) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 636.

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.

(3) The Civil Wars of England, p. 231.

(4) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.

(5) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

(6) Votes and Ordinances of Parliaments, Jan. 11, 1648.

(7) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 385.

(8) Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 119. Sir Richard Cox's History of Ireland, Vol. II. P. II. p. 2, 3. Carte's Hist. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 67.

(9) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411, 412, 413, 414.

that if the Parliament did not approve of his conduct, he should be sorry for it, and would take care to prevent a mistake of that sort for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident Sir George Ayscue would likewise do (g). Upon this there was no more said of the articles, which were honourably complied with, and Sir George received orders to sail immediately to the West-Indies, which he obeyed, never expecting to hear any more of these articles, which as they were made with good reason, so he thought they would have met with a good reception, but he had afterwards cause given him to apprehend, that whatever benefit the Parliament might receive from the service itself, they were far enough from being satisfied with the manner in which it was done [C]. Sir George continued his voyage, without meeting with any cross accident, till his arrival at Barbadoes; which was on the twenty-sixth of October, 1651. He then found his enterprize would be attended with great difficulties, and such as had not been foreseen at home. The Lord Willoughby, of Parham, commanded there for the King, and had assembled a body of five thousand men for the defence of the island. He was a nobleman of great parts and greater probity, one who had been extremely revered by the Parliament, before he quitted their party to follow his duty, and whose worth had so strongly recommended him, both to the esteem and affection of the inhabitants, that he had as absolute a disposal of their persons and properties, as it was necessary for a Governor to have, who was in such a situation; and the use he made of his power and influence, was as perfectly right in itself, as the critical circumstances of those times required (b). Sir George, though he fully apprehended how many and how great obstacles lay in his way, yet shewed no signs of concern, but boldly forced his passage into the harbour, and made himself master of twelve sail of Dutch merchantmen that lay there, hoping that this might raise an insurrection in the island, in which however he was mistaken. The next morning he sent a summons to the Lord Willoughby, requiring him to submit to the authority of the Parliament of England, to which his Lordship answered, that he knew no such authority, that he had a commission from King Charles II to be Governor of that island, and that he would keep it for his Majesty's service at the hazard of his life. That he might be able to make good his word, he put the island and its inhabitants into the best posture of defence possible, and being much superior in strength, Sir George thought it not prudent to land the few troops he had, and thereby discover his weakness to so cautious an enemy (i). In the mean time, he received a letter by an advice-boat from England, with the news of the King's being defeated at Worcester, with one intercepted from Lady Willoughby, containing a very particular account of that unhappy affair. Upon this he summoned Lord Willoughby a second time, and accompanied his summons with Lady Willoughby's letter, which however made no impression upon his Lordship, who continued firm in his resolution, of holding out the island as long as he could (k). All this time, Sir George anchored in Speights bay, and stayed there till December, when the Virginia Merchant fleet arriving, he resolved to take that opportunity to land with the greater advantage, for he made as if they were a reinforcement that had been sent him, and he had only waited for them till then; whereas, the truth was, he had not above two thousand men, and the sight of the little army on shore, made him cautious of venturing his men, till he thought the inhabitants had conceived a greater idea of his strength, than they had done before (l). The Virginia ships were welcomed at their coming in, as a supply of men of

(g) The Prof Works of the Lord Viscount Landown, p. 256, 257.

(b) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 12.

(i) Ibid. p. 17.

(k) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 385.

(l) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 17.

[C] They were far enough from being satisfied with the manner in which it was done.] It is the misfortune of all governments, that have a distrust of their own tides, to be jealous and suspicious to a very unreasonable degree, and this was one of the very few foibles, to which our Long Parliament was subject, and which proved in the end the ruin of their power. For Oliver Cromwell, and the people he trusted, knowing that there was no means of subverting that Senate, but by dividing them, and thereby rendering their bottom narrower; they took great pains to infuse into honest mens heads than their own, that such as were meer acts of generosity and virtue, flowed from a secret regard to the Royal Cause. And thus they brought both Blake and Ayscue to be considered, after all their services, as men not fit to be trusted. There was some pains likewise taken, to infuse into the minds of Blake and Ayscue, a deep resentment of this undeserved usage; and that this was not altogether without effect, appears clearly, from the warmth expressed by Blake about it (10). Yet after all, there are some passages relating to the reduction of these islands, which deserve the reader's attention, and which will clear up many difficulties, even in the best histories we have of those times. In the first place it is certain, that the lesser islands were actually taken by the Parliament's forces; that Sir John Greenville was blocked up by land and sea in the island of St Mary, which he had fortified indeed, and had a competent number of men to defend; but then, there were two things against him: The first, that the King hismaster could afford him no succours; the second,

that tho' the Dutch would have bought the island of him, yet he had no reason to hope, they would take him or his troops on board, in case they were distressed by the Parliament forces. These were certainly very good reasons, for that brave man's endeavouring to make the best terms for himself he could (11). Yet the Parliament had no just cause to blame their generals for what they did in this business, since these islands were so situated, that, in the hands of an enemy, neither England nor Ireland could have been safe; and if reasonable terms had not been granted to Sir John Greenville, he must have been obliged to have accepted the terms offered him by the Dutch, who both could and would have yielded him that protection, which it was not in the power of hismaster to afford (12). Yet after all, Sir George Ayscue had no share in actually granting him these conditions; since it manifestly appears; that he not only wrote for, and had the Parliaments orders to continue his voyage to Barbadoes, but was actually failed before the articles were signed, which was on the 23d of May 1651 (13). The account given by the Earl of Clarendon of this matter, is very short, and is wrong placed; for he brings it in after the Dutch war was begun, and at the close of his account of the reduction of Barbadoes and Virginia (14); which shews, how necessary a thing it is for the true understanding of English history, to have the lives of particular persons drawn up in this manner, with a cautious regard to facts and dates, and a clear distinction of what was and what was not done by them (15), which the authors of our general histories have not attended to, so much as they ought.

(11) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 492, 493.

(12) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(13) See these articles in MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Gospel.

(14) History of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(15) See a further account of this whole transaction in our article of B. L. A. K. E.

10) Lord Landown's Prof Works, Vol. II. p. 256, 257.

war, and he presently ordered his men on shore, 150 Scots servants aboard that fleet, were added to a regiment of 700 men, and some seamen, to make their number look more formidable. Sir George had on board his fleet one Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who came from thence into England, to solicit from the Parliament, a force sufficient for the reduction of the island, and therefore he was thought the properest man to command the forces on shore (*m*). He accordingly landed with them on the seventeenth of December, and found Lord Willoughby's forces well entrenched, near a fort they had upon the sea-coast. They attacked him, however, and, in a sharp dispute, wherein about sixty men were killed on both sides, had so much the advantage, that they drove them to the fort, notwithstanding that Colonel Allen, their Commander, was killed by a musket shot, as he attempted to land. The soldiers and seamen however pushed on, and made themselves masters of the fort, and four pieces of cannon that were in it. After this, the sailors returned to their ships, which cruized up and down, to prevent any succours coming to the islanders, or any merchants trading with them. The soldiers posted themselves in the fort, and from thence made incursions into the country, upon which the chief of the inhabitants grew weary of the war, which Sir George understanding, by the correspondence he had in the island, he by the same means procured Colonel Moddiford, who was one of the most leading men on the place, to enter into a treaty with him, and this negotiation succeeded so well, that Moddiford declared publicly for a peace, and joined with Sir George to bring Lord Willoughby, the Governor, to *reason* as they phrased it (*n*). Sir George's men were now all on shore, and made up a body of two thousand foot, and an hundred horse, for many deserters had come over to him. If Colonel Moddiford had joined him with his party in attacking them, there was no hope of the Governor's escaping, who having before deserted the Parliament, could expect no mercy from them, if he was taken without a treaty (*o*). But perhaps all these considerations would scarce have prevailed with that generous nobleman to have given up the island, if an accident had not happened, which put most of the gentlemen about him into such confusion, that he could no longer depend upon their advice or assistance. The thing happened thus; his Lordship perceiving his superiority lay chiefly in horse, resolved to make a brisk push with the body under his immediate command, and having, previous to the execution of his design, called together his officers, while they were sitting in council, a cannon-ball beat open the door of the room, and took off the head of the centinel posted before it, which so frightened all the gentlemen of the island, that they not only compelled their Governor to lay aside his former design, but to retire to a place two miles farther from the harbour (*p*). Sir George Ayscue, taking advantage of this unexpected good fortune, immediately ordered all his forces on shore, which consisted as was said of two thousand foot, and one hundred horse, to advance under the command of Captain Morrice, as if he intended to have attacked them in their entrenchments, which struck such a terror into some of the principal persons about the Governor, that, after mature deliberation on his own circumstances, and their disposition, he began to alter his mind, and thereupon to avoid the effusion of Christian and English blood, both parties appointed commissaries to treat (*q*). Sir George named Captain Peck, Mr Searl, Colonel Thomas Moddiford, and James Colliton, Esq; The Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Peers, Charles Pim, Esq; Colonel Ellice, and Major Byham, who on the seventeenth of January agreed on articles of rendition, which were alike comprehensive and honourable. The Lord Willoughby had what he most desired, indemnity, and freedom of estate and person, upon which, soon after, he returned to England (*r*). The islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St Christopher, were, by the same capitulation, surrendered to the Parliament, with a proviso, that Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and some other persons mentioned in that treaty, were restored to their estates, and the inhabitants were promised, not only indemnity but protection, in the quiet enjoyment of their plantations, upon condition that they did nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth (*s*). This treaty being signed, Mr Searl was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and Mr Rynell, of Antigua and the Leeward Islands (*t*), in virtue of a commission, granted to Sir George Ayscue for this purpose. The news of the reduction of these islands, made such a noise in that part of the world, that Captain Dennis who was detached with a few ships to Virginia, reduced it without much trouble (*u*), after which, Sir George considering that he had fully executed his commission, and that his presence was no farther necessary in America, resolved to return with the squadron under his command to England, which he accordingly did, and arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth of May, 1652 (*w*), was received with all imaginable testimonies of joy and satisfaction by the people there, to whom he was well known before, as his late success also served not a little to raise and heighten his reputation [*D*]. It was not long after his arrival, before he

(*m*) Id. *ibid*.

(*n*) Letters and other papers relating to publick affairs, from 1640 to 1666, MS. In this collection is a Letter from one N. Byham, containing a detail of this affair.

(*o*) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 13.

(*p*) Mr Byham's Letter before cited.

(*q*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 387.

(*r*) History of Barbadoes, p. 195.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 383.

(*t*) See his Letter to Cromwell, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 354.

(*u*) British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 376, 377.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 534.

(16) History of the Rebellion, p. 637.

[*D*] Served not a little to raise and heighten his reputation.] The reduction of Barbadoes was first attempted, because it was thought of greater consequence than any of our plantations, and the people least affected to the new government. We have an excellent, tho' concise, account of this, from the pen of Lord Clarendon (16). Barbadoes, says he, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men that had retired thither only to be quiet, and

to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King, many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war, and that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther persecutions; but having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years in that plantation) they were more willing to live in subjection under that government at that distance, than

He proceeded next to join Blake in the northern seas, where he continued during the best part of the month of September, and took several prizes, and towards the latter end of that month, Sir George returned with General Blake into the Downs, with one hundred and twenty sail of men of war (b). On the twenty-seventh of that month a great Dutch fleet appeared, after which, Blake with his fleet failed, and Sir George Aylcue, pursuant to the orders he had received, returned to Chatham with his own ship, and sent the rest of his squadron into several ports to be careened (i). It does not appear that the Parliament openly expressed any dislike, or distaste, at Sir George's behaviour upon his coming home, but, on the contrary, shewed him all the regard and respect imaginable, though he had some friends who informed him, that this was in appearance only, since they could not help expressing a dislike to the terms he had granted to the Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, which they considered as the second part of Sir John Greenville's business, for which they had been so angry both with him and Blake; all which, however, Sir George bore without any visible signs of discontent, professing that he had done what he took to be his duty, and would continue so to do, as long as he commanded in the English fleet, without troubling himself about the humours of particular men, whom, after all his endeavours, he might find it impossible to please. But while these jealousies and heart-burnings subsisted on both sides, an occasion offered which enabled all parties to satisfy themselves. It so fell out, that towards the end of November, 1652, the famous General Blake lying at the mouth of our river, began to think that the season of the year left no room to expect farther action, for which reason he detached twenty of his ships, to bring up a fleet of colliers from Newcastle, twelve more he had sent to Plymouth, and our Admiral, as is before observed, with fifteen sail, had proceeded up the river in order to their being careened. Such was the situation of things, when Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of eighty-five sail (k). Upon this Blake sent for the most experienced officers on board his own ship, where, after a long consultation, it was agreed, that he should wait for, and fight the enemy, though he had but thirty-seven sail of men of war, and a few small ships (l). Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of November a general engagement ensued, which lasted with great fury from one in the afternoon till it was dark. Blake in the Triumph, with his seconds the Victory and the Vanguard, engaged for a considerable time near twenty-sail of Dutch men of war, and they were in the utmost danger of being oppressed and destroyed by so unequal a force (m). This however did not hinder Blake from forcing his way into a throng of enemies, to relieve the Garland and Bonaventure, in doing which he was attacked by many of their stoutest ships, which likewise boarded him, but after several times beating them off, he at last found an opportunity to rejoin his fleet (n). The loss sustained by the English consisted in five ships, either taken or sunk, and several others disabled. The Dutch confess, that one of their men of war was burnt towards the end of the fight, and the Captain and most of his men drowned, and also that the ships of Tromp and Evertson were much disabled (o). At last, night having parted the two fleets, Blake supposing he had sufficiently secured the nation's honour and his own, by waiting the attack of an enemy, so much superior, and seeing no prospect of advantage by renewing the fight, retired up the river; but Sir George Aylcue, who inclined to the bolder but less prudent counsel, was so disgusted at this retreat, that he laid down his commission (p) [G]. The services this great

(b) Id. ibid.

(i) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(k) Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 260.

(l) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 221. Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(m) Adm. Blake's Letter.

(n) Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(o) Columna Rotrata, p. 111.

(p) Id. ibid.

that the most impartial and English historians own, that de Ruyter offered Sir George Aylcue battle afterwards, who refused it (23); this must appear in a very different light. It was some time before I could penetrate this mystery; for tho' Mr Colliber, a very industrious writer, and one whose perfect knowledge in the Dutch history, enabled him to see many things in a better light, than any of our writers of naval history, denies the fact, and treats de Ruyter's speech as a meer fiction (24); yet I could not subscribe in that to his opinion, because, as I have observed, the English writers of those times confirmed what the Dutch say, and acknowledge, that Sir George Aylcue declined fighting (25); but though there must be something more in it, and upon sifting the matter thoroughly, I found the truth to be this: Sir George Aylcue had a fleet of thirty-eight sail, but the greatest part of them neither did nor would fight; so that the whole fire of the Dutch fleet fell upon nine or ten sail that did their duty; and the reason that the Dutch fired at their rigging, was in hopes of disabling them from making a retreat, that the next day they might be able either to sink or take them. This accounts clearly for all the dark and contradictory passages that we have met with. It shews us, why Sir George Aylcue retired to his own ports to rest, it explains and justifies de Ruyter's speech, and it manifests the true reason why Sir George afterwards refused to fight when de Ruyter challenged and provoked him. This I say is the mystery hitherto never explained by any of our writers, and which therefore I take to be a very curious and valuable discovery. But the reader may perhaps imagine that this

is all conjecture; and if it were so, I should have no reason to be ashamed of it. But William Lilly has set down the very fact, and it is from his account, that I have made this discovery. His words are these: 'August 16, 1652, Sir George Aylcue, near Plymouth, with fourteen or fifteen ships only, fought threescore sail of Dutch men of war, had thirty shot in the hull of his own ship, twenty merchant ships (I suppose merchantmen converted into men of war) never came in to assist him, yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our State shall pay those ships that fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions.' There cannot, I think, be any clearer account or better authority than this, either expected or demanded, since thereby all the different relations of this engagement, which have appeared hitherto so unintelligible, and in many respects so contradictory, are fully explained and perfectly reconciled.

[G] Was so disgusted at this retreat, that he laid down his commission.] We have this circumstance in the author cited in the text, who took it from the Dutch accounts; for the English say not one word of Sir George Aylcue's being in the engagement; but they acknowledge that Blake retreated, as being sensible both of the great loss he had sustained, and of the too great superiority of the enemy. The next day which was the thirtieth, Tromp sent into Harwich and Yarmouth to see if the English fleet was there; but they had retired first to Dover, and then up the river, where they were safe. In the mean time, the Dutch

(23) Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(24) Columna Rotrata, p. 102.

(25) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

great man had rendered his country, were none of them more acceptable to the Parliament, than this act of laying down his command. They had long wished and waited for an opportunity of dismissing him from their service, and were therefore extremely pleased that he had saved them this trouble; however, to shew their gratitude for past services, and to prevent his falling into absolute discontent, they voted him a present of three hundred pounds in money, and likewise bestowed upon him three hundred pounds per annum in Ireland (g). There is good reason to believe, that Cromwell and his faction were as well pleased with this gentleman's quitting the sea-service; for as they were then meditating, what they soon afterwards put in execution, the turning the Parliament out of doors, it could not but be agreeable to them, to see an officer who had so great credit in the navy, and who was so generally esteemed by the nation, laid aside in such a manner, both as it gave them an opportunity of insinuating the ingratitude of that assembly to so worthy a person, and as it freed them from the apprehension of his disturbing their measures, in case he had continued in the fleet; which it is highly probable might have come to pass, considering that Blake was far enough from being of their party, and only submitted to serve the Protector, because he saw no other way left to serve his country, and did not think he had interest enough to preserve the fleet, after the defection of the army, which perhaps might not have been the case, if Sir George Ayscue had continued in his command (r). This is so much the more probable, as it is very certain that he never entered into the Protector's service, or shewed himself at all willing to concur in his measures, though there is no doubt that Cromwell would have been extremely glad of so experienced an officer in his Spanish war. He retired after this to his country-seat in the county of Surrey, and lived there in great honour and splendor, visiting and being visited by persons of the greatest distinction both natives and foreigners, and passing in the general opinion of both, for one of the ablest sea-captains of that age (s). Yet there is some reason to believe that he had a particular correspondence with the Protector's second son, Henry, since there is still a letter in being from him to Secretary Thurloe, which shews that he had very just notions of the worth of this gentleman, and of the expediency of consulting him in all such matters as had a relation to maritime power, which letter, as it is equally curious and short, the reader will find in the notes (t) [H]. The Protector, towards the latter end of his life, began to grow dissatisfied

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(r) See this more fully treated in our article of B L A K E.

(s) Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 545.

(t) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

Admiral kept plying between Calais and Dungeness, so much elated with his last success, that he failed with a birch broom in his main top, to signify that he had swept the seas of the English (26). This was what Ayscue forefaw; and the very apprehension of which, made him resolve to quit the service; for as we shall see hereafter, he was a man of such undaunted courage, that he knew not how to submit to fortune; and was much more inclined to embrace a voluntary death, than to expose his country to the loss of any credit by his miscarriage; which notwithstanding came to be his fate, in spite of all the care he took to avoid it. There was one reason which at this juncture inclined the Parliament to part the more readily with this excellent officer, which deserves to be considered. It is this; they began to discern Cromwell's intention to overturn them, and to set up a new form of government by the power of the army, which they saw he had gained, by putting in creatures of his own. In order therefore to get the better of this design, they formed a very extraordinary project; which was to new model the army, by sending such of the regiments as they suspected most, to serve on board the fleet; and to make this scheme answer their purpose the better, they thrust in abundance of land-officers to command their fleet, and it was to make way for these that they suffered Sir George Ayscue and some other officers to quit that service (27). But in this they strangely over-reached themselves; for Cromwell seeing there was no time to be lost, and that by this step they had for the present equally obliged the seamen and alarmed the army, pushed on his design with greater vehemence, and by craftily managing two parties, who tho' they wished equally ill to the Parliament, least of all intended the setting him up, deceived and got the better of them all; while the officers of the fleet having their hands full of the Dutch war, thought themselves obliged to serve their country the best they could, notwithstanding this change of government, which tho' they did not relish they could not remedy. Before this great change was brought about which was in the month of April 1653, Sir George Ayscue was retired to his country-seat in Surrey, with a settled resolution to live in an honourable privacy, and never concern himself farther with publick affairs; which is the reason that we never meet with him in the councils of state, or any other of the new schemes of government that were set up in succeeding times. How far this conduct of his may on the strict

(26) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

(27) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 450, 451, 452.

principles of patriotism be justified, I shall not take upon me to determine; but this is certain, that some of the wisest and ablest men in the kingdom thought in the same way, and acted in the same manner, till they had an opportunity afterwards of entering again into the publick service, when the government was better established, and stood once more upon a legal basis. There might also be a particular reason that might determine Sir George Ayscue to act as he did, which was this, that he had never interfered in any of those dark designs by which the government was overturned, or been made use of as an instrument in any of the violent measures practised for overturning it; so that in his state of rural retirement, he had very little to apprehend from new changes, but might be truly said to have all things to hope and little or nothing to fear.

[H] *As it is equally curious and short, the reader will find it in the notes.* It does not appear from the letters that go before, or that follow after this, what the business was that Sir George Ayscue was to be consulted upon; but in all probability it might be with regard to the settlement at Jamaica, which was then a point under consideration, about which Mr Cromwell took a great deal of pains; and therefore it is not at all improbable that he might wish Mr Secretary Thurloe would enquire the sentiments of so able an officer as Sir George Ayscue, and one whose experience, in regard to that subject, must render him as fit a man to be consulted thereupon, as any in the kingdom. But this is a conjecture only, and as such is left to the reader's judgment. The letter follows:

H. CROMWELL to Secretary THURLOE.

'SIR,
'THIS inclosed paper, was presented to me by a
' person of worth here, who desired it might
' be communicated to you, and desired that you would
' hear Sir George Ayscue (if you think there is any
' thing worthy of your notice) more particularly a-
' bout it; and also I make it my request, that you
' would hear him as to other things, and make what
' use thereof you think fit. I am

Dublin, Nov. 14,
1655.

Your loving friend (28),

H. CROMWELL.

(28) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

[J] *See*

dissatisfied with the Dutch, the rather, because of the share they had taken in the affairs of the North, where they had espoused the cause of the King of Denmark to a degree of partiality, and were projecting the total suppression of the Swedish power. This did not by any means agree with the Protector's plan in regard to foreign affairs, and as it was not in his nature to bear with any disappointment in his views, so he resolved to destroy this system of the Dutch, and yet without entering immediately into a war with them. It was with this view, that he encouraged the Swedes to cultivate with the utmost diligence a maritime force, promising in due time to assist them with a sufficient number of able and experienced officers, and with an Admiral to command them, who in point of reputation was not inferior to any then living (u). It was upon this occasion, and for this service, that he cast his eyes upon Sir George Ayscue, but not caring to deal directly with a man who had declined acting under his government, and had never frequented his court, he resolved that the proposition should be made him by the Swedish Ambassador, and sent the Lord Keeper Whitlock to introduce him to the Admiral at his country seat (w). We have a large and very curious account of this conference, and of that part of the conversation which was fit for the publick view, preserved by Whitlock himself, and which the reader no doubt will be very well pleased to see in his own words [I]. This interview had it's effects; Sir George Ayscue from that time began to entertain favourable thoughts of the design, and brought himself by degrees to approve of the proposition that was made him, so far as to think at least, not only of quitting the retreat he had chosen, but even of accepting the offer made him, and of going over for that purpose to Sweden (x). But as great undertakings move slowly, and there is much time necessary for ripening such vast projects into execution; so we find that Sir George Ayscue had not brought himself to an absolute compliance in reference to this design, before the death of the Protector (y). Yet that did not hinder his closing at last with the proposals made him from Sweden, and putting every thing in order for his journey, towards the latter

(u) Notices of eminent Persons, &c. MS.

(w) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649.

(x) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 260.

(y) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 677.

[I] *The reader will no doubt be very well pleased to see it in his own words.* It appears clearly from Mr Whitlock's own authority, that a treaty was concluded with the Swedish Minister Mr Coyett, whom the Protector had knighted, and who was therefore called Sir Peter Coyett, on the seventeenth of the preceding month; for the concluding of which treaty, Whitlock himself was a Commissioner, the rather because he had been Ambassador from the Parliament of England in Sweden, where he had been very well received; and this probably created in him an extraordinary respect for that nation, as a signal proof of which, he undertook, before the Ambassador's departure, to carry him to dine with Sir George Ayscue, of which interview he wrote thus (29):

'August the 13th, 1656, the Ambassador of Sweden dined at Sir George Ayscough's house in Surrey, where they had a very noble entertainment. The house stands environed with ponds, motes, and water, like a ship at sea, a fancy fitter for the master's humour who is himself so great a seaman. There he said he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his life in a private retirement.

'The Ambassador understanding the abilities of Sir George in sea affairs, did (according to his custom) endeavour to improve his own knowledge by his discourses and questions to the company, according to their several capacities and abilities. He therefore found many questions to demand of Sir George, and had much discourse with him about sea matters, and particularly concerning our English frigates; he was very inquisitive to know of Sir George, *Whether he esteemed them the best of any sort of ships for fight.*' Sir George answered freely, *that he did not esteem them the best ships for fight, but held, that the old fashioned English ships of the biggest rate best for fight;* and being asked his reason, said, *because they were stronger than the frigates, would endure the speaking of their own guns and the blows of the enemy, better than the frigates could, and were firm and like castles in the sea, and not so easy to be boarded as the frigates, being higher built.*

The Ambassador replied, *That they themselves could not so easily board another ship being so high built.* Sir George answered, *that when they came to boarding, they that assailed, had not so great a trouble of going down their own ship as the going up their enemies; and the high building was no hindrance to their boarding of another, but was the better defence for themselves.* The Ambassador also objected, *That they could not so easily come about and fetch up another ship as the frigates could.* Sir George answered, *That they could easily enough tack about upon any occasion in fight, but confessed that they could not so soon fetch up another ship, nor take, or leave, as*

the frigates could, which he said was rather an inducement to cowardice than courage; and some Captains, when they knew they could leave an enemy as they pleased, would engage in the fewer blows; whereas the old built ships must stand to it, and the men knowing that there was no running away, would have the better mettle to fight it out. The Ambassador asked, *which would last longest, the ships built after the old fashion or the frigates.* Sir George answered, *That the old buildings were more strong and substantial than the building of the frigates, which was made long and light for sailing, and therefore could not last so long as the other; and they carrying many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did much shake and wear them more than the guns of the other did.* They had much discourse of this nature which added much to the entertainment.

It appears clearly from hence, that Sir George Ayscue was exactly of the same opinion with the ablest seamen of our times, in respect to the building of ships of war. He judged, that the capacity, firmness, and strength of our men of war, gave us great advantages, that the end and design of ships should be chiefly considered in building them, and therefore that ships of war should rather be distinguished by their strength and conveniency for fighting, than by the neatness of their form or their being extraordinary good failers. Sir William Monson, the ablest of our writers upon maritime affairs, thought the same way, and it is very remarkable, that long before the Dutch wars began, he foretold, that if ever that State differed with us, they would make their utmost efforts to gain the first battle at sea, for which he gives several reasons (30); and it is no less remarkable that they really attempted this, and that their famous Admiral Tromp attacked Blake in the first battle in the Downs, with a force vastly superior, and that Blake escaped by nothing but the size and strength of his ships, which enabled him with four or five to bear the fire of almost the whole Dutch fleet, till such time as the rest of his own ships were able to come in to his relief, and then the matter was speedily determined, and contrary to the hopes and expectation of the Dutch, who thought they should have gained an easy and compleat victory by surprize, which would have forced the English Common-wealth to make peace upon their terms (31). In like manner through the whole course of that war, it was the large size and firmness of our ships, which gave us such great advantages, not only in the opinion of our own commanders, but of the Dutch themselves, as might be shown at large if this were a proper place; but I have already exceeded the just bounds of a note, and can only plead in excuse the great weight and importance of the subject.

(30) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 462.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 403, 406.

(29) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649, 650.

latter end of the year 1658. But as such a design as this was could not be put in execution without making some stir, and thereby raising publick discourse about it; so this had such an effect upon the Danish minister then residing here, that he could not forbear writing to Mr Secretary Thurloe, in pretty strong terms upon the occasion, insinuating at the same time, some general reflections on the character of Sir George Ayscue (z) [K]. This however had no effect, either in procuring an interposition from the State, to prevent Sir George from prosecuting his design, or in obliging him to alter his resolution. On the contrary, as soon as he had seen the officers embarked, and had dispatched some private business of his own, he prosecuted his voyage, though in the very depth of winter. This exposed him to great hardships, which however he endured with much constancy, and on his arrival in Sweden, was received with all imaginable demonstrations of civility and respect by the King, who was extremely well pleased with his coming, and might very probably have made good his promise, of promoting him to the rank of High-Admiral of Sweden, if he had not been taken off by an unexpected death (a) [L]. This put

an

(z) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 412.

(a) Puffendorf's Histoire de Suede, Vol. II. p. 30.

[K] *General reflections on the character of Sir George Ayscue.* It is remarkable, that the Danish Minister, though he appears to have been sensible of the design, did not think proper to complain during the life-time of Oliver, but when he saw Richard invested with his title only, and not his power, he addressed himself to the Secretary in the following epistle, which is very singular in it's kind, since it shews at once, how little kindness it's author had for Sir George Ayscue, and how much he stood in fear of him (32).

(32) Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 412.

‘ May it please your Lordship,

‘ **T**ALK has been this many months, that Sir George Ayscue, and ten or twelve sea Captains were to take service under the King of Sweden, which I would not be induced to believe, thinking the said Ayscue, could not turn a mercenary soldier of another Prince, whilst the war in his own country lasted; if he could not be satisfied with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and live a retired and quiet life; but I have been deceived, in my opinion, and find, that certainly he, and the said Captains, are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swedish fleet; wherewith I have thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship, in hope, his Highness will think it convenient to stay his and their journey, as judging it more convenient, that his subjects should rather assist the King my master, than, in the service of the King of Sweden, help to oppress him; and this, I think, would be also conform to the sense of the article of that treaty, concluded between his late Highness, of immortal memory, and the King, my master, viz. *Ita ut neutra pars populuse, aut subditi alterutrus, neque per se, neque per alios, directè, vel indirectè, quidquam agat, vel quantum in se est, agi, permittat, in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verum altera alteram omnibus bonis officiis adjuvavit, atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit. i. e.* so that no part of the people or subjects of the one or of the other, either by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, shall either do, or, as far as in their power lies, permit to be done, any damage or prejudice to the other, but shall to each other render all sorts of good offices, and promote one the other's advantage as much as in them lies.

I rest, your Lordship's,

(whose perfect recovery I heartily wish)

most humble and obedient servant,

Covent-Garden,
27 Sept. 1658.

SIMON PETKUM.”

[L] *If he had not been taken off by an unexpected death.* This Swedish monarch who invited Sir George into his dominions, and who was always firmly attached to England, was Charles Gustavus, who came to the throne by the voluntary resignation of Queen Christina, daughter to the famous Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1654, and soon after engaged in a war with Poland, because the monarch who then governed had opposed his accession, on the score of his hereditary right to the crown of Sweden, and in a very short space of time, King Charles over-run the

greatest part of Poland, forcing the King to take shelter in Silesia. This war, which lasted as long as the Swedish monarch lived, and was the sole business of his reign, ended in a manner very far different from that in which it began; for the Poles, foreseeing that the conquest of their country would raise his Swedish Majesty abundance of enemies, absolutely refused to make peace with him upon any terms, though he was master of both their capitals, Cracow and Warfaw, and of the greatest part of the kingdom, and themselves constantly beaten in every engagement. In this they judged right, for though at the beginning King Charles was at peace with all his neighbours, yet his rapid conquest of Poland, stirred him up many enemies: For first, the Emperor dreading this accession of power to a Swedish Prince, granted succours to King Casimir of Poland, then the Muscovites invaded Livonia, the Danes broke with him next, in hopes of recovering what they lost to his predecessors; and though, in the beginning, he had the Elector of Brandenburg for his ally, he afterwards deserted him and joined his enemies; and Prince Ragotski of Transilvania, who invaded Poland likewise at his Instance, was called home by the Turks entering his own dominions; and in the first battle he fought against them, was killed upon the spot (33). The King of Sweden, notwithstanding this change of affairs, continued the war, and, which is more surprizing, continued it with success, more especially against the Danes, which drew the Dutch into the quarrel, under pretence of their alliance with Denmark. But in reality, out of regard to their own interest, for they were persuaded, that if this monarch succeeded in his designs, he would exclude them from the trade of the Baltick: And it was to prevent this, that they sent a strong fleet to the assistance of the Danes. This measure of theirs greatly offended the Protector Oliver, who had always kept up a strict friendship with Sweden, which he would willingly have assisted with a powerful fleet, if it could have been done without breaking with the Dutch, for which his affairs were not then ripe (34). This put him upon sending twenty experienced officers, to command the Swedish ships, and to encourage Sir George Ayscue to enter into the same service, upon a proposal the King had made of declaring him Admiral; and if this scheme had answered in his life-time, there is no doubt, he would have sent a stout English fleet to have supported them. His son Richard might, probably, intend to have pursued his father's measures, and it is very likely, that with this view he ordered Admiral Montague, with a numerous squadron of men of war to sail for the Sound, but the long Parliament refusing the supreme authority, sent instructions to that Admiral to join the Dutch (35). But while these things were transacting, King Charles had pushed on the war with such vigour, that he was actually become master of most part of the Danish territories, and had even laid siege to Copenhagen, which he would infallibly have taken, if the Dutch had not relieved it by beating his fleet; which constrained him to turn the siege into a blockade, which he continued in spite of the Dutch. It was at this juncture that Sir George Ayscue arrived, who at first put him in hopes of some assistance from England, but this quickly vanished in consequence of the Revolution before mentioned, notwithstanding which, Sir George Ayscue continued in great credit with his Majesty, and attended him to Gottenburg, where he had summoned an assembly of the

(33) Histoire de Suede par Puffendorf, Liv. 111.

(34) See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER).

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

an end to his hopes in that country, and disposed Sir George Ayscue to return home, where a great change had been working in his absence, which was that of restoring King Charles II. It does not at all appear, that Sir George had any concern in this great affair, but the contrary may be rather presumed, from his former attachment to the Parliament, and his making it his choice to have remained in Sweden, if the death of the monarch who invited him thither had not prevented him. On his return however, he not only submitted to the government then established, but gave the strongest assurances to the administration, that he should be at all times ready to serve the publick if ever there should be occasion, which was very kindly taken, and Sir George Ayscue had the honour to be introduced to his Majesty, and to kiss his hand (b). It was not long before he was called to the performance of his promise, for the Dutch war breaking out in 1664, he was immediately put into commission by the direction of the Duke of York, who then commanded the English fleet. In the spring of the year 1665, Sir George Ayscue hoisted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, under the right honourable the Earl of Sandwich, and in the great battle that was fought on the third of June in the same year, that squadron had the honour to break through the centre of the Dutch fleet, and thereby made way for one of the most glorious victories ever obtained by this nation at sea (c). For in this battle, the Dutch had ten of their largest ships sunk or burned, besides their Admiral Opdam's, that blew up in the midst of the engagement, by which the Admiral himself, and upwards of five hundred men perished. Eighteen men of war were taken, four fire-ships destroyed, thirteen Captains, and two thousand and fifty private men made prisoners; and this with so inconsiderable loss, as that of one ship only, and three hundred private men (d). As there was some time requisite, for refitting and repairing the English navy after so warm an action, the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet in that engagement, returned to London, but not till the King had visited the navy, where, going on board the Royal Charles at the Buoy of the Nore, he knighted several of the officers who had distinguished themselves in the late battle, and made a grand naval promotion. The fleet being again in a condition to put to sea, was ordered to rendezvous in Southwold-Bay, from whence, to the number of sixty sail, they weighed on the fifth of July, and stood over for the coast of Holland. The standard was borne by the gallant Earl of Sandwich, to whom was Vice-Admiral Sir George Ayscue, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman Rear-Admiral, Sir William Penn was Admiral of the White, Sir William Berkley Vice-Admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordon Rear-Admiral. The Blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose Vice and Rear, were Sir Christopher Mimms, and Sir John Harman (e). The design they went on was, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or, at least, to take and burn the Turkey and East-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence. They succeeded in neither of these schemes; de Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived safely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleets, consisting of twenty sail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, chose to take the same northern rout, in hopes of avoiding the English navy, but having intelligence at sea, that this would prove very difficult if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of Berghen in Norway (f). The Earl of Sandwich having detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman to attack them there, returned home, and in his passage had the good luck to take eight Dutch men of war, which served as convoys to their East and West India fleets, and several merchant-men richly laden, which finished the triumphs of that year (g). The plain superiority of the English over the Dutch at sea, engaged the French, in order to keep up the war between the maritime powers, and make them do their business by destroying each other, to declare on the side of the weakest, as did the King of Denmark also, which nevertheless had no effect upon the English, who determined to carry on the war against the allies, with the same spirit they had done against the Dutch alone (h). In the spring therefore, of the year 1666, the fleet was very early sea, under the command of the joint Admirals, for a resolution having been taken at Court, not to expose the person of the Duke of York any more, and the Earl of Sandwich being then in Spain with the character of Ambassador-Extraordinary, Prince Rupert, and old General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, were appointed to command the fleet, having under them as gallant and prudent officers as ever distinguished themselves in the English navy, and amongst these, Sir William Berkley commanded the Blue, and Sir George Ayscue the White squadron (i). Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet, the twenty-third of April, 1666, and sailed in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the Court was informed, that the French fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the assistance of the Dutch. This rumour of their joining the Dutch was spread by France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch, themselves in reality having no such intention.

(b) Notices of eminent Men, &c.

(c) Echard's History of England, p. 20.

(d) Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Opening of the next Sessions of Parliament.

(e) Phillips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 539.

(f) Esnagne Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. 1. p. 744, 745.

(g) See the Earl of Sandwich's Letter on this occasion.

(h) Kennet's complete History, Vol. III. p. 258.

(i) Phillips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

the States, because of it's lying upon the coast, which gave him an opportunity of minding the affairs of his kingdom, and of the war at the same time. But it falling out unluckily, that a malignant fever reigned there at that time, the King was seized thereby, and after an illness of a few days, died on the 13th of February 1660, in the sixth year of his reign (36),

which, as we have observed in the text, determined Sir George Ayscue to return home. Thus the reader has seen, in as narrow a compass as possible, the grounds of this expedition, which I judged would be more satisfactory, than referring him to various other books, in order to clear up the meaning of what the subject led me to deliver in this.

(k) *Basnage, ubi supra.*

(l) *Sir John Harman's Account of this action in the Complete History of England.*

(m) *Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 291.*

(n) *See Sir John Harman's Account before cited.*

(o) *Levan Van Tromp, p. 212.*

(p) *Complete History of England, Vol. III, p. 281.*

(q) *Columna Rotunda, p. 172.*

(r) *See this Point examined in the Notes.*

intention (k). Upon the receiving this news, the Court sent orders to Prince Rupert to sail with the White Squadron, the Admirals excepted, to look out and fight the French, which command that brave Prince obeyed, but found it what many wise people thought, a mere groundless bravado, intended to raise the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger. At the same time Prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to sea, the wind at north-east, and a fresh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coast of Dunkirk, and carried his Highness towards the Isle of Wight, but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the Duke to an anchor (l). Captain Bacon, in the Bristol, first discovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the English fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority. After the departure of Prince Rupert, the Duke had with him only the Red and Blue squadrons, making about sixty sail, whereas the Dutch fleet consisted of ninety-one men of war, carrying 4716 guns, and 22,460 men. It was the first of June when they were discerned, and the Duke was so warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor, and as de Ruyter himself says in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the same letter he owns, that to the last the English were the aggressors, notwithstanding their inferiority and other disadvantages (m). This day's fight was very fierce and bloody, for the Dutch, confiding in their numbers, pressed furiously upon the English fleet, while the English officers, being men of determined resolution, fought with such courage and constancy, that they not only repulsed the Dutch, but renewed the attack, and forced the enemy to maintain the fight longer than they were inclined to do, so that it was ten in the evening before their cannon were silent (n). The following night was spent in repairing the damages suffered on both sides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the English with fresh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-Admiral Vander Hulft, being on board one ship, rashly engaged among the English, and were in the utmost danger either of being taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a desperate condition, but Admiral de Ruyter at last disengaged them, though not till his ship was disabled, and Vice-Admiral Vander Hulft killed (o). This only changed the scene, for de Ruyter was now as hard pushed as Tromp had been before; however, a reinforcement arriving, preserved him also, and so the second day's fight ended earlier than the first. The Duke finding that the Dutch had received a reinforcement, and that his small fleet, on the contrary, was much weakened, through the damages sustained by some, and the loss and absence of others of his ships, took, towards the evening, the resolution to retire and endeavour to join Prince Rupert, who was coming to his assistance (p). The retreat was performed in good order, twenty-six or twenty-eight men of war that had suffered least, brought up the rear, interposing between the enemy and the disabled ships, three of which, being very much shattered, were burnt by the English themselves, and the men taken on board the other ships. The Dutch fleet followed, but at a distance. As they thus sailed on, it happened on the third day that Sir George Ayscue, Admiral of the White, who commanded the Royal Prince (being the largest and heaviest ship of the whole fleet) unfortunately struck upon the sand called the Galloper, where being threatened by the enemy's fire-ships, and hopeless of assistance from his friends, (whose timely return, the near approach of the enemy, and the contrary tide, had absolutely rendered impossible) he was forced to surrender (q). This was that famous engagement, which did equal honour to both the maritime powers, and in which both their officers and seamen are allowed to have performed as great things as were ever attempted on the watery element. Yet our historians have given but very imperfect accounts of it, even those who ought to have made it their business to be more particularly acquainted with this transaction, so that if we would learn any particulars relating to it, we must look for them in the works of strangers, and even of enemies, who in this respect have been both juster and kinder, than the authors either of our General or Naval histories (r) [M]. The Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, in

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(39) *Complete History of England, Vol. III, p. 281.*

(40) *Echard's History, p. 830.*

(41) *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 831.*

(38) *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551.*

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(5) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 294.

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retreat, which was managed with so much bravery and courage, that the Dutch, though possessed with so many great advantages upon him, had no great stomach to the pursuit, contenting themselves to follow aloof-off, and to fire their guns at such distance as gave no prejudice to the English fleet; till about four in the afternoon, the wind increasing, they came close upon the Duke in two bodies, and spent some broadsides upon his ship, but were so warmly plied from the English fleet with their stern pieces, as made them contented to lie further off. The same fresh gale which at this time had brought up the Dutch fleet, brought also the Prince with his squadron in view of the Duke's ships, which now appeared in the most seasonable minute, having made all the fail they could to come to his relief. Nor was the Duke less willing to join the Prince and his squadron; but in making their way towards him, several of the principal ships, and among them the Duke in the Royal Charles, came aground on the Gapper or the Galloper sands, but had all of them the good fortune to get off again, only the Royal Prince, a great and brave frigate was so deeply stranded, that it was not possible to bring her off, but became a prey to the enemy, where Sir George Ayscue, that commanded in her, and his company, were taken prisoners; and when the Dutch also had in vain attempted to get her off the sands, at night they burnt her down. This unfortunate striking of so many of our ships upon the sands, gave the Dutch so great an opportunity of destroying the Duke's fleet, as they have cause never to forgive the commanders, that made no greater advantage of it, where all might have been lost, if the enemy had been brave enough to have adventured for it.' The great Mr Dryden, in a poem on the memorable events of the year 1666, has given us at once, the most beautiful and the most copious description of these four days fights. But though this subject might have afforded as fine a picture in poetry, as any thing that has appeared in that finished piece, yet there is not the least notice taken therein of Sir George or his misfortune, of which however at first sight, though applied by the poet to the Duke of Albemarle, the following stanzas might be thought intended (50).

Now at each tack our little fleet grows less;
And like maim'd fowl, swim lagging on the main:
Their greater loss their numbers scarce confess,
While they lose cheaper than the English gain.

Have you not seen when whistled from the fit,
Some falcon stoops at what her eye design'd,
And, with her eagerness, the quarry miss'd,
Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind.

The dastard crow that to the wood made wing,
And sees the groves no shelter can afford;
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring;
Who safe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

(50) Annus Mirabilis Stanza lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

(42) Burchett's Naval History, p. 399.

(43) In his Preface to Columna Roftrata.

(44) Colimada Roftrata, p. 166-177.

(45) Lediard's Naval History, p. 582, 583.

(46) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 229.

(47) S. Parker de Rebus suis Comment. p. 108.

(48) Observations in the Provinces of the United Netherlands, p. 81.

(49) Skinner's life of General Monk, p. 344, 45.

(k) *Basnagé, ubi supra.*

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(l) Sir John Harman's Account of this action in the Complete History of England.

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(o) *Levan Van Tromp, p. 212.*

(p) *Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 281.*

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Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind.

The dastard crow that to the wood made wing,
And sees the groves no shelter can afford;
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring;
Who safe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

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(50) Annus Mirabilis Stanza lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

(42) Burchett's Naval History, p. 399.

(43) In his Preface to Columna Rostrata.

(44) Columna Rostrata, p. 166—177.

(45) Lediard's Naval History, p. 582, 583.

(46) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 229.

(47) S. Parker de Rebus suis Comment. p. 108.

(48) Observations on the Provinces of the United Netherlands, p. 281.

(49) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 344, 345.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 314. the vessel set on fire, that his fleet might be the less embarrassed, which was accordingly done (t). But in the French relation, published by order of that court, we have another circumstance which the Dutch have thought fit to omit, and it is this, that the crew gave up the ship against the Admiral's will, who had given orders for setting her on fire (u). There were some circumstances which made the loss of this ship, in this manner, very disagreeable to the English court, and perhaps this may be the reason that so little is said of it in our own relations [N]. In all probability, General de Ruyter took the opportunity of sending Sir George Ayscue to the Dutch coast the next morning, from an apprehension that he might be retaken in the next day's fight (w). On his arrival at the Hague, he was very civilly treated; but to raise the spirits of their people, and to make the most of this dubious kind of victory, the States ordered Sir George to be carried as it were in triumph, through the several towns of Holland, and then confined him in the castle of Louvestein, so famous in the Dutch histories for having been the prison of some of their most eminent patriots, and from whence the party which opposed the Prince of Orange, were styled the Louvestein Faction (x). As soon as Sir George Ayscue came to this castle, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, to acquaint him with the condition he was in, which letter is still preserved in the Life of the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter (y), and the reader will find a translation of it in the notes [O]. How long he remained there, or whether he continued a prisoner to the end of the war, is what we cannot determine from any lights that we have been able to procure; but it is said that he afterwards returned to England, and spent the remainder of his days in peace (z). It is a thing greatly to be regretted, that so little care has been taken, to do justice to the memories of so many great men as have served this nation, some at the expence of their lives, and others of their liberties; their virtues surely deserve a better reward, and it is to be hoped that the pains we have taken in this collection, will render the doing justice to such great and good men, so visibly necessary, that succeeding generations will have no reason to make this complaint. It is with a view to this, that even where we cannot render our memoirs of such illustrious persons so compleat as we could wish, we labour with the utmost diligence to render them

(w) *Leven Van Tromp*, p. 213.

(x) *Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter*, p. 348.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 349.

(z) *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. II. p. 446.

[N] *So little said of it in our relations.*] There are very often circumstances attending losses which so aggravate and heighten them, as to conduce more to our misery and grief, than the very losses themselves. These, while we feel this passion strongly upon us, we are apt to relate; but by degrees, as that passion subsides, we come to consider things in a very different light, and often strive to hide and to conceal what we before affected to publish. The *Royal Prince*, as all our writers agree, was the largest and best built ship in the royal navy, she carried ninety two guns, and six hundred and twenty men, her guns were all of them brass, and the vessel in the best condition possible, these were reasons sufficient to make the loss of her regretted; but the particular circumstance hinted at in the text is this, the *Royal Prince* was the ship in which the King came over from Holland at his Restoration; a fact, set down in none of our private memoirs, though sufficiently known and talked of at the time. But the Dutch who knew this circumstance full as well as the English, have taken special care to preserve it (51). It was not a little hard upon Sir George Ayscue to be laid aside for this misfortune, which for any thing appears, did not at all arise from any mistake or oversight of his, but it seems that our seamen conceived from hence, that he was an unlucky commander, and that was enough in those days to lay any man aside, it being a constant rule with the court to employ none but popular Admirals, and such as were beloved by the seamen. It was on Sunday the third of June, about five in the afternoon, that this ship was given up to the Dutch, and about nine she was set on fire, because about that time it appeared, that Prince Rupert having joined the Duke of Albemarle, was bearing down again upon the Dutch fleet; so that though the *Royal Prince* was got off the sands, they would not spare the time necessary to bring her away, but burnt her according to the express instructions given by the States-General to de Ruyter.

(51) *Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter*, p. 346.

[O] *The reader will find a translation of it in the notes.*] The reader has seen all the account I am able to give him of this letter in the text, and when he has read the piece itself, he will be sensible of the reasons which induced me to leave out some particulars in the relation, to spare him the trouble of perusing them twice. The letter exactly rendered into English runs thus (52):

(52) *Ibid.* p. 348, 349.

S I R E,
YOUR Majesty without doubt has been informed that we engaged the Dutch fleet on

the 1—10th of this month, between Dunkirk and the North-point of England, the enemy lying at anchor, but cutting their cables immediately upon our approach. We attacked them however with success two or three times, but as our fleet was much inferior to theirs in number, we were not able to sustain the fight. There happened on this occasion a great concern among our people, on the score of your Majesty's cousin being sailed to the Westward with a large squadron of ships, by which we were very much weakened and distressed. Several of our ships were that day very ill treated; the Duke of Albemarle's particularly suffered much; the Dutch too had several ships set on fire, either by accidents happening to their own powder-rooms or by our fire-ships. We fought the next day with fresh courage, but on the third we were so unlucky as to run aground, and just as we began to float again, we found ourselves with some other ships of our squadron surrounded by the enemy; so that our great regret we were obliged to strike, after having upwards of one hundred and fifty men killed on board our vessel, and have since been carried prisoners hither. After I went on board the ship of the Dutch Rear-Admiral, we were informed, that the ship confided to my care by your Majesty had been burned, my Vice-Admiral is also taken, and my Lord Berkeley is killed. I cannot say what happened afterwards in the action, because it has been kept a secret from me. In general however they say, they have taken, sunk, and burned, thirty-six of our ships, and that the Dutch have not made fewer than four thousand prisoners, which God forbid. I beseech your Majesty not to take our misfortunes too much to heart, and that you would have compassion on my family.

From my prison at Louvesteyn,

10th } June, 1666. GEORGE AYS CUE.
20th }

P. S. The officers of the Dutch fleet as also the States-General, have treated me with all imaginable civility. On my arrival at Rotterdam, I was amazed to see so many thousand men there, considering how many they have on board the Dutch fleet.

There are some circumstances in this letter, from whence I suspect, that either it is entirely forged, or at least altered to serve the purposes of the Dutch; as for instance, his saying that his Vice-Admiral was taken, and Lord Berkeley killed, the former must be meant of the ship if it be true, and as to the person he names in the latter

them as perfect as we can, which observation will be sufficient to excuse us to our readers, for concluding this article somewhat abruptly, since it is done merely through want of materials and not of inclination.

latter place, he was not Lord Berkley but Sir William Berkley (53), and therefore this is an error that we can scarce suspect Sir George Ayscove to be guilty of. But what is written after the letter is much more gross than any thing contained in it; for, in the first place, Sir George was not extremely well treated, since the Dutch themselves owned that they took his plate and

every thing else that was valuable from him; and in the next to magnify the strength of the enemy to his Prince, was a meanness of which an English Admiral must have been certainly incapable. These remarks I thought due to Sir George Ayscove's reputation, though as the letter so nearly concerns his personal history, I conceived myself obliged to insert it. E

A Y S S E R I U S, or A S S E R I U S (MENEVENSI), by some called A S S E R (a), by others A S K E R (b), a learned Monk of St Davids, concerning whom, though much has been said, yet we find very little written with certainty, rather, as we apprehend, for want of considering the matter thoroughly, than from any want of materials, or from any real obscurity in which his story is involved. We shall therefore give as clear and distinct an account of him as may be, remove most of the difficulties which have been hitherto thought to obscure his history, and leave those controversial points to be discussed in the notes, which otherwise would serve only to puzzle and perplex the text. He was of British extraction (c), probably of that part of South Wales called Pembrokehire, and was bred up in the learning of those times, in the monastery of St Davids (d) (in Latin Menevia) whence he derived his surname of Menevensis. There he is said to have had for his tutor Johannes Patricius, one of the most celebrated scholars of his age (e). Here he had also the countenance of Nobis or Novis Archbishop of that See, who was his relation (f); but it does not appear, that he was either his Secretary or his Chancellor, as some writers would have us believe [A]. From St Davids he was invited to the court of Ælfred the Great, merely from the reputation of his learning. This seems to have been about the year 880, or somewhat earlier (g). Those who had the charge of bringing him to Court, conducted him from St Davids to the town of Dene (Dean) in Wiltshire, where the King then was (b). He received him with great civility, and showed him in a little time the strongest marks of favour and affection, insomuch that he condescended to persuade him not to think any more of returning to St Davids, but rather to continue with him as his domestick chaplain and assistant in his studies. Afferius, however, modestly declined this proposal, alledging, that it did not become him to desert that holy place where he had been educated, and received the order of priesthood, for the sake of any preferment that he could meet with elsewhere. King Ælfred then desired, that he would divide his time between the court and the monastery, that is to say, that he would spend six months at Court and six at St Davids. Afferius would not lightly comply even with this request, but desired the King's leave to return to St Davids, to ask the advice of his brethren, which he obtained, but in his journey falling ill at Winchester of a fever, he lay there sick twelve months and a week, till the King, wondering at his long stay, wrote him letters requiring his return to Court. But it seems he was too weak to ride, of which when King Ælfred was informed by his letter, he desisted from his request (i).

(a) Gul. Malmf. de Gest. Regs Anglor. lib. ii. p. 44.

(b) Ingulph. Hist. edit. Oxon. 1684. p. 28.

(c) Leland, Comment. de Script. Vol. I. p. 155.

(d) Affer. Menev. Oxon. A. D. 1722, 800, p. 47.

(e) Baleus, edit. Wesal. 1548, 410, fol. 65.

(f) Affer. Menev. p. 49.

(g) Ibid. p. 47.

(h) Id. ibid.

(i) Id. p. 47; & seq.

[A] Some writers would have us believe.] The first author who started this notion was Bale (1). He had read probably in our author's own work, that he was related to an Archbishop of St Davids (2), and thence he took occasion to make him his Chancellor: He does this very abruptly, inserting his conjecture by way of parenthesis. However, he does not tell us what Bishop; that was an error left for his transcriber Pits (3), who affirms without hesitation, that he was Secretary or Chancellor to Affer the Elder then Archbishop of St Davids. Bishop Godwin outtrips both Bale and Pits, and makes Affer himself the author of this story (4). The great Dr Cave, following his predecessors, asserts, that Afferius, Bishop of Sherburn, was a relation and Chancellor to Afferius Archbishop of St Davids (5). The industrious Thomas Hearne tells us very magisterially, that the Annals of Ælfred were not written by Affer Bishop of Sherburn, but by his uncle Affer Archbishop of St Davids (6). In answer to all these numerous authorities, we shall only say, that Affer, whoever he was, became Archbishop of St Davids A. D. 909 (7), that is twenty-six years after the death of Affer Bishop of Sherburn, according to the computation of these authors, and about a year before the true time of his death (8); so that he was Secretary or Chancellor to this Archbishop some thirty or forty years before he became so, and this Affer is ridiculously styled the Elder, tho' he was made an Archbishop thirty years after our Afferius became a Bishop, and if he had been a different person, must have been consequently much younger than he. All this long train of mistakes grew out of the following

easy passage of our author's own writing, viz. 'Spe-
'rabant enim nostri, minores tribulationes et injurias
'ex parte Hemeid Regis sustinere, (qui sæpe depræ-
'dabatur illud Monasterium et parochiam Sancti
'Degui, aliquando expulsiore illorum antistitum, qui
'in eo præesent, sicut & Novis Archiepiscopum pro-
'pinquum meum & me expulsiore aliquando sub ipsis)
'si ego ad notitiam & amicitiam illius Regis qualecunque
'pactio pervenirem.' That is, *Our Monks were in hopes that they should sustain fewer troubles and insults from King Hemeid, (who had often plundered that Monastery and the Parish of St Degui, sometimes expelling those who presided in both places, as it happened to my relation Archbishop Novis and myself) in case by any such agreement I came to be considered and gain the friendship of that Prince* (9). He means Ælfred the Great, for this passage contains the reasons which induced the Monks of St Davids to consent that Affer should comply with the King's request and live half the year at court. From hence it appears, that the Archbishop to whom he was related was Novis, who, according to the ancient Annals of St Davids, became Archbishop in 841, and died in 873 (10); and instead of being his Chancellor, it seems that Afferius was parson of the parish of St Degui or Dewi, as it was called in the British language, which is also asserted by some writers (11). This shews the great use of a Critical Dictionary, since here is an error detected, which has passed current from hand to hand for so long a tract of time, and has been transcribed without scruple by persons well versed in our antient history.

(9) Affer. Menev. p. 49.

(10) Ubi supra.

(11) W. Malmf. de gest. Pont. lib. ii. p. 247.

(53) Columna Roftrata, p. 172, 173.

(1) Script. Britan. Cent. ii. fol. 65.

(2) Annal. de Reb. gest. Ælfred. p. 49.

(3) De illustr. Angl. Scrip. p. 172.

(4) De Præfulib. Angl. P. i. p. 384.

(5) Hist. Litt. ad an. 890, edit. col. Allobrog. 1720, p. 476.

(6) In the notes on Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 136.

(7) Annal. Eccl. Menev. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

(8) Chron. Saxon. p. 102.

As soon as he recovered, Afferius made a journey to St Davids, where consulting with his brethren on the King's proposal, they unanimously agreed that he should accept it, promising themselves great advantages from his favour with the King, of which, at that time it seems, they had great need; one Hemeid, a petty Prince of South Wales, making them exceedingly uneasy, and sometimes compelling their Archbishop to quit the place of his residence. But at the same time they requested of Afferius, that he would prevail on the King, to allow him to reside quarterly at Court and at St Davids, rather than that he should remain absent six months at a time (k). When he came back he found the King at Leoneforde, who received him with great marks of distinction. He remained with him then eight months at once, reading and explaining to him whatever books were in his library, whereby he grew into so great credit with that generous Prince, that on Christmas-eve following, he gave him the monasteries of Amgrefbyri, and Banuwille, that is, Ambrosbury in Wiltshire, and Banwell in Somersetshire, with a silk pall of great value, and as much incense as strong man could carry, sending together with them this compliment *That these were but small things, and by way of earnest of better which should follow them* (l). And indeed, soon after, Afferius tells us, he had Exeter bestowed upon him, and not long after that, the bishoprick of Sherburn, which however he seems to have quitted in 883 (m) [B], though he always retained the title, as Wilfred Archbishop of York was constantly so stiled, though he accepted of another bishoprick (n). Thenceforward he constantly attended the Court, in the manner before stipulated, and is named as a person, in whom he had particular confidence by King Ælfred in his Testament, which must have been written some time before the year 885 (o); since mention is made therein of Esna Bishop of Hereford, who died that year. He is also mentioned by the King, in his preparatory Epistle placed before his translation of Gregory's Pastoral, addressed to Wulfsig Bishop of London, and therein the King does not call him Bishop of Sherburn, but my Bishop, acknowledging the help received from him and others in that translation (p). For as we learn, both from the King and from Afferius himself, the method used by that Prince in translating was this, he had the sense of his author given him by one or other of the many learned men he had about him, and then he digested it into an easy flowing stile (in which he had a peculiar excellency) that men might thereby be invited to reading (q); for Ælfred did not translate as an author to gain reputation, but as a Prince, to promote the publick good; neither did he design that the books he published should pass for exact translations, but for good and useful treatises, from which such as understood none but their mother tongue, might reap profit and instruction. It seems to have been the near resemblance, which the genius of Afferius bore to that of the King, which gained him so great a share in his confidence; and very probably, it was on this account, that Afferius drew up those Memoirs of the life of Ælfred which we still have, and which he dedicated and presented to the King in 893 (r). In which work we have a very remarkable account of the manner, wherein that Prince and our author spent their time together. Afferius tells us, that having one day, being the feast of St Martin, cited in conversation a passage of some famous author, the King was mightily pleased therewith, and would have him write it down in the margin of a book he carried in his breast; but Afferius finding no room to write any such thing there, and yet being desirous to gratify his master, he asked King Ælfred, whether he should not provide a few leaves, in which to set down such remarkable things, as occurred either in reading or conversation; the King was extremely delighted with this hint, and directed Afferius to put it immediately in execution, which he accordingly did: pursuing this method constantly, their collection began to swell, till at length it became of the size of an ordinary *Psalter*; and this was what the King called his *Hand-book* or *Manual*, Afferius however, calls it *Enchiridion* (s). In all probability, Afferius continued at Court during the whole reign of Ælfred, and, for ought we know, several years after; but

(k) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(l) *Affer. Menev.* p. 50, 51.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 51.

(n) See the articles of WILFRED, and ÆLFRED King of Northumberland.

(o) *Affer. Menev.* p. 73.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 85, 90.

(q) *Affer. Menev.* *ubi supra.* *Speiman's Life of Ælfred,* by Hearne, p. 142.

(r) *Affer. Menev.* p. 53.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 57.

(12) *Matth. Westmonast.* A. D. 883. *Flor. Wigorn.* A. D. 883.

(13) *Fr. Wife in Vit. Affer. Menev.* p. 23.

(14) *De gest. Pont.* p. 247.

(15) *Ibid.*

[B] *He seems to have quitted in 883.* The reason why many writers (12) have placed the death of Affer Bishop of Sherburn in this year, is their finding that he was succeeded in his Bishoprick by Sighelmus, who was sent by King Ælfred to carry his alms to the Christians of St Thomas in the Indies. William of Malmesbury (13) is sometimes cited to prove the death of our author in the life-time at least of King Ælfred; but whoever reads him will find that he says no such thing: He says indeed, that Afferius and Sighelmus were both Bishops of Sherburn in the reign of Ælfred (14), which is true, but the conjecture founded hereupon, that Afferius died before Sighelmus succeeded is false, as appears from what this author himself says immediately afterwards. For he tells us that this Bishop Affer came from St Dewi, and consequently was the author of the Annals of Ælfred written in 893, precisely ten years after Sighelmus succeeded him (15). Tho' this is sufficient, yet I think it may not be amiss to add another proof of this fact, that tho' Afferius lived long after the year 883, yet he was not actually

in possession of the Bishoprick of Sherburn. In the old history of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, published by the learned Wharton, there is an account, that in 905 Pope Formosus did by his letters to King Edward the Elder, son and successor to Ælfred the Great, and to Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, exhort them on account of the few Bishops who were then living, to fill up the vacant Sees; whereupon the Archbishop consecrated seven Prelates in one day at Canterbury, amongst whom one was Bishop of Sherburn (16). But the Saxon Annals plainly prove, that our Affer did not die till 910 (17), which is six years afterwards. His quitting this Bishoprick so soon, is perhaps the reason that he does not expressly mention it's being bestowed on him as he does his other preferments, but contents himself with an oblique account of it (18), and referring frequently to his church at Sherburn, as a place to which he had particular relation (19). This is one of the difficulties we promised to remove, and indeed it is one of the greatest with which the story of this Prelate is affected.

(16) *Hist. de Episcop. Dathon. et Wellen. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 554.*

(17) *Page 102.*

(18) *Annal. p. 51.*

(19) *Ibid. p. 14, 18, 19.*

but where, or when he died was matter of dispute, tho' the Saxon Chronicle positively fixes it to the year 910, to which we think no just objection can be made (t). The reader will observe, that we take Asser the Monk, and Asser Bishop of Sherburn, for one and the same person, which some however have denied; yet we go farther still, and assert him to have been also Archbishop of St Davids, for all which, we hope the reader will find sufficient authority in the notes [C]. We do indeed admit, that if there was such a reader in the publick schools at Oxford as Asser the Monk, he must have been some other person of the same name, and not our author; but we do not think this point so clearly made out, as to deserve much dispute about it, since it rests almost wholly on the authority of Harpsfield (u); for tho' he cites the Annals of Winchester; yet we find no such things in the Annals that we have, nor is the account consistent with itself in several other respects, besides this of Asser, as Sir John Spelman has justly observed [D]. There is no less controversy about the works of Asserius, than about his preferences; for some alledge that he never wrote any thing but the Annals of King Ælfred; whereas, Pits gives us the titles of no less than five other books (w) of his writing, and adds, that he wrote many more: The first of these is a *Commentary on Boëtius*, which is mentioned by Leland, on the authority of the Chronicle of St Neots (x); the truth is, he explained this author to King Ælfred when he made his Saxon translation, whence the censure passed upon it, that though it was a work of great use in those times, yet it was in a manner ridiculous in ours (y); the same thing might be said of any literal version: The second piece mentioned by Pits, is the Annals of Ælfred's

(t) Chron. Sax. p. 102.

(u) Hist. Eccles. p. 161.

(w) De illust. Angl. Script. p. 172.

(x) Comment. de Script. p. 156.

(y) Malmfb. de G. ft. Pont. edit. Savil. p. 248.

[C] *The reader will find sufficient authority in the notes*] It would take up too much time, and give the reader too much trouble, to mention all the mistakes that have been made in relation to our author. It will be a much easier and shorter method to demonstrate the truth of the facts above asserted, and speak only as occasion requires of what others have advanced.

We will first prove, that Asser the Monk and Asser Bishop of Sherburn was the same person, and this without relying upon authority at all; for if authority could absolutely decide, we have that of Matthew of Westminster (20) and Florence of Worcester (21) on our side which ought to be decisive. But we will waive these and take another method of proving the fact. If Asser Menevensis and Asser Bishop of Sherburn were two persons, then certainly the former treated the latter very ill; for when he is speaking of the learned men the King had about him, he mentions John the Monk of St Davids, Werfeth Bishop of Worcester, Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelstan and Werwalf the King's Chaplains, as persons assisting that Prince in his studies (22), but he says not a word of Asser Bishop of Sherburn, tho' he speaks of the very work wherein that Bishop assisted the King as the King himself tells us (23). This would be the highest injustice in the world, especially considering he addressed his book to the King, and utterly inconsistent with his own character. But if himself was that Asser, then it is an instance only of his modesty, and as such is agreeable to the whole tenor of his writings. Yet in another place, he acknowledges the King made use of him for those very purposes, for which the King himself says he made use of the Bishop of Sherburn. That Asser was also Archbishop of St Davids is no new opinion, for both Mr Tyrrel and Mr Wife have asserted it, tho' we differ in some respects from each of these authors. Mr Tyrrel's notion was, that his being Archbishop of St Davids was a fiction of the Monks, in order to do honour to their brother Asser (24). Mr Wife again believed he was Archbishop of St Davids and afterwards Bishop of Sherburn (25); and in order to support this, he alleges that there is an omission in the Annals of St Davids of the year wherein he was made Archbishop; and that whereas he is said to have become so in 909, the author ought to have placed his death there. But perhaps this is taking too great a liberty with MSS. That Asser was really Archbishop appears not only from the ancient Annals so often mentioned, and from another very ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library (26), but also from the indubitable authority of Gerald Barry, commonly called Cambrensis, one of his successors, who in his list of the Archbishops, sets down Novis, Etwal, Asser (27). Our supposition therefore is, that he succeeded Etwal in 883, in which we contradict no manuscript. As to what the Annals of St Davids say that he was made Archbishop in 909, we must set down the phrases made use of by the author of those Annals (28).

Anno 909, Asser Episcopus Britannia fit.

It should seem therefore, that upon the new regulations made in the Church, mentioned in the former note, Asser had an additional jurisdiction given him; otherwise, why is he called Episcopus Britannia, Bishop of Britain? whereas Novis, and all the other Bishops, are styled Bishops of St Davids. Asser therefore might become Bishop of St Davids in 883, and now receive from King Edward, the Primacy of Britain, or Wales, so far as he could bestow it, which being a very remarkable fact, was taken notice of by the author of these Annals. To prove that Asser Archbishop of St Davids, if he was a different person from Asser Bishop of Sherburn, could not be author of the Annals of Ælfred, we need only take notice, that he never mentions his namesake Asser of Sherburn, who assisted that King in his literary labours, particularly in his translation of *Gregory's Pastoral*, of which mention is expressly made in those Annals (29). Add to this, that the Saxon Chronicle, the History of Æthelward the Monk, and other ancient records of those times, never mention two Assers, though they speak copiously of one. On the whole therefore we think, that it is at least extremely probable, that Asser the Monk of St Davids became first Parish-Priest of St Dewi, afterwards Abbot of Ambrosbury and Banwell, then Bishop of Sherburn, and lastly Archbishop of St Davids by the favour of King Ælfred, and Primate of Britain through the kindness of Edward his son.

[D] *As Sir John Spelman has justly observed.* If Asser had really read at Oxford, it is not easy to guess why he never mentioned it. It is generally conceived that Grimbald went to Oxford in 886, at least it is in that year, Asserius places the great tumult that happened there on his account (30), which being so fair an opportunity, one would think the author could not have passed it by without mentioning his own employment, if he really had any in the same place. The truth seems to be, that whoever framed the story of the Oxford professors, took all the learned men, that are spoken of in the history of Ælfred's reign, and bestowed them as the accounts he had met with of their works led him; one to Divinity, another to Grammar, which fell to Asser's share, because he had grammatically construed Boëtius for the use of Ælfred, as William of Malmbsbury tells us. Indeed if it were true, what some have suggested, that Asser was employed in bringing over St Grimbald from France (31), then by placing the date a little higher, we might bring this story to square well enough with the chronology of Asser's history; but even then it would not agree with the matter of it, for if he read in the schools at Oxford, how could he divide his time between the court and his monastery? There is no comparison between what Asser himself tells us, and what we have from an anonymous writer, of whom we have but a very indifferent account.

(29) Page 46.

(30) Asser. Menev. p. 52.

(31) Leland, ex Via Grimbaldi C. de Gan. Vol. I. p. 18.

Anno 841, Novis est Episcopus Menevensis.
Anno 873, Novis Episcopus moritur.

[E] A:

(20) Ad An. 883.

(21) Ad An. 883.

(22) Asser. Menev. p. 46.

(23) Ibid. p. 85, 90.

(24) Hist. of England, p. 13.

(25) In Vit. Asserii, p. 23.

(26) Claudius, B. vii.

(27) Iten. Cambri. l. ii. c. 1.

(28) Vid. Whart. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

Ælfred's life and reign: The third he styles *Annales Britannicæ*, or the *Annals of Britain* in one book, mentioned also by Leland and Bale (z), and which hath been since published by the learned Dr Gale (a), who inclined to think it genuine, which is certainly more than it deserved, as will be shewn in a note [E]. The fourth piece, he calls *Aurearum Sententiarum Enchiridion*, lib. 1. id est, *An Enchiridion of golden Sayings, in one Book*, which is without question, the *Manual* or *Common-Place-Book* made for King Ælfred, and reckoned among his works by this very Pits (b): It must be owned that Leland had also spoken of this Enchiridion, but more accurately, and in a manner becoming so great a writer; for he speaks of it as an instance of the learning and diligence of Asser, which it certainly was; and though the collections he made concerning this author, are much better and larger than those of Bale and Pits, yet he modestly upon this subject, apologizes for speaking so little and so obscurely of so great a man (c). The next in Pits's catalogue, is a *Book of Homilies*, and the last, a *Book of Epistles*; he took it for granted, that Asser being a Bishop, preached sometimes, and that having so many friends, he must needs write letters, which is all the foundation that can be in nature for these two volumes, no antient author saying a word of them. Of the like stamp is Bishop Godwin's account, of his being buried in his cathedral church of Sherburn (d), which is meer guess-work, founded on his being Bishop there; and with equal probability we might say, he was buried at St Davids, though there is not any authority for either. Thus we conclude the article of this most excellent person, who was, without question, one of the most pious, most learned, and with all, one of the modestest prelates of the age in which he lived.

[E] *As will be shewn in a note.* The first notice we had of these Annals was from Leland (32), for as to what Brompton says, concerning Asser's mentioning King Offa, it does not appear to relate of these Annals (33). As to the account given by Leland, it is certain that he speaks very doubtfully, and in a long passage which he afterwards blotted out (34), and which is therefore omitted in the printed edition, he ascribes this very book, commonly called the Chronicle of St Neots, to a domestick of King Ælfred's. Though in another place he says, this Domestick abridged the Annals of Asserius (35). Dr Gale who published it, inclines to think it really the work of Asserius (36), and Bishop Nicholson concurs with him, because, says he, his book insists chiefly on the fortunes of King Ælfred (37). Yet never sure was a greater injury done to any author, than is done to Asserius, by ascribing to him a work altogether unworthy of him. The very beginning of the Chronicle is little better than nonsense, and as to what the author says of King Ælfred, he transcribes the genuine Annals of Asserius, interpolating however many fabulous stories, which, without doubt, were invented long after our author's decease. It is true that he speaks often in the person of Asser (38), but this is no proof of any thing, but the author's ignorance, since in the former part of his work he speaks in the person of Beda (39), which is a plain proof, that the whole is a transcript from various authors, by one who had not judgment enough to leave out these personal phrases which disturb and confound the work. As to what Leland hath written about this Chronicle it is easily accounted for, he had many large and arduous works

upon his hands, and therefore had not leisure to read every manuscript which came into his power. Perusing a part of this manuscript, and perceiving that the author called King Ælfred his Lord, his patron, and him to whom he was many ways obliged, he took it for granted, that he must have lived in his time; whereas, if he had read the beginning of the book, he must, according to the same way of reasoning, have supposed he lived two hundred years higher; besides, at the end of this Chronicle, and there appears no marks of any continuation, we have an account of the death of Asser Bishop of Sherburn, which is placed in the year 909 (40). Hence forward therefore, it is to be hoped, this Chronicle will be cited in the same way good judges have always cited it, that is, by the name of Pseudo-Asserius, or the pretended Asser (41), as it's author is fitly stiled; if this should be thought too hard a censure, we will offer a conjecture of another nature, which is at least new, and not altogether improbable: This Chronicle of St Neots was said to be the work of Joannes Asserius, whence Pits stupidly enough, calls our author by the same name (42), tho' it is certain, that surnames were not in use here, till after our acquaintance with the Normans; it is therefore not impossible, that this Chronicle might be transcribed by some person whose name was John Asser or Asker, for that there has been such a surname, is evident from the author cited in the margin (43); in process of time, the likeness of the name, and the likeness of the matter, might well enough occasion such a mistake, but it is now certainly high time to correct it.

(40) Pseudo-Asser. p. 174.

(41) F. Wife, in Vit. Asser.

(42) De illustr. Script. p. 172.

(43) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 303, 304.

E

B.



BABINGTON (GERVASE) a learned Bishop in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born in Nottinghamshire [A], being descended from the antient family of the Babingtons, in that county (a). After having received there the first rudiments of learning, he was sent to Trinity college in Cambridge (b), of which he became Fellow (c). On the fifteenth of July, 1578, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, as he stood in his own university (d).

(b) Ibid. p. 478. Izack says it was in 1593, ubi supra, and Hooker, in his Catal. of the Bishops of Exeter, that it was in May, 1595.

Having laid a good foundation in other parts of learning, he applied himself to the study of Divinity, and became a famous preacher in Cambridge, the place of his residence. When he was Doctor in Divinity, he was made domestic Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, President of the Council in the marches of Wales [B], by whose interest he was constituted Treasurer of the church of Landaff (e). In 1588, he was installed into the Prebend of Wellington in the cathedral of Hereford (f). And, through his patron's further interest, was advanced to the Bishoprick of Landaff [C], vacant by the death of William Blethin: He was consecrated the twenty-ninth of August, 1591 (g). In February 1594, he was translated to the See of Exeter (b), and confirmed the ninth of March (i) [D]. From whence, in 1597, he was translated again to Worcester (k), to which he was nominated August 30, elected September 15, and confirmed October 4, following (l). He was likewise made one of the Queen's Counsel for the marches of Wales (m). To the library of his cathedral at Worcester he was a very great benefactor; for he not only fitted and repaired the edifice, but also bequeathed thereto all his books, which was a gift of good value (n). After having continued Bishop of Worcester near thirteen years (o), he died of the jaundice (p), May 17, 1610, and was buried in his cathedral of Worcester, without any monument (q). As to his character; he was, in the midst of all his preferments, neither tainted with idleness, pride, or covetousness: not only diligent in preaching, but in writing books, for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. So that he was a true pattern of piety to the people, of learning (r) to the ministry, and of wisdom to all governors (s). He was an excellent preacher, and happy in raising the affections and attention of his audience, which he would keep up till the end of his sermon (t). We shall give the rest of his character in the note [E]. He

(i) Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, by J. Strype, M. A. edit. 1718, fol. p. 450. Mr. Strype is mistaken there, in saying that it was in the See of Landaff our Bishop was then confirmed.

(k) Godwin, ubi supra; p. 524.

(l) Willis, ubi supra, p. 649, and Strype, as above, p. 518.

(m) Abel Redivivus, ut supra, p. 456.

(n) Prince, and Willis, ubi supra. See also Miles Smith's Preface

ur supra, p. 88.

(o) and Willis, as above.

(p) Fuller, Abel, Archbishop, fol.

published

to the Reader, at the beginning of Bishop Babington's Works, near the end.

(a) Istericus, Godwin, p. 524. Fuller says, He died of an hectic fever. Abel Redivivus, p. 456. (g) Fuller, ibid. above, p. 649. (r) Sir John Harrington says, that he was 'for learning inferior to few of his rank.' Brief View, &c. p. 128. (s) Idem. Church History, as above. He preached Archbishop Whitgift's Funeral Sermon. Strype's Life of that

[A] Was born in Nottinghamshire.] In his effigies, prefixed to his works, he is said to have been 59 years of age (undoubtedly at the time of his death). If so, he must have been born in the year 1551. In saying that he was born in Nottinghamshire, I follow Mr Fuller, afterwards D. D (1). But Mr Izacke (2), and after him Mr Prince (3), affirm, that he was a native of Devonshire. The latter, particularly, informs us, that a family of that name long flourished in and about Ottery St Mary in that county; which he supposes to have been a younger branch, of that of Nottinghamshire. But, after giving the pedigree of that family, he owns, That he did not find, which of the gentlemen (there mentioned) Bishop Babington challenged as his father: though probably one of them might be so.

[B] He was made domestick Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c.] And whilst he was in that station, is supposed to have assisted his mistress, the Lady Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, in her exact version of the Psalms of David into English metre. For it was more than a woman's skill, to express the sense so right, as she hath done in her

verse: and more than she could learn from the English and Latin translations (4).

[C] Was advanced to the Bishoprick of Landaffe.] Which in merriment he used to call *Affe*; the Land thereof having been long before alienated by his predecessor Kitchin, in the days of King Henry VIII, and Queen Elizabeth (5).

[D] He was translated to the See of Exeter, &c.] To which Bishoprick he did an irreparable injury, by alienating from it the rich and noble manour of Crediton, in the county of Devon, reputed worth a thousand marks per ann. rent of assize (6).

[E] We shall give the rest of his character in the note.] It is comprized in the following verses, set under his picture at the begining of his works.

*Non melior, non integrior, non cultior, alter,
Vir, Præsul, Præco, more, fide, arte fuit:
Osq; probum, vuln'que gravis, pectusq; serenum;
Alme Deus, tales præfice ubique gregi. M.S. (7).*

The substance of which is, that there never was a better man, a Bishop of more integrity, nor a more polite Preacher, &c.

(4) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, Lond. 12m, 1653, p. 128, 129. And Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 704.

(5) Fuller, in Church History; and Prince, as above. See also Harrington, ubi supra.

(6) Prince, as above, p. 88.

(7) The Letters M. S. denote Miles Smith, mentioned already.

[F] He

published several things [F]. One particular relating to him is observable; namely, that his paternal coat of arms, was exactly the same as that of his Bishoprick of Worcester: viz. Argent, ten Tourteaux, four, three, two, and one, Gules (u).

(a) Ibid.

[F] *He published several things.* They were printed at first in 4to. then, with additions, in folio in 1615, and again in 1637, under this title, 'The works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Ger-vase Babington, late Bishop of Worcester. Containing comfortable notes upon the five books of Moses, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomie. As also an Exposition upon the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer. With a conference betwixt man's Frailtie and Faith. And three Sermons. With alphabetically tables of the prin-cipall matters of each severall Worke.' The *Ex-position of the Lord's Prayer* is dedicated, by the au-

thor, to his very singular good Lord Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c. which dedication is dated from Wilton, the 11th of May 1588. Of the three sermons; one was preached at Paul's Cross, the second Sunday in Michaelmas Term 1590, being upon Election; the second was preached at the Court at Greenwich, the 24th day of May, 1590; and the third, is a funeral sermon upon T. L. Efq; preached by the author, whilst he was Bishop of Landaff. His stile is good, considering the time he lived in; though it is too full of quibbles, of jingles, and quaint expressions. But such was the false taste, which then almost universally prevailed. C

BACON (ROBERT) an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. The place, or time of his birth, cannot be certainly known, but from various circumstances hereafter mentioned, it seems probable that it was about the year 1168 (a): Pits indeed informs us, that he was brother to the famous Roger Bacon, for which he produces no authority, and indeed the fact itself is highly improbable, if not impossible [A]. This Robert Bacon studied in his youth at Oxford, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his parts, and his assiduous application to his studies. Thence, according to the custom of those times, he removed to Paris, where he perfected himself in all the branches of learning, which were in repute in those times (b). We are not told at what time he returned into England, but it appears clearly, that, after his return, he settled at Oxford, and read Divinity lectures there (c). His colleague in this office was Dr Edmund Rich, in our histories commonly stiled Edmund of Abingdon, a man famous for literature, and yet in the opinion of Leland inferior to our Bacon (d). This Dr Rich had been chosen by the Canons of Salisbury, Treasurer of their church, and in 1233, becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, his friend Robert Bacon succeeded him as Treasurer of the cathedral church of Salisbury (e). The same year he distinguished himself by a sermon before his royal master King Henry III, at Oxford, whither his Majesty came, in order to have held a great council of his Lords. In this discourse, Bacon plainly told the King, the mischiefs to which himself and his subjects were exposed, by his reposing too great a confidence in Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and other foreigners, which honest sermon had a great effect on the mind of his master, and inclined him to give satisfaction to his nobility, who were then, generally speaking, disaffected (f). This seasonable service rendered to the nation, did more to secure his memory from oblivion, than his many years laborious reading, or even his learned writings. Yet, by a strange proneness to attribute all great things to his namesake Roger Bacon, a story has been framed of his preaching at the same time, and on the same occasion, which doubtless was the occasion that Pits supposed them to be brothers, though in truth there is no good ground to believe, that Roger Bacon preached at all at that time, or on that subject [B].

The

[A] *Highly improbable if not impossible.* This circumstance is in the General Dictionary, transcribed without scruple in the Life of (1) Roger Bacon, for as to Robert, they are silent. Pits indeed relates it twice, affirming in both places, that Roger, as well as Robert Bacon, preached against the Bishop of Winchester at Oxford (2). In a subsequent note, we shall destroy the credit of this text, at present our business shall be to shew, that it is very unlikely they were brothers. First then the silence of Roger Bacon on this head, seems to be a good argument against the truth of it. He often mentions in his writings the learned men of his own time, speaks frequently of his patrons and benefactors, and not seldom of his disciples, but not once of his brother (3). Can we therefore believe, that he had one, especially so learned and so considerable a man? Secondly, Leland knew nothing of this relation, who wrote expressly of Roger Bacon, and mentions Robert occasionally more than once (4). In like manner, Bale, who wrote the lives of both the Bacons over and over, was either ignorant of their being brothers, or had a mind we should continue so, for he says nothing of him in any of his editions (5). It is true, these are but negative arguments, and yet, whoever considers the disposition of Roger Bacon, the integrity of Leland, and the industry of Bale, will scarce imagine so singular a thing as this could escape them. Thirdly, the ages of these celebrated men will by no means allow it. Pits himself tell us, that Robert Bacon died in 1248, and that he was *senex et plenus dierum*, old and full of days, which must imply fourscore or thereabouts (6), and indeed this

agrees very well with all the circumstances of his life, for Bale tells us, he was very old, when he became a Friar, which was in 1240 (7), when, according to this computation, he must have been seventy-two, whereas Roger Bacon was born in 1214 (8), so that there must have been forty-six years between them, which is hardly credible there could have been, if they were brethren. We might add to this, the weakness, credulity, and hastiness of Pits, who concludes frequently from the slightest appearances, and made no difficulty of giving his readers his own conjectures for true history. But there is no need of insisting longer upon this, our former arguments being sufficiently conclusive.

[B] *At that time, or on that subject.* All that we know of this matter, is from Matth. Paris, who was contemporary with Robert, and with Roger Bacon, he gives us a large account of King Henry's coming to Oxford in 1233, the occasion of it, and what fell out there. Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, at that time governed the King and Kingdom, drawing over such numbers of his countrymen, the Poictovins, that the King was surrounded, and the nation swarmed with them. The King, sensible of the disaffection of his subjects, called a great council of the Lords, to meet at Oxford, on the Feast of St John; but when he came thither, he found his summons slighted by the Barons. On this he in great wrath, issued a second and a third summons, resolving to proceed against such of the Lords as did not then attend, as traitors. At this time it was, that Friar Robert Bacon, preaching before the King and some Bishops, told him plainly, that

(7) De Script. edit. 1548, 4^{to} folio 104.

(8) Friend's Hist. of Physick, Vol. II, p. 285.

(a) Deillust. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(b) Bale de Script. edit. Basil. 1559, fol. p. 294.

(c) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, fol. Vol. I. p. 747. Nic. Trivet. Annual. Vol. I. p. 193.

(d) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(e) Idem. Ibid.

(f) Matth. Paris, p. 386.

(1) Vol. II. p. 539, in the text.

(2) De illust. Angl. Script. p. 318, 366.

(3) Opus majus.

(4) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 259, 275.

(5) Edit. 1548, 4^{to}, folio 104, 114. Edit. Basil. 1559, fol. p. 294, 342.

(6) De illust. Angl. Script. p. 318.

The learned Dr Cave thought otherwise (g), but even the authority of so great a man ought not to establish as a truth, a fact altogether absurd, as in the notes we have shewn it to be, though with all due respect to that great man's memory [C]. After the promotion of Dr Rich to the See of Canterbury, the famous Richard Fishakel, whom Leland calls Fizacrius, read, in conjunction with our Bacon, in St Edward's schools, for many years together, to their own great honour, and to the benefit of all their hearers, nor were they less assiduous in preaching, so that their labours were equally divided, between the learned and the vulgar (b). In 1240, Bacon lost his great patron and intimate friend, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, and very possibly this accident, joined to his fervent piety, and great love to a retired life, might induce Bacon, though he was very old, to enter into the order of Friars Preachers (i), of which order also was his associate Fishakel (k). In gratitude to the memory of the Archbishop, Bacon wrote his Life, notwithstanding that Prelate had for some years lived, and was even so unfortunate as to die under the King's displeasure, which work of his was highly (l) esteemed [D]. He wrote also many other learned pieces, sufficient to have established his reputation, and of which we have nothing now save their titles (m) [E]. At length, worn out with so long a course of studious application, he yielded to fate in the year 1248, and was interred at Oxford (n). His faithful friend Richard Fishakel, survived him but a very short time, his affection for him being so great, that he wanted a relish for life, when Bacon was no longer among the living (o). Leland has written very copiously

(g) Hist. Lit. p. 646.

(b) Matth. Paris; Vol. I. p. 747. Trivet. Anml. Vol. I. p. 195.

(i) Bale, de Script. edit. 1548, 4to; folio 104.

(k) Leland, Comment. de Script. p. 275.

(l) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 864.

(m) Bale, de Script. p. 294, 295. Pits. de illust. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(n) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 747.

(o) Bale, de Script. p. 295.

peace was not to be hoped for, till Peter, Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivallis, his son, were removed from his councils. Others also about the King affirmed the same thing. We read farther in this author, that the King hereupon recollecting himself, began to incline his heart unto reason, which being perceived, a certain court chaplain, one Roger Bacon, of a facetious disposition, pleasantly, and yet cynically, reprehended him on this head. My Lord the King, said he, what is it that most hurts, and most terrifies such as cross the seas? The King answered, they know best, who do their business in great waters. But, replied the chaplain, my Lord, I will tell you, shelves and rocks (Petrae et Rupes), and it is said, Peter de Rupibus. It is however necessary to give the author's own words. 'In hoc autem colloquio frater quidam Robertus Bacum, de Ordine Praedicatorum, qui coram Rege et quibusdam Episcopis praesentibus Verbum Dei praedicaret; libera voce Regi patentur dixit: quod nunquam diuturna pace frueretur, nisi Petrum Wintoniensem Episcopum, et Petrum de Rivallis filium ejus (aut consanguineum) a consiliis suis amoveret. Cumque alii, qui aderant, idipsum protestarentur: Rex aliquantulum in seipso se recolligens, cor suum nationi inclinavit: et cum sic videret cum mitigatum, quidam clericus de curia, scilicet Rogerus Bacum, jocundus in sermone, jocunde ac lepidè, cynicè tamen reprehendens, ait: Domine, mi Rex, quid plus nocet transfretum navigantibus, aut quid plus terret? At Rex: Noverunt facientes operationes in aquis multis. At clericus: Domine, dicam: Petrae et Rupes. Ac diceretur: Petrus de Rupibus. Hoc enim erat nomen Episcopi Wintoniensis cum tali cognomente (g).' It is evident, enough that the Robert and Roger, mentioned here, induced Pits to make the celebrated Roger Bacon, the Franciscan brother to our Robert Bacon, and to assert, that they both preached upon this occasion, which if there were no objection to the latter part of this passage, could not possibly be true; since at that time Roger Bacon was not above twenty years of age, and consequently could never answer the character of the Roger Bacon, mentioned in the text. Besides, whoever reads this passage carefully, cannot but observe the latter part, comes in very abruptly, and looks like a vulgar story, built upon the passage before related, which is serious, solid, and has a strong air of truth. This seems indeed to be the bottom of the business, for in the best MS. (10) of Matth. Paris, the sentence ends with the word, *protestarentur*, and all the rest seems to be added by some later writers from common fame.

[C] To that great man's memory.] Dr Cave saw plainly the absurdity of this story, as the date stood, and therefore in his life of Roger Bacon, he has altered it, but without any authority. Roger Bacon, says he, flourished chiefly about the year 1278, but he began to distinguish himself many years before, for in 1259, he preached before Henry III, at Oxford, at which time he freely reproved him on account of the Poictovins and other strangers, whose

councils he in a manner wholly followed, admitting them not only to his court, but advancing them likewise to the principal offices of State. *Claruit praecipue circa annum 1278, etiam et jam ante plus annos inclarescere coeperat, etiam anno 1259, coram Henrico III, Oxoniae tunc agente, concionem habuit, qua regem ob Poictovieneses, aliosque exteros, quorum consiliis pendè unice agebatur, non modo in aula admittos, sed et summis reipublicae muneribus adhibitos, liberè coarguebat* (11). If this date could be supported, it would suit the story of Roger Bacon very well, because at that time he would have been forty-six years old; but the mischief of it is, that it is in the very teeth of truth, as well as against all authority; for first Robert Bacon, whose sermon is said to have given occasion to Roger's, had been then eleven years in his grave, and what is still worse, Peter de Rupibus, against whom the sermon is supposed to be preached, had been dead and buried one and twenty years (12). The only circumstance founded in fact is this, that King Henry was that year at Oxford, where was held that called the *mad Parliament*, of which though we have a long account in Matth. Paris, yet is there nothing said of this preaching, so that this emendation of Dr Cave's, cannot possibly be admitted. For if you take away the punning invective against the Bishop of Winchester, there is no colour of authority for the story, and if that remains, the date cannot be altered.

[D] Which work of his was highly esteemed.] The long and intimate acquaintance, which had subsisted between these two great men, St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and our Bacon, excellently qualified the latter for writing the life of the former, which though it was a task that could not but expose him to the ill will of a court, yet he performed it so well, that when Matth. Paris afterwards wrote more largely upon the same subject, he tells us expressly, that he had recourse to the writings of Richard de Witz, Bishop of Chichester, who had been chaplain to the Archbishop, and to this work of Robert Bacon's (13), as to the most authentick memoirs of that Prelate (14). Leland and many others have attributed this life to Roger Bacon, who did indeed receive some favours from the Archbishop while at Oxford, but as we have seen from unquestionable authority, could have no sort of title to this work.

[E] And of which we have nothing now, save their titles.] Bale and Pits, agree exactly in the account they give us of the books written by our author, which were the four following, viz. *Glossarum in sacras Scripturas*, lib. i. i. e. *Of Glosses on the Holy Scriptures, one Book*. *Super Psalterium Lib. i. i. e. On the Psalter, one Book*. *Sermonum Variorum, Liber unus, i. e. Of Various Discourses, one Book*. *Lectio. Ordin. Liber unus, i. e. One Book of Lectures*. These, with the *Life of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury*, mentioned in the text, and in the preceding note, are all his works, so far as we have any account of them, and only two of these, were known to Bale, when he published the first edition of his book (16).

(11) Hist. Lit. Vol. I. p. 645.

(12) Godwin, de Praesul. Angl. p. 274.

(13) Hist. Angl. p. 864.

(14) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

(15) Bale, de Script. Brit. p. 294, 295. edit. 1559. Pits. de illust. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(16) Bale, de Script. fol. 104r. edit. 1548, 4to.

(g) Hist. Angl. Vol. I. p. 336.

(10) Vid. var. Lectio. in edit. Watsf. ad p. 386.

(p) Comment. de
Script. Britan.
p. 275.

(7) Church Hist.
of Britain, cent.
XIV, p. 96.

copiously upon this extraordinary event (p) [F]. It is scarce to be conceived, how many mistakes, both antient and modern writers have committed in relation to this man. The editor of Leland's Commentaries, has in many places corrupted his author, and instead of Robert has Roger Bacon, probably because in the MS. he found it contracted. However it be, certain it is, that these mistakes of his have brought great errors into Leland's book, as in the notes will be fully demonstrated [G]. The famous Dr Fuller hath, with his usual good humour, taken notice of the common custom of confounding several learned men of the name of Bacon with each other (q), the passage is curious and deserves to be read [H]. But what seems most extraordinary is this, that the industrious Thomas Hearne was so little acquainted with our author, that he was for substituting

(17) Comment. de
Script. Britan. p.
275.

(18) Script. Bri-
tan, p. 295.

(19) Hist. Angl.
Vol. I. p. 747.

(20) Comment.
de Script. Britan.
p. 277.

(21) Hist. Angl.
Vol. I. p. 864.

[F] Upon this extraordinary event] It is in the life of Richard Fishakel, that this occurs. He tells us, that he was a most excellent Philosopher and Divine, and on that account so dear to Robert Bacon, a man exquisite in all the branches of literature, that he became his inseparable companion. He afterwards adds, neither ought we to conceal what our writers of those times mention, that Fizacrius, and Bacon were as closely united as Bithus and Bacchius, a noble English pair, whether we consider their friendship, or their learning. As living they were the dearest companions, so in death they were not divided; for as the turtle when it has lost it's mate, pines itself to death; so Bacon being dead, Fizacrius neither could nor would survive. O singular amity, and worthy of perpetual remembrance! In our printed copy of Leland, the sentence first cited, runs thus. 'Nam et insignis Philosophus et Theologus fuit, quibus nominibus tam charus erat Rogero Bacono, viro undecunq; doctissimo, ut comes illi individuus adhereret (17).' This determines all the subsequent passages to Roger Bacon, than which there could not be a more monstrous absurdity, since Roger Bacon, outlived Fishakel forty four years, the latter dying in 1248, and the former surviving to 1292. Now that this is no mistake in Leland, appears from what Bale has written of the said Fishakel. 'He was, says he, the constant companion of Robert Bacon, with whom he studied at Paris. Leland tells us of them, that they were as strictly united as Bithus and Bacchius, whom death itself could not divide, for Bacon being dead, Fishakel could not survive him (18).' The MS. Bale used therefore was right, or at least it must have been R. Baconus, which he had skill enough to read Robert as it ought to be, and not Roger. To put the matter out of dispute, Matth. Paris, under the year 1248, gives us this account of their deaths. 'This year, says he, died Walter Maucerc, Bishop of Carlisle, of the order of Friars preachers; as also two other Friars of the same order, who left not greater men, perhaps not their equals in Divinity, and other sciences, among the living. These were Friar Robert Bacon, and Friar Richard Fishaker (or de Fishakele) who for many years had read excellently in the same faculty, and had gloriously preached the word of God to the people (19).'

[G] In the notes will be fully demonstrated.] Not to tire the reader with a multitude of dry citations, we shall here mention, but two instances of that carelessness, which is complained of in the text. In the life of Matth. Paris, Leland is made to say, that this author composed the life of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Memoirs of Ricardo Vicanius, and Roger Bacon. *Scriptis etiam Vitam Eadmundi Richii, Cantuarum Archiepiscopi, omnia tamen à Ricardo Vicanio, et Rogeri Bacone, prius edoctus* (20). This mistake Leland himself could never have made, for he had this out of Matth. Paris's history, wherein it is said. *Hujus igitur assertionibus, necnon et Frarris Magistri Roberti Bacun, de Ordine Prædicatorum, certificatus Dominus Mattheus Parisiensis, Monachus Ecclesie sancti Albani, Vitam memorati sancti Edmundi scripsit, et que indubitanter didicit à fide dignis, diligenter digestit. Quam qui videre desiderat, in Ecclesia sancti Albani ipsam poterit reperire* (21). The other passage is still more flagrant, it is in the article of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, where Leland is made to say, There was in his time one Roger Bacon at Oxford, a man distinguished among the lovers of learning, with whom Edmund was very familiar, and often made use of his assistance; for though in many things, he was much superior to Bacon, yet was

he inferior to him in learning, or I am much mistaken. Afterwards he tells us, that this Bacon, succeeded Rich in his office of treasurer to the church of Salisbury (22). But how could any part of this be true of Roger Bacon? How could Dr Rich use the assistance of a child, or how could Leland prefer the learning of Bacon, who was not twenty years old, when Rich was made Archbishop of Canterbury? Is it possible, that at those years he could succeed in the treasurership of Salisbury? Leland's own account of Roger Bacon contradicts it. But if instead of Roger, we read Robert Bacon, then all is clear and plain, for he was at that time sixty-five years of age. But if authority be desired to support this, even that may be had, in the clearest and most express terms, for Nicholas Trivet, speaking of Dr Edmund Rich, and his reading at Oxford, says, that he had for his colleague, as reader in Divinity, Master Robert Bacon of the order of Friars Preachers, who also read with Richard Fishakel (23). Thus we see what confusion may be introduced by the mistake of a single letter, and how necessary it is to transcribe and print antient authors, *literatim*, since if instead of Roger, it had stood in the printed copy R. Bacon, every reader must have judged for himself, and the editor had escaped all blame.

[H] The passage is curious and deserves to be read.] It is in his Church History, wherein having given a concise account of Roger Bacon, and the ill treatment he met with from the Monks, he proceeds thus. 'For my own part, I behold the name of Bacon in Oxford, not as of an individual man, but a corporation of men; no single cord, but a twisted cable of many together. And as all the acts of strong men of that nature, are attributed to an Hercules; all the predictions of prophesying women to a Sibyl; so I conceive all the achievements of the Oxonian Bacons, in their liberal studies are ascribed to one, as chief of the name. And this in effect, is confessed by the most learned and ingenious orator of that university (24). Indeed we find one Robert Bacon, who died anno 1248, a learned Doctor, and Trithemius fileth John Baconthorpe, plain Bacon, which addeth to the probability of the former assertion. However, this confounding so many Bacons in one, hath caused Anticronisms in many relations. For how could this Bacon ever be a reader of Philosophy in Brazen-Nose-College, founded more than one hundred years after his death; so that his Brazen Head (so much spoken of to speak) must make time pass to be again, or else these inconsistencies will not be reconciled; except any will save it with the Prolepsis of Brazen-Nose-Hall, formerly in the place where the college is now erected. I have done with the Oxford Bacons, only let me add, that those of Cambridge, father and son, Nicholas and Francis; the one of Bennet, and the other of Trinity college, do hold (*absit invidia*) the scales of desert even, against all of their name in all the world besides (25). After this, it will perhaps surprize the reader to tell him, that in the late edition of Moreri's Dictionary, the articles of Robert and Roger Bacon, are very properly distinguished, and a very remarkable circumstance relating to our author, is preserved therein, *viz.* that during his whole life, he kept up a strict correspondence with the learned men of the university at Paris, and was so careful of the reputation of the university of Oxford, and of the proficiency of the students therein, that he procured the constitution relating to professors, which is found in their volume of ordinances, directed by Pope Clement V, to the General Council at Vienna, which are from thence stiled the Clementine Constitutions (26).

(22) Comment.
de Script. Britan.
p. 277.

(23) Annal. Vol.
I. p. 193.

(24) Sir Isaac
Wake in his Rex
Platonicus, p.
209, 210.

(25) Church Hist.
of Britain, cent.
XIV. p. 96.

(26) See this article in the second
Tome of More-
ri's Dictionary,
printed at Basil.

substituting the name of Roger instead of Robert, in a MS. he published out of pure regard to the reputation of the former (r), which is however too just, and too extensive, to stand in need of any such helps [I].

(7) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 520. See also the word BACON in the Index.

[I] Too extensive to stand in need of any such helps.] The circumstance mentioned in the text, is to be met with in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, published by Mr Hearne, at Oxford, 1724. There is a large gap in the poem, where the story of King Henry III, should be related; and to supply this, some prose writer hath inserted a kind of annals, in which we find this note. *A.º. xxiii. Hen. III. Master Robert Bacon, with Master Edmund of Abyngdone, forebode in Oxenorde, of the Crafte of whiche Bakon many Mervayles but I tolde a monkes Clerkes* (27). In the index (28), to the book where this passage is referred to, Mr Hearne corrects his author, and says, that instead of Robert, we should read Roger, in which he is certainly mistaken, for Edmund of Abington, never read with Roger, but with Robert Bacon, and according to the best accounts we have, Roger Bacon did not return from his studies in France till a year or two after. But to put the matter out of dispute, this prose writer owns, that he took most of his facts from Trivet, who, in the year following, speaking of the death of

St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, adds, *Fuerat buic Socius in Schola Magister Robertus Bacon, qui Oxoniis regens in Theologia, Prædicatorum Ordinem est ingressus* (29): Hence it is clear, that Hearne was wrong in his correction; for this is the very passage from which his old writer took the fact, which could not possibly be reconciled with the time and course of Roger Bacon's life, and yet what the author adds of the wonders performed by this Bacon, might very possibly be meant of Roger Bacon. Indeed the Merton college MS. of Trivet's Annals, reads Roger in this place, instead of Robert; but erroneously, as appears by comparison with other MSS, and from the concurring testimony of Matthew Paris, so often cited. Such dry remarks as these, are sometimes necessary; and never more so, than in the present case, where so many writers, ancient and modern, have confounded two great men, and by attributing the acts of the one to the other, embarrass both their stories, which being now read, separately, will appear perfectly clear and satisfactory. E

(29) Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

BACON, BAKON, BACUN, (ROGER); a learned English Monk of the Franciscan order, who flourished in the XIIIth century. He was born near Nchester in Somersetshire, which is held to be the Iſcalis of Ptolemy (a), some time in the year 1214, and was descended of a very antient and honourable family (b). He received the first tincture of letters at Oxford, where having gone through Graminar and Logic, the first dawning of his genius were so conspicuous, that they gained him the favour and patronage of the greatest lovers of learning, and such as were equally distinguished by their high rank, and the excellence of their knowledge (c), of which, even in that age, there were not a few [A]. It is not very clear whether he was of Merton college (d) or Brazen-nose Hall (e), and perhaps he studied at neither, but spent his time at the publick schools, and when he arrived at years sufficient to qualify himself for academical

(d) Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 219. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 88.

(e) Fuller's Ch. History. cent. XIV, p. 96.

[A] Of which even in that age there were not a few.] As there is scarce any mention made in our antient history, of a man more famous, or indeed more justly famous, than Roger Bacon; so we may safely affirm, that notwithstanding his high reputation, there never was any man's personal history more embarrassed or perplexed than his; and that chiefly through the want of care and diligence, in such as have undertaken to pen his story. The great Leland has given us little more than a character of him, and confesses himself, that nothing was more difficult, than to obtain a reasonable account of his life and writings (1). Bishop Bale, in the first work he published concerning our English writers (2), has treated our author very indifferently; but when he was afterwards better informed, he changed his opinion, and did him that justice, which his learning and great abilities deserved (3). From these writers we are informed, that he studied at Oxford in the early part of his life, and discovering an extraordinary genius for the sciences, was encouraged and protected by the most learned men of that time. What we propose in this note, is to discover, in some measure, who those learned men were, since we have shewn in the former article, that there have been very great mistakes made in this matter, chiefly by confounding him with his namesake, Robert Bacon, who flourished much earlier, and who died, when our Roger Bacon was about thirty-four years of age. We will begin with Dr Edmund Riche, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, though he was not, as some have asserted, the companion of our Roger in his studies (4), since he was promoted to the Archiepiscopal dignity, when our author was but twenty years old; yet, as he resided much at Oxford, and was a great encourager of learning, he might be, and indeed was, among the great men, who afforded Roger Bacon frequent marks of kindness and favour, when he first applied himself to learning (5). He was probably under the like obligation to Richard Pihacre, who distinguished himself by his learned lectures in the sciences at Oxford and Paris, in both which places our Bacon studied (6). We learn also from the writings of Bacon himself,

that he was much indebted to William Shirwood, Chancellor of Lincoln, whose excellence in all kinds of knowledge, but chiefly in mathematical learning, he very highly celebrated (7). But the most remarkable of all his patrons, and him to whom he owed the greatest gratitude, was Robert Grouthead, Bishop of Lincoln, a man of prodigious learning, and of most unblemished integrity; from whom, in all probability, our author received those lights, that were of greatest use to him in his studies, since, as he freely professes in his writings, there was hardly any man in that age, except this Bishop of Lincoln and his disciples, who distinguished between real and useful learning, and that kind of empty and useless reading, which, through want of good sense, and a true taste, bore the name and carried the reputation of learning (8), and that, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, to such a degree, as to intitle those who turned their thoughts that way, to reputation and dignity; while such as cultivated that sort of science which was of real benefit to mankind, fell under grievous suspicions, and were treated as persons prone to novelties, and dangerous, from their having this disposition, both to Church and State. We may reasonably suppose, and indeed there is sufficient authority to support us in affirming, that it was the signs not only of pregnant parts, and a happy disposition to literature, that recommended, even in the earliest part of his life, our Roger Bacon to the notice and patronage of the great men before mentioned, but likewise his docility, and readiness to pursue, though with the greatest labour and pains, that method in his studies, which wiser heads thought might be most for his benefit and advantage. It was with this view, that having laid the first foundation of learning in the languages and Logick, he went, as the custom of those times was, to Paris, where he improved himself, by a regular and natural method in all the sciences, and returned, to the satisfaction of all his patrons, with a fair character and high reputation to Oxford, in the twenty-sixth year of his age (9), which is the first date we meet with in his history.

(7) In Tract. de laudibus Mathematicæ Artis, apud Leland. de Script. Britan. p. 261.

(8) Op. Maj. p. 64.

(9) Oudin. Comment. de Script. Ecclesiast. Tom. II. p. 197.

(27) Page 520.

(28) Page 749.

(a) Hist. Joh. Ross. MS. p. 91.

(b) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(c) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257.

(1) Comment. de Britan. Scriptor. p. 257.

(2) Illust. Major. Britan. Scriptor. bl. 114. b.

(3) Script. Illust. Majoris Britan. bl. Basil. 1559. p. 342.

(4) See the notes [D] and [G] in the article of BACON (ROBERT).

(5) Bale, Script. Off. Majoris Britan. p. 342.

(6) Pits. de Illust. Angl. Scrip. p. 6.

academical learning, he went over to Paris, where he made still greater progress in all parts of learning, insomuch that he was looked upon as the glory of that university, and an honour to his country (f). It was the fashion then, for such as desired to distinguish themselves by an early and effectual application to their studies, to resort to that city, where, at this time, not only many of the greatest men in Europe resided and taught, but many of the English nation, by whom Bacon was highly encouraged and carested. Among others, he became known to Robert Grouthead, or, as the French write it, Grosseteste, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln (g), who was his great Patron, and singular good friend. While he remained here, he did not confine his studies to any particular branch of literature, but endeavoured to embrace and comprehend the sciences in general, not however in a slight or superficial manner, but fully, perfectly, and to the bottom, by the help of a right method, and a constant and eager application. When he had attained the degree of Doctor, he returned again to his own country, and, as some say, took the habit of the Franciscan order in 1240 (b), when he was about twenty-six years of age; but others assert, that he became a Monk before he left France (i); however that matter be, certain it is, that after his return to Oxford, he was considered by the greatest men of that university, as one of the ablest and most indefatigable enquirers after knowledge, that the world had ever produced, and therefore they not only shewed him all the respect, and had for him all the esteem that his great abilities deserved, but likewise, perceiving that the course he took of improving and advancing all the sciences by experiments, required another sort of Assistance than that either of books or favour, they generously contributed, out of their purses, to his expences, so that, as he tells us himself, he laid out, within the compass of twenty years, no less than two thousand pounds, in collecting curious authors, making trials of various kinds, and in the construction of different instruments, for the improvement of useful knowledge (k) [B]. But if this assiduous

(f) Cave, Hist. Litter. Vol. II. p. 325.

(g) Pits, de illust. Angl. Script. p. 366.

(b) Oudin. Comment. de Script. Ecclesiast. Tom. III. p. 191.

(i) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(k) In Opere Minori, cap. xvii.

(10) Baconi Opus Majus, lib. i. c. 15.

(11) Joan. Launii, de varia Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi Fortuna. Paris. 1662, 8vo, p. 78.

(12) Baconi Opus Majus, l. ii. c. 8.

(13) MS. Cott. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 138.

[B] For the improvement of useful knowledge] While our author studied at Paris, he had an opportunity of discovering the true state of learning at that time; and he has given us a very just picture thereof in his writings. There had been in the preceding century, a kind of persecution commenced against Philosophy, founded chiefly upon some passages collected from the ancient Fathers, by Gratian in his Decretals, which had proceeded so far, that the divines of that city condemned Aristotle's Philosophy, and excommunicated such as should study or peruse his writings (10), which was principally owing to the bad behaviour of one Amauri of Chartres, who advanced abundance of heretical opinions; and amongst the rest, that God served for the form to the matter of all natural beings, and that this matter being uncreated was divine; which notion he pretended to support from the writings of Aristotle (11). This prejudice was however in some measure worn off, by our countryman Michael Scotus publishing a Latin translation of some of Aristotle's works, keeping closely to the original, whereas most of those translations, which had been before in use, were made from the Arabic, and attended with commentaries of the philosophers of that nation, which contributed not a little to obscure the sentiments of Aristotle, and to discredit his writings; but when this new version appeared, Aristotle's writings began to recover their credit; and the new orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, which were instituted about the same time, favouring the doctrine of that philosopher, and defending it in their public lectures, Aristotle's character was raised so high, that the title of philosopher was solely appropriated to him (12). By this means, several others, besides Michael Scotus, laboured in explaining his works, and soon after divers versions of them, which were said to have been made by Gerard of Cremona, Alured Anglicus, Herman Alemanus, and Willielmus Flemingus, were made publick (13). However, Philosophy was still in a very rude state, and Bacon himself tells us, that though there never was so great an appearance of knowledge, nor so great an application to so many sciences in so many countries, as there had been for forty years past, yet there never was so great ignorance, and such a variety of errors as then. Those who had undertaken to publish new translations of Aristotle's works, were not sufficiently conversant in the languages, or in the sciences of which they treated; Herman confessed to Bacon, that he was rather an assistant in the translations than a translator himself, since he employed Saracens in Spain, who had the chief hand in his versions; Michael Scotus borrowed all that he published in his own name, from one Andrew, a Jew; and Willielmus Flemingus says,

Bacon, 'as every body knows at Paris, has no skill in the Greek language, though he pretends to it; and therefore he translates every thing falsely, and corrupts the learning of the Latins: And therefore though Bacon esteemed Aristotle's works, as the foundation of all knowledge, yet he thought it would have been an advantage to learning, if all the copies of them, which were then in use among the Latins, were destroyed; and he declares, that if it had been in his power, he would have burnt them all; for the study of them was mere loss of time and the occasion of error, and the multiplying of ignorance beyond what could be expressed; he adds farther, that the herd of students with their teachers, had no valuable knowledge for the object of their pursuits, and therefore they languished in a stupid application to bad translations, and lost both their time and expence (14); in short, that they were amused with a mere appearance, or shadow of knowledge, and did not value what they really knew, but what they were thought to know by the ignorant multitude. Such was the situation of learning, when our enterprising author began to set about that reformation which he thought necessary, and which he likewise thought it was impossible to make, by any other method than that of experiments, which he therefore set about with the utmost diligence: It was chiefly in these experiments, that he laid out so large a sum as is mentioned in the text; about which two questions have arisen, which however, at the bottom, the reader will find to be but one. Taking them however as commonly stated, they are these: *First*, whether the two thousand pounds that were thus spent, ought to be accounted French or sterling money? And *secondly*, where these experiments were made? I must confess, I apprehend they were made at Oxford, and as this is an affair, that must be solely determined by authorities, I shall mention those upon which my opinion is grounded. In the first place, Bale tells us, that Friar Bacon incurred the vulgar imputation of magick and forcery, by the extraordinary things he performed while he resided at Brazen-Nose Hall at Oxon (15); which seems plainly to prove, that his experiments were made there. We are likewise told by several authors, that Friar Bacon was made so uneasy by his enemies in the university, that he was obliged to quit it, and live in a little retirement by himself, in a place which to this day is called Friar Bacon's study (16), and we are farther told by the industrious Mr Hearne, that he sometimes retired in the summer to Sunning-Well (17), the knowledge of which, and of the place where he resided when there, are likewise preserved by tradition. I desire it may be remarked; that how little weight soever may be due to this tradition, with respect to the places, yet

(14) Ibid. p. 138.

(15) In his first edition printed in 4to at Ipswich, A. D. 1538, fol. 114, his words are these, 'Operacione malorum Spirituum Oxonii ad Nasum renum, Scholasticorum Domitium, mirabilia magna fecisse traduntus.'

(16) The most learned Olaus Borrichius, in his excellent book called *Compositus Scriptorum Chemicorum*, tells us, that he was shewn this retirement of Bacon's at Oxon, by Dr Edmund Dickenson. Leonard Hutten's *Antiquities of Oxford*, MS. p. 108.

(17) Langton's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 574.

assiduous application to his studies, and the stupendous progress he made in them, raised his credit with the better part of mankind, it excited envy in some, and afforded plausible pretences for covering the malicious designs of others (l). It is very easy to conceive, that the experiments he made in all parts of Natural Philosophy and the Mathematicks, must have made a great noise in an ignorant age, when scarce two or three men in a whole nation, were tolerably acquainted with those studies, and when all the pretenders to knowledge, affected to cover their own ignorance, by throwing the most scandalous aspersions on those branches of science, which, they either wanted genius to understand, or which, demanded greater application to acquire, than they were willing to bestow. They gave out therefore, that mathematical studies, were in some measure allied to those magical arts which the Church had condemned, and thereby brought suspicions upon those, whose learning ought to have defended them from such imputations, more than any other men. It was under colour of such kind of suspicion, that Bacon's first troubles began, which issued in restraining him from reading lectures to the young students in the university, and at length in a close confinement, in which he was almost starved, and a prohibition to send his writings beyond the limits of his convent, except to the Pope (m). But there is great reason to believe, that though his application to the occult sciences was pretended, yet the true cause of his ill usage was, the freedom with which he had treated the clergy in his writings, in which he spared neither their ignorance nor their want of morals (n); besides, his great intimacy with Bishop Grouthead, might add not a little, to the power as well as spirit of persecution; for that Prelate had gone so far, as to reprove Pope Innocent IV by letter, and was said to have made no scruple of declaring to those with whom he was intimate, that in his judgment the Pope was Anti-Christ (o). Our author's being the bosom-friend of such a man, must naturally bring upon him the hatred of a great part of the clergy, more especially, since his zeal led him to follow the practice as well as the opinion of his patron, by writing freely to the Pope about the necessity of a Reformation (p) [C]. But notwithstanding this base and

barbarous

(l) Delrio, Disquisit. Magic. lib. xxi. cap. iii. quest. 1.

(m) Prælati enim et fratres, me junioris macerantem tuto collobebant, nec aliquem ad me venire volebant, verita ne scripta mea, aliis, quam summo Pontifici et sibi ipsis pervenirent. Epist. ad Clement. IV.

(n) Vide Bacon. Epist. ad Clement. IV. See also Dr Brown's Life of Bacon, prefixed to his translation of Bacon's Treatise of the Cure of Old Age.

(o) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 875.

(p) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 5.

the tradition itself is a good argument, to prove that those extraordinary experiments, which exposed our author when living, to the inveterate malice of his ignorant enemies, and which will preserve his reputation with the learned world to latest posterity, were made at Oxford; for had it been otherwise, it is not easy to conceive how there should have been any tradition there about his study or observatory. There is another thing I would remark upon this head, which, for any thing I know, has not been taken notice of before, and it is this: That the earliest of his works, and in which, as will be shewn hereafter, he gave the largest account of experiments, was addressed to William of Paris, and consequently was not written there, but probably at Oxon (18). It may indeed be objected, that in other parts of his works, our author certainly reckons by French pounds; and if from thence it should be thought requisite to know what the difference at that time was, between French pounds and pounds sterling; the question may be easily answered from our author's own writings, who speaking of the cost of a burning-glass, says, that the first he made, stood him in sixty pounds Paris money, or twenty pounds sterling, which shews that the French livre was once worth six shillings and eight pence, though it is now dwindled down to less than one shilling (19).

[C] Writing freely to the Pope about the necessity of a Reformation. It appears clearly, that the great motive which induced Roger Bacon to embrace a monastick life, was that he might have greater leisure to attend his studies, and that he was desirous that all his discoveries should tend to the advancement of useful knowledge, which he thought of the highest consequence to the honour and peace of the Church. He therefore takes great pains in all his writings to prove this, and to shew that the perfecting Natural Philosophy, was the surest method of extirpating all heresies, abolishing superstition, and destroying the kingdom of Antichrist, as the perfecting Moral Philosophy, was the most effectual means of establishing true religion in the hearts of man, and manifesting the correspondence between the laws of nature and the doctrine of the gospel (20); in which he plainly followed the example of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, his great patron, and who had written many treatises in the same way. It was after the death of that great prelate, that he began to be disturbed by the clergy; and especially by the monks of his own order, under pretence of his endeavouring to innovate and establish new doctrines, which they insinuated might tend to disturb the peace of the Church. This usage made a great impression upon his spirits, but did not

in the least alter his sentiments, as appears by what he says in his address to Pope Clement IV, that out of a reverence due to his high dignity, which ought to engage him in seeking to procure the benefit of the whole world, he was willing, as far as the impediments he laboured under would permit, and his memory would allow, to deduce a regular system of true philosophy to the utmost of his power; adding, at the same time, that if it were not for this reverence, which he had for the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the benefits that by him alone might be procured to the whole Christian world, he would not have undertaken what he did, under the circumstances in which he then was, however pressed or solicited by the whole Christian Church (21). This shews the spirit and temper of the man, who had no secret or worldly views, but was sincerely inclined to employ the mighty abilities which God had bestowed upon him, and all that learning, which by his own indefatigable pains and industry, he had acquired for the service of mankind, with which view he would have laboured, if his society would have permitted him, in the education of youth, that a new turn might have been given to their studies; and that instead of employing themselves as they had hitherto done, in what was of little or no use, they might apply in a regular method to such sciences, as might prove beneficial both to Church and State. If in this attempt he had succeeded, we may easily conceive how advantageous it would have been to the whole Christian world, and what a new face it must have given to the affairs of learning, since, as we shall hereafter see, our author, by dint of his own penetration, and a right use of Experimental Philosophy, arrived at, and even perfected, many of those discoveries, which have done so much honour to the moderns, and which by the enquiring into, and publishing his writings, it is unquestionably manifest, might have been long ago known and rendered useful to the world, if our author had not been treated as he was, or if there had not been such a tyrannical power exercised in the Christian Church, as put it out of the capacity of private men to spread their discoveries, and to render the progress they made in knowledge, as useful to mankind as they now do. But it must be acknowledged, in justice to the memory of this great man, that he does not appear to have had the least tincture of a private spirit, but was as communicative as he could; and that all his obscurities, are owing to the malice of his enemies, and not to any inclination he had to conceal his talents, or to raise his own reputation, by leaving others in ignorance.

[D] This

8) The title of this treatise is, 'De secretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de nullitate Magiæ.'

6) Compend. ad. Theolog. l. p. 5.

20) Baconi Opus majus, p. 29.

(21) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. v. fol. 2, 3.

barbarous usage from those, who, of all others, ought to have behaved to him in a different manner, his reputation continued to spread itself over the whole Christian world, insomuch, that Pope Clement IV, one of the wisest and worthiest men that for many years had been raised to that dignity, wrote him a letter, desiring that he would send him all his works (q). This was in 1266, when our author was in the flower of his age, and who, to gratify his Holiness, collected together, greatly enlarged and ranged in some order, the several pieces he had written before that time, and sent them the next year by his favourite disciple John of London, or rather, of Paris, to the Pope (r). This collection, which is the same that himself intituled *Opus Majus*, or his great work, is yet extant [D]. It is said, that this learned book of his procured him the favour of that Pontiff and

(q) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Frat. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294.

(r) Pits. de illust. Angl. Script. p. 367.

[D] *This collection, which himself intituled Opus Majus, or his great work, is yet extant.* As this has been esteemed, and with great justice, the most perfect of all our author's works, and is indeed in some measure, a compleat system of science, built upon his principles of free inquiry, and useful experiments; so it is requisite, that we should give as large and full an account of the motives which engaged him to compose it, as, at this distance of time, it is possible for us to acquire; the rather, because though much has been said on this subject, especially by the learned and excellent Dr Jebb, whose industry and care in making it publick, can never be too much admired or applauded; yet some circumstances there are, that still require some light, which if we can bring, it is certainly our duty, and what we ought not to neglect, as well out of regard to the memory of so extraordinary a person, as what we owe to the publick, for the kind reception they have already afforded to our endeavours of a like kind. It was the opinion of the famous Dr John Dee, who published an edition of another work of our author's, that his *Opus Majus*, was addressed to Pope Clement III (22); which was certainly an egregious error, since that Pope died above twenty years before Roger Bacon was born: We shall hereafter account for the occasion of this strange mistake, and at present content ourselves with observing, that there is unquestionable authority for asserting that our author composed this work, at the request of Clement IV, before he was raised to that dignity; and in order to clear this point, it will be necessary, to give a succinct account of this excellent person. He was descended of a noble family in the province of Languedoc, in the kingdom of France, and his name was Gui le Gros Fulcodi; he applied himself in his youth to the study of the Law, and distinguished himself at the bar to so high a degree, as to be stiled *the light* of that science (23). After the decease of his wife, by whom he had several children, he entered into the ecclesiastical state, and rose gradually to the Archbishoprick of Narbonne in 1259, in which high station he conducted himself with such piety and prudence, that in the month of December 1261, he was promoted by Pope Urban IV to the dignity of Cardinal Bishop of Sabina (24), and was afterwards declared his Legate in England, in order to compose the dissensions which reigned there, between Henry III and his Barons. These rose however to such a height before he could get to England, that he found himself obliged to continue at Boulogne, where he remained a long time; and having called together several English Bishops, that were then beyond the seas, by their advice and consent he excommunicated such as took up arms against their prince (25), and having committed the execution of the censure to those Bishops, he set out for Rome; but being arrived at Perousa, he there met with the news of his being elected Pope. He then continued his journey to Rome with the utmost diligence, in the habit of a mendicant Friar; and on his arrival, did all that in his power lay, to avoid accepting that high dignity, but finding his endeavours to no purpose, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the discharge of his duty, which he performed with such apostolick severity, that never any Pope was more feared or beloved. He was such an enemy to pluralities, that he obliged his nephew who had three Prebends, to relinquish two of them, and behaved in every other respect in such a manner, as very plainly shewed, that he had nothing so much in view as the Reformation of the Church (26). It is no wonder, that so wise, so great, and so good a man, should have a just esteem for the merits of Friar Bacon, or that he should condemn the weak and

foolish calumnies that had been spread to his prejudice. It was probably during his stay at Boulogne, that he sent letters to our author by Raymond de Lauduno, earnestly desiring that he would send him his works, which at first our Monk declined, because the chief persons of his order had forbid him to communicate any of his writings, to any person whatever, on pain of losing them, and being compelled to live many days on bread and water (27); but when he afterwards heard, that the Cardinal Legate, was raised to the pontifical dignity, and had taken the name of Clement IV, our author out of reverence to the Holy See, signified to him by letter, that he was ready to perform what his Holiness had desired. The Pope immediately wrote in answer, that he was extremely well pleased with the readiness which he had expressed, and commanded him by his apostolick authority, and notwithstanding any injunctions laid upon him, by the chief persons of his order, or others, to send him what he had required by his former messenger, assuring him that he would take order, with respect to those matters of which he had complained. This letter, dated at Viterbo the tenth of the kalends of July, in the second year of his pontificate (28), no sooner came to the hands of our author, than he prepared to satisfy his own promise, and the Pope's request. When he had finished his great work, which, as we shall presently shew the reader, contains a complete circle of learning for the time in which it was written, he resolved to send it to the Pope by a disciple of his own, whom he had instructed while he was writing it, in all the sciences of which it treats. There has been a prevailing mistake with regard to the name of this youth, which almost all our writers will have to be John of London (29), and they quote our author Bacon himself to prove it; yet it is very certain that he says no such thing, as his learned editor Dr Jebb has well observed, but, on the contrary, has distinguished him from John of London, who the same gentleman very ingeniously, and, I think, very truly, guesses to have been John Peccam, a monk of the Franciscan order, then at London, and who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (30). Whereas, this John sent by our author with his book, was, as himself tells us therein, a poor boy, but of quick and lively parts, whom Bacon undertook to instruct with a view, as well to the boy's advantage, as to make an experiment of the possibility of infusing, by the new and natural method which he had invented, the principles of all the sciences in a very short space of time, which succeeded very happily; yet such was the modesty of our author, that instead of taking occasion from hence to boast, either of his own or his scholar's abilities, he draws from it this judicious conclusion, viz. that there was no room to conceive any high notions of the perfection of human wisdom, when it was possible in a year's time, to teach a young man, all that with the utmost industry and application, a zealous enquirer after knowledge, was able either to acquire or to discover in the space of twenty or even of forty years (31). It is also a conjecture of the editor's, that this young man whom others have stiled John of London, ought rather to be supposed to be John of Paris, because to one of that name there are several epistles addressed by our author, which is so just and reasonable an account, that I think a better can hardly be given of this extraordinary young scholar (32). It is very surprizing, that this large and excellent work, should remain so long buried in obscurity, but it is very happy for the learned world, that at length it has been delivered from dust and oblivion, and sent abroad with all the advantages imaginable, as it is at present in a beautiful

(22) See the list of his notes on our author's treatise *De secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, &c.* Printed in the fifth Vol. of the *Theatrum Chemicum*.

(23) Aubery, Hist. des Card. Tom. I. p. 385.

(24) Chr. S. Antoninus, tit. xx. c. i. sect. 11.

(25) Tom. XI. Concil. p. 330. Matth. Paris.

(26) Trihem. Chron. Hirsang. A. D. 1269.

(27) MS. Ct. Tiber. c. v. fol. 3.

(28) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Frat. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294.

(29) Pits. de illust. Anglæ Script. p. 367.

(30) In his learned Preface to Bacon's *Opus Majus*.

(31) Bacon's *Opus Majus*, p. 29.

(32) Dr Jebb in his preface before cited.

and also, some encouragement in the prosecution of his studies (s), but if this contributed to raise his spirits, it could be for a short time only, since that Pope died not long after, and

(s) Hist. Antiq. Oxon. p. 138.

folio, neatly and accurately printed for William Bowyer at London, A. D. 1733, under the title of *Fratri ROGERI BACON ordinis Minorum Opus Majus ad Clementem quartum Pontificem Romanum. Ex M.S. codice Dublinensi, cum aliis quibusdam collato, nunc primum editum*. S. JEBB, M. D. The editor has prefixed a long epistle addressed to Dr Richard Mead, wherein he gives an account of his author and edition, and observes, that very few of his writings had been before published, though Leland, Balæus, and Pitæus, have given us a long catalogue of them; however he tells us, that Sir Kenelm Digby, and Dr George Langbain, Provost of Queen's College at Oxford, had formerly undertaken to publish Bacon's works, by the advice of Mr Selden, as appears from their letters to that great man, some extracts of which Dr Jebb has printed. Sir Kenelm Digby has this passage in his letter dated from Paris, the 11th of February 1637: *Your collections concerning Bacon, I shall print before his works under your name.* Dr Langbain in a letter dated January the 30th 1653, says, *When I have heretofore made report to some judicious friends, of several passages in Friar Bacon's epistle to Pope Clement, which I perceive is the same with what you call, de utilitate scientiarum, they were very much taken, and suitors to me for a publication.* In a letter dated February the 9th, 1653, he says, *I am very much encouraged by your last, to resume those thoughts which I had laid aside, of publishing that piece of Dr Bacon:* And in another, dated February the 20th 1653, he says, *That latter copy is of so legible a hand, as unless I receive a countermand from you, I shall not long forbear to get it transcribed, with a purpose to print all together, for I judge it well deserves to be more publick.* Dr Jebb had proposed to have published all his works about three years before his edition of the *Opus Majus*, but while he was engaged in that design, he was informed by letters from his brother at Dublin, that there was a manuscript in the college library there, which contained a great many treatises generally ascribed to Bacon, and disposed in such order, that that they seemed to form one compleat work; but the title was wanting, which had been carelessly torn off from the rest of the manuscript. The Doctor soon found that it was a collection of those tracts, which Bacon had written for the use of Pope Clement IV, and to which he had given the title of *Opus Majus*, since it appeared, that what he said of that work in his *Opus Tertium*, addressed to the same Pope, exactly suited with this; which contained an account, of almost all the new discoveries and improvements that he had made in the sciences; upon this account Dr Jebb laid aside his former design, and resolved to publish only an edition of this *Opus Majus*. The manuscripts which he made use of to compleat this edition, are as follows, 1. M.S. in the Cotton library, inscribed *Jul. D. V.* which contains the first part of the *Opus Majus*, under the title of a treatise *de Utilitate Scientiarum*. 2. Another M.S. in the same library marked *Tib. C. V.* containing the fourth part of the *Opus Majus*, in which is shewn the use of the Mathematicks in the sciences and affairs of the world, in the M.S. it is erroneously called the fifth part. 3. A M.S. in the library belonging to *Corpus Christi* in Cambridge, containing that portion of the fourth part which treats of Geography. 4. A manuscript of the fifth part containing a treatise upon Perspective, in the Earl of Oxford's library. 5. A M.S. in the library of Magdalen College Cambridge, comprehending the same Treatise of Perspective. 6. Two MSS. in the King's library, communicated to the editor by Dr Richard Bentley, one of which contains the fourth part of *Opus Majus*, and the other the fifth part. The reader will probably be pleased, with the general account of a work, which till lately was imagined to have been lost, and which is esteemed the most considerable of all his writings. He opens it with observing, that there are four great impediments which hinder men from arriving at true and useful knowledge, which he lays down thus, I. Too great dependence upon authority. II. Allowing too great weight to custom. III. The fear of offending the vulgar. IV. The affectation of concealing ignorance,

by the display of a specious appearance of knowledge. In order to remove these, he very fully and clearly states the nature and force of authority, experience, and reason, and shews how injurious to mankind mistakes upon these subjects may be, by misleading them into absurd and dangerous opinions, and hindering them from discerning truth. After handling these nice subjects in his six first chapters, he proceeds in his seventh to draw this conclusion, That we are not bound to adhere to every thing we hear or read, but that we ought strictly to examine the sentiments of those who have gone before us, to add where their notions appear defective, and to correct them, where we may conclude, with reason, that they have erred, but with modesty and decency. He supports this by various authorities from profane authors, and from the Fathers of the primitive Church. In his ninth chapter, he exposes the folly of affecting singularity; in the tenth, the danger of learned pride; and in the eleventh, the folly of being ashamed of ignorance, and striving rather to conceal than to remove it. In his twelfth, he complains that a great many parts of learning, and those too of the utmost importance, were neglected merely from the ignorance of mankind, and that the knowledge of languages and Mathematicks, though highly valued by the antients, were despised by the moderns, who endeavoured to vindicate themselves in that point, by the authority of some weak though good men. He shews that many of the Saints and Fathers were subject to the common infirmities of human nature, and, consequently, that their example ought not absolutely to determine our conduct; and in the following chapter he observes, that there were some peculiar reasons, which prevented them from applying themselves to Philosophy, and particularly, because Aristotle's books were not then translated into Latin, and they were extremely attached to Plato's writings, whose doctrines they found to be inconsistent with those of Aristotle. In his fourteenth chapter, he proceeds to mention other reasons, for the neglect of philosophy in the early ages of the Church, which neglect likewise continued among the later divines. In the last chapter, he addresses himself to Pope Clement, and tells him, that if it was not possible for him during his pontificate, to perfect the reformation of these vulgar errors, yet he might lay a foundation, so that his successors might, with greater facility, compleat what should be thus happily begun. In the first chapter of the second part, he maintains that there is one perfect kind of wisdom, which is contained in the holy scripture, from which source all real truth is derived. In the following chapters he demonstrates, that true Philosophy is not inconsistent with Divinity, but rather contributes to the true knowledge of the Deity and religion, which he confirms from the authority of the antient Christians themselves; and he tells us in the beginning of the seventh chapter, that the whole design of Philosophy consists in this, that we may know the Creator by means of the creature, and perceive the obligations which we are under from the excellence of his nature, and the good which he has exerted in the creation and preservation of mankind, with the assurances of a future felicity, to serve him with a proper reverence of mind, and regulation of our behaviour, according to the laws of justice and reason. In his third part, he shews largely the usefulness of grammar, and observes, that it is impossible for the Latins to attain the knowledge of those things which are necessary both in divine and human learning, without a proper skill in other languages, since the Old and New Testaments, are translated from the Hebrew and Greek, and Philosophy is likewise borrowed from those languages and the Arabic. And since it is impossible to preserve the propriety and force of one language in another; the consequence of this therefore is, that none of the Latins can obtain such a knowledge as is necessary in the Holy Scriptures and Philosophy, without understanding the original tongues from whence they are translated. The second consideration which he urges in proof of this is, that the translators had not words enough in Latin to express the terms of the sciences. In the third place he tells us, that it is necessary the translator should understand

and then we find our author under new difficulties, from the same causes as before, but the storm now rose higher, and the General of his order, Jerom de Esculo, having heard his

understand the science which he treats of, and the languages which he translates from and into, whereas almost all of them have been extremely defective in every one of these points. The fourth reason is, that many things both in Philosophy and Divinity were still wanting to the Latins, of which he mentions many instances. The fifth, that as the sciences are delivered to the Latins from other languages, all among the Latins who treat of the sciences have made great use of those languages, and have employed a variety of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic words. The sixth reason is, the necessity of correcting an infinite number of errors, both in the text of Divinity, as he files it, and that of Philosophy, which errors are not only in the letter, but likewise in the sense, and because errors are of more consequence in Divinity than Philosophy, he proceeds to point out the corruptions of the text of the Holy Scripture, the better to shew the necessity of the knowledge of the original tongues, in order to correct them. His seventh is, that it is necessary for the Latins to understand the languages, even supposing the text were pure and uncorrupt, in order to obtain the true sense of the words amidst the variety of interpretations. His last reason for this necessity of the tongues is, that the grammar of the Latin is derived from the Greek and Hebrew. Our author's fourth part is designed to shew the use of Mathematicks in the sciences, as also in the affairs and employments of this world. In the first chapter he tells us, that these are four capital sciences without which the rest cannot be understood, but by the knowledge of which, any person may make a progress without any difficulty both in divine and human learning; that the key of these sciences is the Mathematicks, which holy men discovered from the beginning of the world, which was always in use among wise men above other sciences; but that the neglect of this for thirty or forty years past, had destroyed all true learning among the Latins, since a person who is not conversant in that science can never understand the rest, nor the affairs of this world, as he shews in the course of his work; and what is still worse, those who are ignorant of it do not perceive their ignorance, and therefore seek no remedy: Whereas on the other hand, the knowledge of the Mathematicks prepares the mind for complete skill in all things; so that if men make themselves masters of this, as the foundation of their studies, and apply it to the other sciences in a proper manner, they may then be able to attain what follows with the utmost facility, and without any error or doubt: But without the assistance of the Mathematicks, neither the preceding nor consequent parts of learning can be obtained, since the study of it is the only means of opening the way to farther improvement in knowledge. In the second chapter he shews from authority, that every one of the sciences requires the knowledge of the Mathematicks: And in the third, he demonstrates the same from reason. In the second distinction of the fourth part, he shews the necessity of that science, in order to understand the things of this world. In the third and fourth distinctions he lays down mathematical principles, for the explication of several of the phenomena of the universe, and examines into the nature of the several climates of the world, especially of those near the poles and the middle of the earth. In the fifth chapter of the fourth distinction, he treats of the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the sea: And in the seventh chapter, of the infinity of matter. In the eighth chapter, he enquires whether bodies touch each other in a point: And in the ninth he treats of the figure of the universe, which he determines to be spherical, and asserts, that the earth is likewise of the same form. In the twelfth chapter he endeavours to shew, that there are no more worlds, nor suns, nor moons than one, and that matter is not extended in infinitum. In the thirteenth, he treats of the unity of time: And in the fourteenth he shews, that motion occasions heat. In the fifteenth, he speaks of the motion of a balance. After having shewn the necessity of Mathematicks in human affairs and sciences, he proceeds then to shew it likewise in those which

are divine, and he observes, that since he had proved that Philosophy cannot be understood without Mathematicks, and since every one perceived that Divinity cannot be understood without Philosophy; it follows therefore, that a Divine is obliged to acquire the knowledge of the Mathematicks. He next shews, that all holy men have made use of the Mathematicks, and alleges seven reasons, to prove the study fit and necessary to a Divine, more especially, from the use of Astronomy and Chronology in the explication of the Scriptures, and in doing this, he enters into several curious enquiries, as to those sciences and Musick; he then answers the objections urged against Mathematicks, and particularly that which is drawn from the unlawfulness of judiciary Astrology, upon which occasion he observes; that true Astrologers do not pretend to an absolute certainty in their judgments, nor assert that human actions are necessarily determined by the influence of the stars, but always proceed upon the supposition of human liberty. He exposes next the errors in the kalendar, points out the causes of them, and proposes most judiciously the means of reforming them, of which we shall hereafter speak more largely. The next subject he handles is, the use of Mathematicks in the practice of Physick, which he shews must vary according to the difference of climates, which gives him an opportunity of discoursing very largely upon that head. He makes a natural transition from thence to the influence of the heavenly bodies, in discoursing of which he informs us, that the number of fixed stars in his time, was held to be one thousand and twenty two, and much time he spends in shewing the possibility of the celestial influences on terrestrial bodies, in which he shows a prodigious reading. We come now to the fifth part of his *Opus Majus*, which contains his *Treatise of Perspective*, which is one of the most curious pieces in his whole book, for in the third part of it, he very copiously discourses of *reflected* and *refracted* vision, and from thence explains the nature of a vast variety of glasses: To this part of his work is added his famous treatise *de Multiplicatione Specierum*. The sixth part of his *Opus Majus* is concerning experimental knowledge, in the first chapter of which he says, that having thus laid the foundation of learning in Languages, Mathematicks, and Perspective, he shall proceed to the science of experiments, since nothing can be sufficiently understood without experiments; for he observes that there are two methods of obtaining knowledge, one by argument or reason, and the other by trial or experiment; an argument determines a question and obliges us to determine it, but it does not give us absolute certainty or remove all doubt, so that the mind cannot acquiesce in the perception of truth, unless it discover it by way of experiment; many persons know arguments enough in the several parts of knowledge, but not having made experiments they are negligent, and do not avoid and pursue what they ought to do. He observes that this science of experiments, has three great prerogatives beyond all other sciences; the first of which is, that it examines the noble conclusions of those sciences by experience, and this he illustrates by a long explication of the phenomenon of the rainbow; the second prerogative of it is, that it discovers several truths within the limits of the other sciences, which could not be found out by means of those sciences themselves; he mentions some instances, which he tells us he knew by experience to be true: the first instance is as follows; Mathematicks, says he, can easily produce a spherical instrument, in which are described all the parts of the heavens which are necessary, according to the longitudes and latitudes, with the proper circles agreeable to Ptolemy's method in his *Almagest*: But it is not in the power of the Mathematicks to cause a body of that form to move naturally with a diurnal motion, whereas a man perfectly skilled in Experimental Philosophy, is able to devise various methods towards accomplishing that motion, being induced to it by many things which follow the motion of the heavenly bodies; as in the first place, the three elements, which are moved circularly by the celestial influences, then the comets, seas, rivers, marrow, the brains of animals, and the matter of

his cause, ordered him to be imprisoned (t). This is said to have happened in 1278, and we are farther told, that to prevent his appealing to Pope Nicholas III, that General

(t) Lud. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. II. p. 449.

diseases; plants likewise open and shut themselves according to the sun's motion. The Philosopher therefore, is excited by the consideration of these things, which have some resemblance to what he intends, so that he may possibly be able at last to compleat his design. Such an instrument as this, he says, would be worthy a King's treasure, and the instruments of Astronomy and clocks would become useless. He draws his second instance from the use of experiments in Physick, in respect to which he says, that a medicine might be found capable of extending human life much beyond it's ordinary length. On this subject he discourses very copiously, shewing his great learning and exquisite judgment, interspersing therein a multitude of very curious relations, all tending to prove the possibility of prolonging life, and retarding the inconveniences of old age by the help of philosophick medicines. His third example he draws from Alchemy, which he defines an art, by which the baser metals may be converted into the purer, so that gold may be made from lead, and silver from copper. This art he allows is liable to many fraudulent practices, notwithstanding which he avers, that such an art there is, as is not only capable of converting base metals into gold, but also of exalting gold itself far beyond that degree of purity which it receives from nature, which secret, he says, is not only of the greatest use to mankind, in furnishing as much as may be desired of that precious metal, but also of infinitely greater consequence in prolonging life. For, continues he, that medicine which taketh away all the foulness and corruptions of a baser metal, so as to convert it into the purest silver and gold, is by wise men esteemed likewise capable, of wholly purging out the corruptions of the human body, and this, says he, is that extraordinary medicine before mentioned (33). *Nam illa medicina quæ tolleret omnes immunditias et corruptiones vitioris metalli, ut ferret argentum et aurum purissimum, æstimatur a sapientibus posse tollere corruptiones corporis humani in tantum, ut vita per multa secula prolongaret, et hoc est corpus ex elementis temperatum, de quo prius dictum est.* The third prerogative of this science of experiments is, as he tells us, proper and essential thereto, which, without having regard to other sciences, by it's own power investigates the secrets of nature, and this acts doubly, first, in bestowing the knowledge of things, past, present, and to come; and secondly, in admirable operations, far exceeding any thing that can be wrought by what is stiled Judiciary Alrology. In proof of this he alleges, not only many authorities but many instances; he speaks of a kind of bitumen called malta, capable of burning men even through armour; and hints to us that it was by the use of something like gunpowder with which their pots were filled, that Gideon with a handful of men did such dreadful execution in the camp of the Midianites (34), and many other things of a like nature he touches upon; insinuating to the Pope, that where verses, superstitious rites, and charms, are made use of, it is not from any belief in the force of those circumstances, in such as use them, but barely to cover and conceal the wonderful effects of natural causes from the knowledge of the vulgar. He labours therefore assiduously, in the close of his work, to persuade the Pontiff, to whom it is addressed, to countenance and encourage this kind of experimental knowledge, by reason of the many and great advantages, which may be deduced from thence, for the protection of the Church and Common-wealth, and for the reduction of the enemies of both. In reference to the last he maintains, that much greater and more extraordinary things, have been performed by the power of wisdom than by force of arms, of which he assures us, an infinite number of examples might be deduced. 'But I, continues he, will mention but one of all these, which is that of Alexander the Great, who when he marched out of Greece to subdue the whole world, had no more than thirty-two thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse; yet, as Orosius says in his treatise addressed to Augustin, with this handful of people he attempted this great design, in which it is hard to say, whether it be more wonderful that he succeeded, or that he durst undertake it. In his first engagement with King Darius, he slew six hundred

thousand Persians, with the loss of one hundred and twenty horse, and nine foot only of his own army. In the second battle, he destroyed forty thousand men, yet lost of his own army but one hundred and thirty foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, by which, the rest of the afflicted world was easily subdued. But Orosius says, that it was not less by skill than valour that the Macedonians conquered. Nor do I wonder at this, since Aristotle, as we read in his life, attended the King in his wars. And Seneca also in his *Natural Questions* informs us, that Alexander conquered, having Aristotle and Calisthenes for his instructors, who were his masters in all kind of science. But Aristotle was in all respects the chief, and it plainly appears from what has been before said, how by the effects of wisdom Aristotle might deliver up the world to his master Alexander; and this the Church ought to consider in her disputes against Infidels and rebels, that the effusion of Christian blood may be prevented, and more especially upon account of the great dangers to which the Church will be exposed in the times of Antichrist, which, with the blessing of God, may be easily prevented, if Prelates and Princes would promote study, and the searching out the secrets of nature and art (35)."

(35) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 476, 477.

Sed nunc offero unum pro omnibus de Alexandro Magno, qui quum de Græcia profectus esset, ut mundum expugnaret, non habuit peditum nisi triginta duo millia & equitum quatuor millia & quingentos; tamen, ut dicit Orosius ad Augustinum, in libro de Ormesta mundi, inferens hæc tam parva manu bellum universo terrarum orbi, utrum admirabilis sit quod vicit aut quod aggredi ausus fuerit, incertum est. Primo ergo cum Dario rege congressu sexcenta millia Persarum proftravit, sed in suo exercitu centum viginti equites & novem pedites defuere; in secunda vero congressu devicit, quadraginta millia hominum, & de suo exercitu centum triginta pedites et centum quinquaginta equites ceciderunt; per hoc residuum mundi territum facilis subiecit. Sed Orosius dicit, non minus arte quam virtute Macedonum superavit. Nec mirum, cum Aristoteles fuerit cum eo in his bellis, ut legimus in vita Aristotelis. Et etiam Seneca in naturalibus dicit, quod mundum vicit Alexander Aristotele & Calisthene ducibus, quod magistri ei fuerunt in omni sapientia. Sed Aristoteles extitit principalis & facile patet per prædicta, quomodo per vias sapientiæ potuit Aristoteles mundum tradere Alexandro; & hoc deberet ecclesia considerare contra infideles & rebelles ut parcat sanguini Christiano; & maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichristi, quibus cum Dei gratia facile esset obviare, si Prelati & Principes studium promoverent, & secreta naturæ & artis indagarent. Such is the conclusion of this famous piece, of which we have given the English reader, as exact and as full an account as was consistent with the nature of our plan. We were the rather inclined to this, because as this great work was originally written, so it is like to continue, in the Latin tongue, which makes such an extract as we have given, absolutely necessary for the use of such, as cannot with facility go through a folio volume in that language. This extract likewise fully justifies and confirms all that has been delivered in the text, either as to the wonderful abilities, assiduous application, or prodigious progress made by Friar Bacon in all the sciences. Whoever considers either the matter of his Opus Majus or the manner of it, and reflects at the same time on the state of learning in general in the thirteenth century, will need few arguments to convince him, that Roger Bacon was the wonder of his age and country, and in every respect as great and good a man, as he is represented to have been by such as best understood his worth. The learned editor of his work, the ingenious and judicious Dr Jebb observes very truly, that it does not appear from any thing contained in the Opus Majus, that our author Bacon, either meant to defend himself from the imputation of magick, or that he was so much as apprized that ever he was accused thereof to the Pope. But though this appears very clearly, yet I must take leave to observe, that both in this and in all the other works of our author which are still remaining, there are abundance of passages which

(33) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 472.

(34) Judges vii. 20.

(u) Bal. Script.
Brit. p. 342.

(z) Histor. An-
tiquitat. Oxon.
p. 138.

(y) See this point
explained in note
[F].

of his order, procured a confirmation of his sentence from Rome immediately (u), but it is not very easy to say, upon what pretences this condemnation was founded [E]. Yet we are told by others, that he was imprisoned by Reymundus Galfredus, who was General of his order, on account of some Alchemical treatise which he had written but that this man afterwards set him at liberty, and became his scholar (x). However obscure the nature and circumstances of his troubles may be, thus much is clear and certain enough, that they endured for many years, and must have brought him very low, since he was sixty-four years of age when he was first put in prison, and consequently the less able to sustain the hardships he endured, which were without question so much the more grievous, as they deprived him of the opportunity of prosecuting his studies, at least in the way of experiments, for that he was still indulged the use of his books, appears very clearly from the great use he made of them, in the learned works he composed, even under these misfortunes (y). Pope Nicholas III, dying in the year 1280, Simon de Brie, Cardinal of St Cecilia, was elected Pope, and took the title of Martin IV, who with great trouble and perplexity held that dignity about four years, and was then succeeded by Cardinal Savelli, who took the name of Honorius IV, in the year 1285. His reign also was full of troubles and very short, so that we not wonder, that in all this time our

author

shew his great willingness to set the world right about Magick, Necromancy, and other unlawful arts, of which to be sure he thought very justly, and as it became a wise man to do; for it is manifest that he conceived them in many cases to be meer vanities, and the idle delusions of weak minds; that in many other, he looked upon them as fraudulent practices, invented and used by knaves for the better deceiving of fools; and that in some few, he beheld them in the light, of specious but innocent pretences for covering that science, which it was not fit to reveal to the vulgar, and thereby keep up their ignorance with their admiration. But as for our author himself, it is very evident that he was not in the least infected with any of these narrow notions, but would most willingly have communicated all that he knew to the whole republick of Letters, and if ever he seems either to think or to act in a manner different from this, there is the justest reason to conclude that he was forced thereto by the circumstances he was under, of which we shall have occasion to mention some instances, before we part with his memoirs. This Opus Majus of Bacon, was not only addressed or dedicated to Pope Clement IV, but is, in fact, a discourse or epistle written entirely to him, and in which all that is delivered is particularly adapted to his use, yet without any mixture either of meanness or flattery; for our author tells him plainly, that as from the nature of his high office, the welfare or the suffering of the Christian world must, in a great measure depend on him, so it was from a just sense of this, and from a thorough persuasion that he would never be able to instruct others well, if he had not first right notions of true and useful knowledge himself, that he therefore thought himself bound in duty, especially when required thereto by his Holiness's letter, to exhibit this summary of science to his view, that he might the better perceive the consequence of giving a right turn to the studies of the rising generation, and prefer true taste and solid learning to that false shew of both, which had so long and generally prevailed, to the unspeakable detriment both of Church and State.

[E] It is not easy to say on what pretences this condemnation was founded. We need wonder the less at the great uncertainty which attends this matter of fact, if we consider how extremely difficult a thing it is, to obtain clear and perfect lights into matters of this nature, which happen in our own country, and as it were under our eyes. But the difficulty of the thing will not acquit us, from the obligation we are under of giving the best account of this transaction, that at this distance of time can be attained. After the death of his patron Clement IV, Gregory X ascended the pontifical throne, and on his death Innocent V and John XXI succeeded in one year, and to John succeeded Nicholas III (36), in the second year of whose reign our author's doctrine was condemned. The General of his order was at that time, Hieronymus de Efulo, an Italian by birth, and called in his own country, Jerom de Acoli, a man of a severe temper, but one who was neither deficient in probity or learning. He is said to have condemned the doctrine of Friar Bacon at Paris, by the advice of the brethren of his order, to have forbidden any of the brethren to study or follow it, and

to have ordered it's author to be confined in prison, and all this because, as Bale tell us, his books contained some suspected novelties (37). Spondanus sets down the matter in much the same terms (38): 'This year, says he, the doctrine of Roger Bacon, an Englishman, was condemned on account of some suspected novelties, for he who was in all sorts of learning and in every kind of study and science perfectly well versed, and subtle to a miraculous degree, while employed in the most curious discoveries in Mathematicks and Philosophy, to which he was every way equal, was by the vulgar looked upon as a Conjurer and Magician.' Hoc anno inquit, damnata est doctrina Rogerii Baconis Angli, propter aliquas novitates suspectas, quippe qui in omni doctrinae facultatis, et scientia genere versatissimus, et ad miraculum subtilis dum Mathematicam et Philosophiam naturalem curiosius, quam par erat inquireret, vulgò habitus est Praestigiator et Magus. But another author who treats more particularly, of the transactions of the Franciscans here in England informs us, what the several treatises were, which upon this occasion the General of his order condemned, and he reports them to be his several tracts de Necromanticis, de Prognosticis ex stellis, and de Astronomia Vera (39). As to the other story mentioned in the text, it is reported by Anthony Wood, who tells us, he found it at the end of a manuscript formerly belonging to the Earl of Dorset, in these words (40). 'Here ends the brief discourse (verbum abbreviatum) the work of Reymundus Galfredus, General of the order of Friars Minors, which said discourse he had from Brother Roger Bacon, who was of the order of Friars Preachers, which is a mistake, for he was also of the order of Franciscans, and the said Roger for this very work, at the command of the said Reymundus, by the Brethren of the same order was taken and imprisoned; but Reymundus released Roger out of prison, who taught him this work, and the said Roger was himself the disciple of Brother Albert.' Wood likewise tells us, that he met with an entry of the same kind in another Alchemical treatise, titled Breve Brevariarum fratris Rogeri Bacon ex dono Dei, which has been likewise attributed to this Reymundus Galfridus, though it is printed among other Chemical pieces of our author Bacon's in Germany (41). To speak my own opinion freely, I consider this story as an invention of the modern Alchemists, though I can say nothing as to the treatise itself, having never had an opportunity to examine it. This imprisonment of our author, consisted in his being shut up in his apartment in his monastery, in his being deprived of conversation and obliged to a very severe abstinence; all which agreed very little with his free and cheerful disposition; so that one may truly wonder, how, under such oppressions as these, he was able not only to support life, but to maintain such a constancy of mind, as enabled him to revise and augment his former performances, to enlarge his Astronomical tables, and to take all the care he could, his labours should be transmitted with some degree of perfection to posterity (42). But the hopes of having justice done him after death, enabled him to bear the miseries of life; and his confidence, of future fame, lessened the sense of present calamities.

(37) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(38) Anna. A. D. MCCLXXXVIII

(39) Cell. & Anglo-Minor. p. 116.

(40) Histor. et Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

(41) Under the title of 'Rogerii Baconis Thesaurus Chemicus.' Franckfort, 1604, 8vo, and again in 1620.

(36) Rainald. ad A. D. 1269, & 1276.

(42) See this justified from facts in note [F].

[F] On

author could never find an opportunity of applying to the Holy See, for the mitigation or repeal of the sentence pronounced against him (z). But when he had been ten years in prison, Jerom de Ascoli, who had condemned his doctrine, was chosen Pope, and assumed the name of Nicholas IV (a). As he was the first of the Franciscan order that had ever arrived at this dignity, was reputed a person of great probity and much learning, our author, notwithstanding what had before happened, resolved to apply to him for his discharge; and in order to pacify his resentment, and at the same time to shew both the innocence and the usefulness of his studies, he addressed to him a very learned and curious treatise, *On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of old age* (b) [F]. It does not appear

(z) Rainald. An-
nal. A. D. 1287,
§. 4.

(a) Luc. Wad-
ding. Annal. Mi-
nor. 1283, n. 1.

(b) See Dr Jebb's
preface to his
Opus Majes.

[F] *On the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age.* Upon the decease of Pope Honorius IV, the Cardinals then at Rome assembled at his palace, which was near St Sabina, in order to elect a successor. As this happened in the very heat of summer, which is never a very healthy season at Rome, a kind of malignant fever broke out amongst them, which in a very short space carried off six or seven, and so frightened the rest, that they quitted the place of election, and retired each to his own palace; this Jerom de Ascoli, then Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, was the only person that remained in the palace, where he secured his health by a very ingenious and philosophical contrivance; for perceiving that the distemper was bred by the foulness and stagnation of the air, he very wisely directed fires to be made in all the rooms of the palace, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, by which he caused a new and brisk circulation of that fluid, and so preserved himself in perfect health, when his associates despaired of it (43). When the Cardinals unanimously chose the Cardinal of Palestrina, Pope, who, in gratitude to his benefactor Nicholas III, took the name of Nicholas IV. I have mentioned this circumstance attending his election, to shew that he was a person of great abilities, and one who had turned his thoughts to philosophical studies (44). It was in all probability the knowledge of this, that induced Roger Bacon to aim at acquiring his favour by writing this treatise. If it be true that our author was more closely confined by the directions of this Pontiff, I should imagine it must have been in the very beginning of his reign, and that Bacon addressed this book to the Pope, to shew him how falsely he had been represented, and how innocent and useful his studies were. He divided his work into three books, which, as we shall shew hereafter, was the reason, that such as made a catalogue of our author's writings, have represented these as three distinct treatises (45). In the second chapter of his work he discovers the person, (tho' very obscurely) to whom it was addressed, for having laid down these principles, that the infirmities of old age are to be avoided and kept off, first, by a regular course of life, and next, by the use of certain secret and extraordinary medicines, he proceeds thus, 'The doctrine of soberly ordering one's life, teacheth how to oppose, drive away, and restrain, the causes of old age; and this it does by appropriating the six causes distinct in kind, which are reckoned necessary to fence, preserve, and keep the body, which things when they are observed and taken in quantity and quality as they ought, and as the rules of Physicians persuade, do become the true causes of health and strength; but when they are made use of by any man without regard to quality and quantity, they cause sickness, as may be gathered from Galen's regimen with Haly's exposition, where he treats of the regimen of health. But exactly to find out the true proportion of these causes, and the true degree of that proportion, is very hardly, or not at all to be done, but that there will be some defect or excess therein: Thus the sages have prescribed more to be done than can be well put in practice, for the understanding is more subtle in operation, so that the true portioning of these causes seems impossible, unless in bodies of a better nature, such as now are rarely found: But medicines obscurely laid down by the Antients, and as it were concealed, whereof Dioscorides speaks, do make up these defects and proportions, for who can avoid the air infected with putrid vapours, carried about with the force of the winds? Who will measure out meat and drink? Who can weigh, in a sure scale or degree, sleep and watching, motion and rest, and things

that vanish in a moment, and the accidents of the mind, so that they shall neither exceed nor fall short? Therefore it was necessary that the Antients should make use of medicines, which might in some measure preserve the body from alteration, and defend the health of man, oft-times much hurt and afflicted with these things and causes; least the body, utterly eaten up of diseases, should fall to ruin. Now for the benefit of Your Excellency, I have gathered some things out of the books of the Antients, whose virtue and use may avert those inconveniencies, keep off this defect and weakness; may defend the temper of the innate moisture, may hinder the increase and flux of extraneous moisture, and may bring to pass (which usually otherwise happeneth) that the heat of man be not so soon debilitated. But the use of these things and medicines are of no service, nor any thing avails them that neglect the doctrine of the regimen of life; for how can it be, that he who either is ignorant or negligent of diet, should ever be cured by any pains of the Physician, or by any virtue in physick? Wherefore the Physicians and wise men of old time were of opinion, that diet without physick sometimes did good, but that physick without due order of diet never made a man one grain the better. Thence it is reckoned more necessary, that such rather should be treated of which cannot be known, unless of the wife, and those too of a quick understanding, and such as study hard and take a great deal of pains, than those things which are easily known, even as a man reads them. As for my own part, being hindred partly by the charge, partly by impatience, and partly by the rumours of the vulgar, I was not willing to make experiment of all things, which may easily be tried by others, but have resolved to express those things in obscure and difficult terms, which I judge requisite for the conservation of health, lest they should fall into the hands of the Infidels. One of which lies in the bowels of the earth (46); another in the sea (47); the third creeps upon the earth (48); the fourth lives in the air (49); the fifth is likened to the medicine which comes out of the mine of the noble animal (50); the sixth cometh out of the long lived animal (51); the seventh is that whose Mine is the plant of India (52). I have resolved to mention these things obscurely, imitating the precept of the Prince of the Philosophers to Alexander, who said that he is a transgressor of the divine law, who discovers the hidden secrets of nature and the properties of things; because some men desire as much as in them lies to overthrow the divine law, by those properties that God has placed in animals, plants, and stones. But some of these things stand in need of preparation, others of a careful choice: Of preparation, lest with the healthful part poison be swallowed down; of choice, lest among the best those things that are worse be given, and those that are more hurtful be taken.' Thus the reader plainly discerns, that the obscurities in this treatise of our author, are not such as proceeded from vanity, affectation, respect to custom, or any other weakness of mind; but from pure concern for his own safety, and fear of drawing upon himself greater evils than he had yet suffered. This treatise was first printed at Oxford in 1590, and has been since translated into English by Dr Richard Browne, under the title of *The Cure of Old Age and Preservation of Youth. Shewing how to cure and keep off the accidents of Old Age, and how to preserve the Youth, Strength, and Beauty of Body, and the Senses, and all the Faculties of both Body and Mind; by that great Mathematician and Physician Roger Bacon, a Franciscan Friar* (53): He added notes upon every chapter of this

43) Luc. Wad-
ding. Annal. Mi-
nor. A. D. 1283.

44) Fleury, Hi-
toire Ecclesia-
stique, liv. 83.

45) See the ca-
logue of his
works from Le-
and, Pitts, and
Sale, in note
[X].

(46) Gold.

(47) Coral.

(48) The Viper.

(49) Rosemary.

(50) This has not
hitherto been ex-
plained.

(51) Bone of a
Stag's heart.

(52) Lignum
Aloes.

(53) London:
Printed for T.
Fleisher at the
Angel and Crown,
and Edward E-
verts at the Green
Dragon in St
Paul's Church-
Yard, 1683, 8vo.

appear however, that either his application, or the method he took to soften his Holiness's temper, had any great effect; on the contrary, some writers say, that he caused him to be more closely confined (c). But however that matter might be, towards the latter end of his reign, Fryar Bacon, by the interposition of some noblemen, obtained his release, and returned to Oxford, where, at the request of his friends, and very probably of those who were most instrumental in obtaining his liberty, he composed, old as he was, and after all the hard usage he had met with, *A Compendium of Theology*, which seems to have been his last work (d) [G]. He spent the remainder of his days in peace, and dying in the college of his order, on the eleventh of June, 1292 (e), as some say, or in 1294 (f), as others assert, was interred in the church of the Franciscans (g) [H]. These are all the circumstances, that with the utmost care and diligence we have been able to collect, concerning the life and actions of this great man, whose deep science and vast penetration, enabled him to make such a prodigious progress in all useful knowledge, that even the wisest and ablest men of later times, read his works with astonishment, and readily confess, that he was well distinguished (however ill they treated him in other respects) by the title the Monks gave him of *Doctor Mirabilis* (b) [I], or, the Wonderful Doctor, which most certainly he deserved, in whatever sense

(c) Hist. & Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(d) See this explained in note [G].

(e) Hist. Johan. Rossi, p. 92.

(f) Dr Jebb gives us this date in his preface.

(g) Thom. Rudburne Chron. five Histor. MS.

(b) Pits. de illustr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

this work, and explains therein the phrases by which our author concealed his secret medicines. He will have that *which lives in the air* to be *Rosemary*, but I have seen some Latin annotations in which it is supposed to be *Rue*, the reader will judge of these interpretations as he thinks fit. It may not be amiss to observe, that Dr Browne likewise explains the fifth medicine, which is said to resemble *what comes out of the mine of the noble animal*, and he conceives it to be the youthful heat of a maid, and cites the instance of *Abibag*, who was given for this purpose to King *David*; others have thought that it was an extract or quintessence of *human blood*, and some again have fancied that it was some kind of *precious stone*; for my own part I must confess, it does not appear to me so clearly, as that I dare pronounce what it is, but it sufficiently appears, that none of these interpretations can satisfy a rational enquirer, especially one who is well acquainted with our author's exactness. It were to be wished that some ingenious and skilful physician would review this work, and compare it with others of the same kind, more especially with that excellent treatise written by the Lord Chancellor Bacon (54) upon the same subject; by which method many discoveries might be made, and this most important topic set in a light capable of being turned to the advantage, whereas hitherto it has served for little more than the amusement, of mankind.

[G] *A Compendium of Theology, which seems to have been his last work.* This work, of which there is still a copy preserved in the royal library, is divided into two parts; in the first of which the author proposes, by a free enquiry into the nature of true science, to find out the causes of errors, and the several manners in which men have erred in this study, that truth, and the proper method of pursuing it, might the more evidently appear; in the second, he makes it his business to establish capital truths, and to unfold and expose all sorts of errors and mistakes (55). But it is at least probable from the titles of various MSS. that our author afterwards added three other treatises, or parts, to this work (56) of his, which we should not have mentioned particularly, if it had not afforded us an opportunity of fixing the date of this book, and consequently in some measure of our author's life, since it is certain that he did not long survive the writing it; for in this book he tells us, that among the forward and rash professors, whose vehemence and impetuosity contributed greatly to the hindrance of true learning, he knew one Richard of Cornwall, the worst and foolishlest of them all, who was in great credit with the silly multitude, though despised and rejected by the wiser sort, at Paris, for the errors which he invented and propagated, when he read there publicly the sentences before he read at Oxford, which was in the year 1250, from which time, says he, to the present, many of this man's errors still prevail, though it be now forty years ago and more. *Et optime novissimum & subtilissimum istorum, qui vocatus est Richardus Cornubiensis, famosissimus apud sultam multitudinem, sed apud sapientis fuit infamis & probatus Parisiis propter errores quas invenerat & promulgaverat, quando solemniter legebat sententias ibidem, prius quam legeret sententias Oxoniae ab anno Domini*

1250. *Ab illo 1250, igitur tempore remansit multitudo in hujus magistri erroribus usque nunc, sc. per quadraginta annos & amplius* (57). It is sufficiently evident from this passage, that our author did not compose this work before the year 1291, and as he made several additions to it he must have lived some time longer, but as to the exact time of his death, we shall give the reader the best account of it we can in the succeeding note.

[H] *Was interred in the church of the Franciscans.* The time of this great man's death, is as differently reported as are most of the accidents of his life; and we may justly attribute thereto, many of the mistakes that have been made about his history and writings, and therefore we shall labour to clear up this point, as far as at this distance of time it is possible. The famous Leland tells us, that he died at Oxford, and was buried in the church of the Franciscans in the year 1248 (58), which is very amazing, since he elsewhere tells us, that he both dedicated and sent his works to Pope Clement IV, who did not arrive at that dignity till the year 1265: It must however be allowed, that this mistake was occasioned by the setting down the time of Robert Bacon's death for that of Roger's, which in all probability the author would have corrected, if he had lived to put the last hand to his own work (59). Bale changes the date which Leland has given us, and places his death in 1284 (60), which is also a little strange, since he had seen his work, on the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age, which was writ in 1288 at the soonest. This error is transcribed by Pits, as indeed almost all Bale's errors are, notwithstanding he takes particular notice, not only of the book which he addressed to Pope Nicholas IV, but also of Bacon's Compendium of Theology, which he tells us, was contained with other treatises of our author's in two volumes, in the library of the Lord Lumley, which book; as we have clearly shewn, was written at least eight years after the time, which this author has fixed for his death (61). The learned Dr Cave speaks expressly of his being imprisoned at the command of Pope Nicholas IV (62), and says, that he did not know whether he was released or not, and yet he places his death in 1284, which is three years before Pope Nicholas was raised to that dignity, in which he is implicitly followed by Oudin, who is otherwise a very diligent and careful writer (63). Anthony Wood, from two MSS. which he mentions, fixes his death to the eleventh of June 1292; to which date the learned Dr Freind, who had taken great pains in the perusal of our author's works, adheres (64). The excellent editor of his *Opus Majus*, however, places it in 1294, about which time also, he thinks, his *Compendium of Theology* was written (65).

[I] *By the title they gave him of Doctor Mirabilis.* It was the custom of those times, to distinguish the characters of eminent scholars by such kind of appellations. Thus St *Thomas Aquinas* was called *Doctor Angelicus*, or the Angelic Doctor; *Johannes Duns Scotus*, *Doctor Subtilis*, or the Subtile Doctor; *William Ockham*, *Doctor Singularis*, or the Singular Doctor; but none of them were more expressive or à propos than this given our author, who appears as wonderful to us at the distance of four hundred and fifty years, as to the Monks of his order, who were his

(57) Compend. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

(58) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 239.

(59) Ibid. p. 286.

(60) Script. Britan. p. 344.

(61) De illustr. Britan. Scriptis. p. 369.

(62) Hist. Lit. Vol. II. p. 325.

(63) De Script. et Scriptis Ecclies. Tom. III. col. 191.

(64) History of Physick, Vol. II. p. 235.

(65) See the close of his preface before the *Opus Majus*.

(54) His noble History of Life and Death. See also note [R].

(55) Prefat. ad Compend. studii Theolog.

(56) Oudin, de Script. et Script. Ecclies. Tom. III. col. 196.

ſenſe the phraſe is taken. But it is not ſufficient to obſerve this in general terms, the fame of the man, the reſpect due to truth, and the regard we owe to the honour of our country, which in point of literary credit, has nothing greater to boaſt than the glory of producing ſuch a genius, require from us a more exact, authentick, and particular diſplay of his diſcoveries, in order to juſtify what has been already ſaid in his praife, and what will be hereafter delivered on the ſame ſubject, from the teſtimonies of others. If by doing this methodically, we can ſet his merits in a clearer and fuller light, or add any thing new on ſo curious and ſo important a ſubject, it will ſufficiently atone for the labour it requires, by adding to the pleaſure of the ingenious and inquiſitive reader. To begin then with the languages, which he thought the foundation of all true learning, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the peruſal of the beſt authors in ſeveral ſciences, in their originals; he not only underſtood them ſufficiently for that purpoſe, but was alſo a perfect maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and has left poſterity ſuch indubitable marks of his critical ſkill in them, as might have ſecured him a very high character, more eſpecially conſidering the age in which he lived, if he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any other branch of literature. But his various knowledge in other reſpects, has made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be (i) [K]. In all branches of the Mathematicks he was wonderfully well verſed, and there is ſcarce any part of them, on which he has not written with a ſolidity and clearneſs, which have been deſervedly admired by the greateſt maſters in that kind of ſcience. In reſpect to Mechanicks particularly, the learned Dr. Freind ſays very juſtly, that a greater genius had not ariſen ſince the days of Archimedes (k), the truth of which the reader will readily allow, when he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes [L]. He underſtood likewiſe the whole ſcience of Optics, to a ſurprizing degree

(i) Thomæ Caii Vindic. Antiquit. Academ. Oxon. p. 436.

(k) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 235.

his contemporaries. Yet it is currently reported, that for ſome time, our author's books were perfecuted with as much malice as his perſon, as Dr Browne tells us, in his ſhort account of this great man's life; 'Many of Bacon's works, ſays he, and of Groſt-head's alſo, curiouſly written and well bound, were by ſome ignorant men, that would be accounted ſcholars, when they could not underſtand them, condemned for books of the Black Art, and ſo faſtened with long nails to the boards, they either became food for worms or moths, or rotted with mould and duſt.' This account was originally taken from John Twine (66). But Dr Langbain, who had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing Bacon's works, was far from being ſatiſfied as to the truth of it, as appears by the following paſſage, in a letter of his to the learned Selden, dated January the 20th 1653: 'I doubt whether the ſtory be probable, as the ſcene is laid by Twine, where Abbot Voche ſpeaks it, as done before his time, which, if true, I think, would not have eſcaped the knowledge of Leland; and conſidering he was ſo much an admirer of Bacon, and withal ſo highly angry with that houſe, for making his accels into their library ſo difficult, I do not ſee well how he could omit to have taken notice of it, &c. Though it be no neceſſary conſequence in Logick, to argue *ab auctoritate negativè*, yet this authority, all circumſtances conſidered, makes it to me very probable (67). It is true, Leland ſays nothing of this particular, but he ſays, that it was as difficult to collect the works of Roger Bacon, as to find the Sibyls leaves. Another argument to prove that his fame and writings long laboured under the calumnies and aſperſions of the Monks, is the character afforded him by Biſhop Bale in the firſt edition of his work, when he was under thoſe prejudices reſulting from education, and had not applied himſelf, as he afterwards did, to the peruſal of our antient writers. We may add to this, the reports ſpread to his prejudice abroad, which could ariſe from nothing but the bold aſſertions of the Monks, who could not ſuſtain their own characters but at the expence of his, ſince they had perfecuted him ſo cruelly in his life-time, and that wholly on account of his writings. But what ſeems to put this matter out of diſpute, is the condition of ſcience in the next century; for had Roger Bacon's books been regarded or ſtudied, it muſt have been where it is at this day, our greateſt men having gone very little beyond him, whereas, in fact, it ſunk lower than where he found it.

[K] *Made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be.* It is very certain from the account given us by Bacon himſelf, that Grammar was at a very low ebb in his time, and as for the learned languages they were not underſtood, at leaſt to any tolerable degree, by above three or four perſons whom he names. It is really matter of wonder

how in ſuch an age he became ſo excellently knowing himſelf, for he was not only acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but with the Chaldee alſo, and was able to write grammars in them all. That part of his Opus Majus which treats of this ſubject is exceedingly curious and entertaining, in as much as it is written with a critical exactneſs (68). He ſhews his Holineſs therein, that all ſciences, human and divine, depend in ſome meaſure upon the languages; and in ſhewing this, he not only uſes the authorities of the Fathers and Doctours of the Chriſtian Church, and of the Philoſophers, but alſo of the Poets, particularly Horace and Statius; and he obſerves very pertinently, that the reading their works ſhould be encouraged, for the ſake of delighting the minds of young people, and engaging them to apply themſelves with diligence to the ſtudy of the languages; he even defends to pronunciation and quantity, which ſhews with how great accuracy he had ſtudied this ſubject, and how perfectly he was acquainted with every branch of it. To do him juſtice, the method and ſtile of his works, are as admirable as the matter of them, not that I would be underſtood to mean, he was a claſſical writer, for in that perhaps I might go beyond the truth, but his Latin ſtile is neat, ſtrong, and remarkably expreſſive, nor was there any writer of his age, perhaps we might carry it farther, that either knew how to range his matter better, or to bring it into a ſhorter compaſs; ſo that in all his treatiſes on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, he ſeems to have written with equal facility and judgment, leaving nothing perplexed or obſcure, either from a want or from a redundancy of words. It is very ſurprizing that ſome learned men have cenſured him, for believing it poſſible to teach the learned languages in a very ſhort compaſs of time, but it muſt be owned, that they were led into theſe miſtakes for want of being well acquainted with his writings; ſince before his Opus Majus was publiſhed, it was impoſſible to conceive any true notion of it's contents, and therefore, we need the leſs wonder at the miſtaken judgments that were paſſed upon it, or rather upon the ſeveral treatiſes of which it is compoſed, and which nobody, till that work appeared, conceived to have any relation to each other, much leſs that they formed, as they really do, a compleat ſyſtem of learning; but the reader being already acquainted with the plan and diſpoſition of that great work, will have acquired ſuch an idea of it, as muſt enable him to enter perfectly into the truth and juſtice of theſe obſervations, and therefore I will dwell on them no longer.

[L] *When he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes.* This occurs in the ſmall tract ſo often mentioned, which was one of the firſt publiſhed of our author's works, and intitled *Epistoſa Fratris Rogerii Baconis, de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ; et de nullitate Magia: .i.e.* 'An epiſtle of brother

(66) Comment. de rebus Albionis, lib. ii. p. 130.

(67) The original letter, Dr Jebb tells us, is in the hands of Edward Burton, Esq;

(68) See his treatiſe de Uſilitate Grammaticæ in his Opus Majus, p. 44.

(1) Hist. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 122.

degree of accuracy and exactness, and is very justly allowed to have understood, both the theory and practice of those discoveries, which have bestowed such high reputation on those of our own and of other nations, who have brought them into common use (1) [M].

In

‘ brother Roger Bacon, concerning the secret works ‘ of Art and Nature, and the non-entirety of Magick.’ In this very curious treatise, our author very clearly states the means of working upon nature, and heightning the wonders she produces by the power of art, and in the fourth chapter of this work, he proposes to speak of wonderful instruments which may be artificially contrived, by which, says he, such things may be done without the help of Magick, as indeed Magick is unable and incapable of performing. *For a vessel may be so constructed, and oars therein so disposed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another vessel fully manned.* Several authors tell us, that this has been attempted since the time of Bacon, and the German author who wrote notes upon this treatise of Bacon’s, expressly affirms, that one Thomas Norton made such a boat, in which while he sat reading or writing, he quickened or retarded it’s motion at pleasure. He likewise says, that one Hornington of Suffex invented a mill which went of itself; and some other instances he gives, of which he was an eye-witness at London (69): But as to the invention mentioned by our author, it has been practised on the canals in Flanders and Holland with some degree of success; and a writer who is allowed to be an excellent judge of things of this nature, declares his opinion, that this scheme will be one day brought to perfection, and such vessels come into use (70). But let us hear our author again: *It is possible, says he, to make a chariot, which without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force, which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the antients fought.* Something of this kind we are told has been attempted in China with success, which is the more credible, since it is certain that one Thomas Stevens, a celebrated Mathematician of the XVIth century, invented a kind of machine with masts and sails, which ran on plain ground at the rate of two leagues an hour, and which was used by Maurice Prince of Orange (71). *It is possible also, says our author, to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings, so as to divide and pass through the air. It is no less possible to make a machine of a very small size, and yet capable of raising or sinking the greatest weights, which may be of infinite use on certain occasions, for by the help of such an instrument not above three inches high or less, a man may be able to deliver himself and his companions out of prison, and to ascend or descend at pleasure.* This is a direct proof that our author was acquainted with the perpetual screw. He speaks also in the same chapter of machines for diving, and of flying bridges that may be thrown at pleasure for the passage of armies over rivers, assuring us, that except the instrument for flying, he had seen and experienced all the rest, and that he very well knew the author of that invention. We need not wonder that a man, who understood and described such amazing machines, and, who, by frequent experiments, plainly shewed, that he was not either a vain or a credulous person, should pass in those days for something more than man, and, in spite of all he writ to prove the contrary, for a magician; and perhaps there are countries even in Europe, where if a person attempted things of this nature, he might yet fall under the like imputation. But what made reflections of this kind on Roger Bacon more inhuman than upon any other man, was his plain and honest manner of communicating these things, not as wonders and prodigies, the effects of a secret and miraculous art, but as the genuine produce of true science, the principles of which he offered to teach and to explain; so that he published these discoveries, not to astonish or amuse mankind, but to encourage and excite them to a vigorous search after true knowledge, by which they might have been convinced, that mathematical science was much superior to Magick.

[M] And of other nations who have brought them into common use. The design of this note is no more than to satisfy the reader of the truth of what is advanced in the text; in doing of which we shall

partly rely on the evidence derived from our author’s own writings, and in part, on the authorities of such learned men of our own and of other countries, as have been universally allowed proper judges of the subject. In respect to the science of Perspective, he took incredible pains, not only in the theory, but the practice, in which he spent considerable sums, that he might bring into some method a science, which was then understood but by very few; and he tells us, that no lectures had been read upon it at Paris, and but twice at Oxford, and that there were but three who had any skill in it (72). However, these persons made such prodigious advances in it, that, as Dr Jebb observes, they seem to have left nothing for posterity to add to the perfection of their instruments. Bacon has very accurately described the uses of reading glasses, and shewn the way of making them, as appears from the following passage from his Opus Majus. *Si vero homo aspiciat literas & alias res minutas per medium crystalli, vel vitri, vel alterius speculi, suppositi literis & sit portio minor spheræ, cujus convexitas sit versus oculum & oculus sit in ære longe melius, videbis literas & apparebant, ei majores & ideo hoc instrumentum est utile senibus & habentibus oculos debiles. Nam literam quantumcumque parvum possunt videre insufficienti magnitudine* (73). This point is also admitted by the very learned Professor, Peter van Muschenbroeck of Leyden, who attributes to our author the invention of reading-glasses (74). Dr Freind likewise remarks, that he describes the camera obscura, and all sorts of glasses which magnify or diminish any object, bring it nearer to the eye or remove it farther off (75). Bacon tells us also himself, that he had made great numbers of burning-glasses, and that there were none ever in use among the Latins, till his friend Peter de Maharn Curia, had applied himself to the making of them. He informs us in another passage of his writings, that this Peter had already laboured three years about one glass, which was to burn at a certain distance, and that he would soon compleat it through the favour of God; tho’ the Latins knew not how to do that, nor was it ever attempted by them, notwithstanding, says he, we have books concerning the method of forming glasses of that kind (76). We may observe likewise, that Thomas Galileo ascribes the invention of the optic tube or telescope to himself (77), and Peter Borellus contends, that the honour of it is due to Zachary Joannides, a citizen of Middleburgh (78), yet it is evident, the invention was known to our author from a passage wherein he tells us, that he was able to form glasses in such a manner, with respect to our sight and the objects, that the rays shall be refracted and reflected wherever we please; so that we may see a thing under what angle we think proper, either near or at a distance, and be able to read the smallest letters at an incredible distance, and to count the dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see the objects; and also that we shall scarce see the greatest bodies near us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we see them. It is very clear, that he made use of his telescope in his astronomical observations, from what he says in his Opus Tertium, dedicated to Pope Clement, concerning such things as were necessary for completing those astronomical tables which he designed: ‘ But, says he, what is much more requisite than these things, is to have men who understand Perspective and the instruments of it very well, because the instruments of Astronomy are only made use of by sight, according to the laws of that science (79). The learned Dr Plott, for the honour of the city and university of Oxford, considers the invention of the telescope at large, and declares, that without wrestling of words or begging favourable constructions, it is very possible to prove, that Friar Bacon was either the inventor or improver of that useful instrument. How able he is to make good his assertion will best appear from his own words, since in matters of this nature, it is but fair to let an author speak for himself, especially when, as in this case, we make use at once both of his arguments and his authority (80).

(72) Opus tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. cot. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(73) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 236.

(74) Elements of Natural Philosophy, Vol. II. p. 130.

(75) History of Physick, Vol. II. p. 236.

(76) Compend. Stud. Theol. MS. Reg. P. II. c. 1. p. 5.

(77) Libel. rogator. ad Kemp. Holland.

(78) De vero Telescopii Inventore.

(79) Opus Tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. cot. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(80) Natural Hist. of Oxfordshire, p. 215.

(69) See the notes of P. S. on this treatise, in Mangetus’s Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa, Tom. I. p. 625.

(70) See Deslandes, Hist. critique de la Philosophie. Vol. III. p. 320.

(71) Voss. de Scient. Mathemat. c. 57.

In Geography also he was admirably well skilled, as appears from a variety of passages in his works, which shew that he was far better acquainted with the situation, extent, and inhabitants, even of the most distant countries, than many who made that particular science their study, and wrote upon it in succeeding times. This I suppose was the reason, which induced the judicious Hackluyt to transcribe a large discourse out of his writings, into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels (m) [N]. But his skill in Astronomy, was still more amazing, since it plainly appears, that he not only pointed out that error, which occasioned the reformation in the calendar (n), that has given rise to the distinction between the old stile and the new, but also offered a much more effectual and perfect reformation, than this which was made in the time of Pope Gregory XIII [O]. There

(m) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III.

(n) Histor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

That this learned Friar understood all sorts of glasses, and to order and adapt them to such like purposes (not to cite other places that might easily be brought) I think I may with truth as well as confidence affirm, from the unconstrained sense of his own words in his book of Perspective (81). *Si vero corpora non sunt plana per quæ visus videt, sed spherica; tunc est magna diversitas, nam vel concavitas corporis est versus oculum, vel convexitas.* But, says he, if the glasses be not plain, (having treated of them before) but spherical, the case is much otherwise, for either the concavity of the glass is next the eye, or the convexity, &c. Now that he used these glasses in celestial observations, is altogether as evident from the same book, where he proceeds in these words (82). *De visione fracta majora sunt, nam de facili patet, maxima posse apparere minima, & è contra; & longe distantia videbantur propinquissime, & e converso; sic etiam faceremus solem & lunam & stellas descendere secundum apparentiam hic inferius, &c.* Greater things are performed if the vision be refracted, for (by refraction) 'tis easily made appear, that the greatest things may be represented less, and little things as the greatest, and that things afar off may be represented near. Thus we can make the sun, and moon, and stars, to all appearance, to come down to us here below, &c.

(81) Perspectiv. par. iii. dist. 2. cap. 3.

(82) Ibid. dist. ult.

(83) Cap. 5.

Again, in his epistle *ad Parisensem* concerning the secret works of art and nature (83). *Possunt enim sic figurari perspicua, ut longissime posita, appareant propinquissima, & e contrario; ita quod ex incredibili distantia legeremus literas minutissimas, & numeravimus res quantumcumque parvas, & stellas faceremus apparere quo vellemus.* Glasses may be so figured, that things the most remote may appear near, so that at an incredible distance we may read the smallest character, and number things though never so small; and lastly, make stars appear as near as we please; and these things he says in another place, were to the illiterate so formidable and amazing, *ut animus mortalis ignorans veritatem non possit aliquantulum sustinere* (84), that no mortal, ignorant of the means, could possibly bear it; wherein this learned Franciscan did so far excel the antient Magicians, that whereas they represented the moon's approach by their magical charms, he brought her lower with greater innocence, and with his glasses did that in truth, which the antient poets always put in a fable. All which put together, it must necessarily be confessed that he had some such instrument, though not so trimly made, 'tis like, as our telescopes are now, in favour of which truth much more might be alledged, did I not think this sufficient to vince it to the unprejudiced reader. Such is the judgment of this curious and able man, and such the reasons on which it is founded, and which we may safely add, are such as cannot be refuted.

(84) Perspect. P. iii. dist. 3.

[N] A large discourse out of his writings into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels.] I mention this circumstance for the honour of both authors. It was the design of Hackluyt in his excellent collections, to instruct, to exhort, and to raise the emulation of his countrymen, by shewing them what was known to, and what had been performed by, their ancestors, and not to amuse his reader with strange tales and wonderful relations (85). It was this design, that led him to enquire after the best writers of our country upon these subjects, as this brought him acquainted with the works of Bacon, which he soon found were extremely fit for his purpose. What he has published, is taken out of that part of our author's Opus Majus, in which he treats expressly of Geography, and gives

(85) See his several prefaces and dedications to the different parts of his collections.

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so clear and plain, so full, and yet so succinct, an account of the then known world, as, I believe, is scarce to be found in any other writer, either of the past or present age (86). What is published in this collection of voyages, relates to the countries between the Danube and the utmost extremities of Tartary (87). A field sufficiently large for any man's abilities, and in which he has shewn his own in an amazing degree; for whoever reads this fragment of his, as it stands in this English collection, will evidently see, that as he spared no pains to make himself absolutely master of all the new discoveries which that age afforded; so he likewise knew how to make a right judgment of those discoveries, so as to dispose them in the properest manner, for the improvement of useful knowledge. It likewise very plainly appears, that he had a very just notion of the country of the Tartars, of the empire of China, and of all the adjacent kingdoms, which are scarce any where to be found more clearly, or more properly described, than in this discourse. We must therefore allow it is true for the credit of our author, that as soon as true learning revived, his works came again into credit, so that all who studied to bring useful knowledge into repute, had recourse to the works of Bacon, and brought them out of the dust of libraries, where they had been long buried, into daylight and by a necessary consequence into reputation.

(86) Bacon's Opus Majus, p. 223 — 235.

(87) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III.

[O] A more effectual and perfect reformation than this in the time of Gregory XIII.] The first thing to be observed in this note is, that our author saw and demonstrated the errors in the Kalendar, without any assistance, and purely from the knowledge he had in Astronomy. He observes indeed, that the mistake about the length of the year, was commonly known and objected to the Church, but he says nobody durst attempt to mend it, without the authority of a General Council. To facilitate the amending so scandalous an error, he offers his assistance to the utmost of his power, and speaking to Pope Clement IV, he thus lays open both the causes of this mistake, and the means by which it might be remedied. *Julius Cæsar, says he,* being well skilled in Astronomy, settled, as well as it was possible in his time, the Kalendar, and, as history informs us, maintained in Egypt, against Achorius the Astronomer, and Eudoxus, his notion of the length of the solar year, upon which our computation is founded. Hence it is, that the poet Lucan brings him in speaking thus:

Non meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus.

Nor shall Eudoxus change my settled year.

But Julius however, did not discover the exact length of the year, for he has fixed it in our kalendar at three hundred and sixty five days and the fourth of a day, which fourth part is collected once in four years, so that in the bissextile year, one day more is reckoned in every fourth year than in the common years. It is however manifest, not only by the old and new computation, but is also known from astronomical observations, that the solar year is not of that length but somewhat shorter, and this small difference, wise men have computed to be the one hundred and thirtieth part of a day. So that in the space of one hundred and thirty years, there is a superfluous day taken in, which if it were taken away, our calendar would be corrected as to this fault; and therefore, as all things in our computation depend upon the quantity of the solar year, it is necessary to recede from this position, when it thus appears to be a fundamental error. From hence there arises still a greater error, that is, in fixing the equinoxes and solstices; and this error not only arises from the quantity of

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are also remaining, some works of his relating to Chronology, which would have been thought worthy of very particular notice, if his skill in other sciences had not made his proficiency in this branch of knowledge the less remarkable. But it may not be amiss to observe, that he was perfectly well versed in the history of the four great empires of the world, which he has treated very accurately and succinctly, in his great work addressed to Pope Clement IV. (o). He was so thoroughly acquainted with Chemistry, at a time too that it was scarce known in Europe, though it had been long cultivated among the Arabians, that Dr Freind says truly, it is no more than doing justice, to ascribe the honour of introducing it to this our countryman, who, as he likewise says, speaks in some part or other of his works, of almost every operation now used in Chemistry, and describes the method of making tinctures and elixirs (p). But we must not so hastily pass over his excellency in this art, since there are no less than three capital discoveries made by him, which deserve to be particularly considered. The first is, the invention of gun-powder, which, however confidently ascribed to others, was unquestionably known to him, both in regard to it's ingredients and effects (q) [P].

(o) Opus Majus, p. 169, et seq.

(p) Freind's History of Physick, Vol. II. p. 234.

(q) See the proof of this in the note [P].

(88) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 169, 170.

the year, but has also very mischievous consequences; for the equinoxes and solstices are thereby fixed to certain days, as if they really happened upon them, and were so to happen for ever (88): But it is certain from Astronomy, which cannot lye, that they attend in the kalendar, as by the help of tables and instruments may be unquestionably proved. Thus far we have used our author's words, but to avoid prolixity, we will content ourselves now with pursuing his sense only. He observes, that this error with respect to the equinoxes and solstices was so great, as not only to disgust the learned, but to fall under the notice of every ploughman, for the Church having originally fixed the vernal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of April, and the autumnal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of October, that is, on the twenty fifth of March and twenty fourth of September, they were now risen, that is, at the time he wrote, the one to the thirteenth of March, and the other to the sixteenth of September. He collects from these observations, that the equinoxes ascend about one day in one hundred and twenty-five years, and he therefore proposes, that the alteration of the kalendar should be made, not from the time afterwards fixed by the council of Nice, but according to the places which the equinoxes and solstices held at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and this he thought might very well be known, from an observation made by Ptolemy in his Almagest, who, one hundred and forty years after the birth of Christ, found the vernal equinox to have been on the twenty-second of March, and the winter solstice on the twenty-second of December, upon which he founds his computation of their rising one day in one hundred and twenty-five years. It must be owned, that this reasoning of his is very clear and exact, and not very far from the truth, for according to this method of computing, the vernal equinox should have risen this year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, to the eleventh of March, whereas it happened on the ninth. He goes on to shew very clearly, what prodigious inconveniencies must necessarily attend the suffering this error to continue, and therefore he concludes, that it was then high time to apply a remedy to these palpable mistakes, which brought so much shame and scandal upon the Church. For, says he, all who are versed in computations and Astronomy know these mistakes well, and deride the Prelates for their ignorance, in not suffering them to be corrected, and the Infidel Philosophers, Arabians, Jews, and Greeks, who live amongst Christians in Spain, in the East, and many other parts of the world, abhor the folly that appears in settling the times, on which the solemn festivals of the Church are celebrated, and this too, when Christians are skilful enough in Astronomy to settle all these points as they should be. Your Reverence therefore may command, and there will be found persons every way capable of applying proper remedies in these respects, and not only to these, but to the defects of the whole kalendar; for there are no less than thirteen radical errors, which have almost an infinite number of branches. If therefore this glorious work could be done in the reign of your Holiness, it would be one of the greatest, best, and fairest performances, that ever was attempted in the Church of God (89). Our author afterwards framed a kalendar for this very purpose, a fair and perfect MS copy of which was once in the hands

(89) Ibid. p. 179, 180.

of Mr Theyer of Gloucestershire. There is also another transcript of this kalendar in the Bodleian library at Oxford (90). Dr Plot, who had seen Mr Theyer's copy (91), discourses farther on this subject thus, 'From which, or some other kalendar of his, Paulus Middleburgenfis, Bishop of Fossombrone, in the dukedom of Urbin, stole half of his great volume, which he calls his Paulina, concerning the true time of keeping Easter, and day of the passion of our Lord Jesus, directed to Pope Leo X, in order to the reformation of the Roman kalendar and ecclesiastical cycles, written just in the same order and method, generally and particularly, as Roger Bacon long before had done to Clement IV, and yet full slender mention, (says Dr Dee (92), doth this Bishop make of him, though his chief instructor in the best part of the matter contained in his book: In which design, though the plagiary were unsuccessful, his endeavours being frustrated for a time, yet 'twas he that stirred up Nicholas Copernicus, (as the fame Nicholas honestly confesses, in an epistle of his to Paul III (93),) more accurately to observe the motions of the sun and moon, and thence to define the quantities of years and months, more truly than they were before in the Julian kalendar; upon whose foundations Aloufius, and the rest of the sumptuous college of Mathematicians at Rome, having built their reformation, it is easily deducible, that whatever has been done in this matter, from the time of Friar Bacon to that of Pope Gregory XIII, must in a great measure be ascribed to him, their whole reformation scarce differing from his (94). In fact however, as Dr Plot also observes, it was not only stolen from our author Bacon, but manifestly injured by those who had the direction of that reformation, and who might have made it much more effectual, and have carried it back as he advised, not to the Nicene Council, but quite to the nativity of our Lord; for then the vernal equinox this year, would have been placed much nearer the true time than it is, and the kalendar have sooner become perfect (95). The learned editor therefore of the Opus Majus, Dr Jebb, had reason to say of this proposal of our author's to Pope Clement IV, that it was one of the noblest efforts of human industry (96). It is indeed, considered in all it's circumstances, one of the most stupendious instances of the force of human understanding that has been recorded, and will do honour to our learned countryman's memory as long as the sun and moon endure (97).

[P] Was unquestionably known to him both in regard to it's ingredients and effects. It is in the first place to be observed, that our author died near one hundred years before the invention of gun-powder, according to the ordinary computation; but that he was really acquainted with the secret, such as have examined his works have readily confessed, and the only question is, whether he has or has not fully revealed this secret. We shall have occasion to say something new upon this head, and which has not hitherto ever been taken notice of, but we will first lay down what has been generally advanced on this subject. In the sixth chapter of his famous work of the Secrets of Nature and Art, he tells us, 'That from salt-petre and other ingredients, we are able to make a fire that shall burn at what distance we please.' In omnem distantiam quam volumus, pos-

(90) No. 2458, F. 9. Cod. 5. n. 3.

(91) Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 225.

(92) Proposal to Queen Elizabeth and her Council, concerning the reformation of the vulgar kalendar. MS. in Bibliothec. C. C. C. Oxon. lit. Z. fol.

(93) In Praefat. in libros revolutionum.

(94) See Holder's Account of Time, and of the Julian and Gregorian Kalendar.

(95) They fix it as the Nicene Council did, to March 21.

(96) In his preface to the Opus Majus.

(97) See Petavius's Account of this matter in his Doctrinae Temporalis, lib. vii. cap. 12.

The second is that which commonly goes under the name of *Alchemy*, or the art of transmuting metals, of which he has left many treatises, some published, and some still remaining in MS. which, whatever they may be thought of now, procured him the reputation of an adept, among the greatest masters in that mysterious branch of learning; and in which writings, there are, without doubt, a multitude of curious and useful passages, which, independent of their principal subject, will render them always valuable (r) [Q]. The third discovery in Chemistry which deserves the reader's attention,

(r) Boerhave's Chemistry, Vol. I. p. 28, 29.

sumus artificialiter componeva ignem comburentem ex sale petræ et aliis. He likewise mentions other methods of doing the same thing, and then speaking of the effects of these strange fires, he says, 'That sounds like thunder, and coruscations may be formed in the air, and even with greater horror than those which happen naturally; for a little matter, properly disposed, about the bigness of a man's thumb, makes a dreadful noise, and occasions a prodigious coruscation: And this, says he, is done several ways, by which a city or an army may be destroyed, after the manner of Gideon's stratagem, who having broke the pitchers and lamps, and the fire issuing out with an inexpressible noise, killed an infinite number of the Midianites, with only three hundred men.' *Nam soni velut tonitrus & coruscationes possunt fieri in aëre, immo majore horrore quam illa quæ fiunt per naturam. Nam modica materia adaptata, scilicet ad quantitatem unius pollicis, sonum facit horribilem & coruscationem ostendit vehementem; & hoc fit multis modis quibus civitas aut exercitus destruitur, ad modum artificii Gideonis qui lagunculis fractis & lampadibus, igne exsistente cum fragore inestimabili, infinitum Midianitarum destruxit exercitum cum trecentis hominibus* (98). This very plainly proves, that he knew the effects that such a composition, as what we now call gun-powder, would produce, and if it were of any consequence to make this point still clearer, it might very easily be done from another passage in his *Opus Majus*, wherein he expresses himself in yet stronger terms upon the same subject. But still a question may be asked, was this thundering powder precisely the same with that which we call gun-powder? In answer to this, Dr Plot tells us positively, that the *alia* before mentioned in a MS copy of the same treatise, in the hands of the learned Dr G. Langbain, which was seen by Dr John Wallis, was explained to be sulphur and wood-coal (99). We are told the same thing by the judicious Dr Freind (100); but who vouches that these words were of Bacon's writing? It was no difficult thing, when salt-petre and a thundering powder was mentioned, to think of sulphur and wood coal, but the point is, did Roger Bacon think of it? If he did, how does this appear? I answer, from all the MSS of this very treatise, but never in the place these learned gentlemen looked for it; for our author did not then intend to reveal it. But after he had written his treatise, of the secret Works of Nature and Art, he added two appendixes which are the tenth and eleventh chapters, in which he farther explains to his correspondent, some passages which appeared to him obscure in the foregoing works, and it is in the last of these chapters, that he divulges this secret, yet not absolutely but in a cypher, by transposing the letters of two of the words, for thus it is set down. *Sed tamen salis petræ LURU MOPE CAN UBRE et sulphuris; et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artificium* (101). So that if the words *carbonum pulvere*, were set down in the sixth chapter of Dr Langbain's MS they were taken from hence, the author, as I observed before, not intending at that time to mention all the ingredients of this dangerous discovery, for if he had, there would have been no need of his appendix.

[Q] Will render them always valuable. We have already considered our author in the several lights of a Philologist, a Critick, a Mathematician, a Mechanist, a Natural Philosopher, an Astronomer, and are now come to view him in that of a Chemist. He was, as we have shewn in the text, one of the earliest in Europe, and contemporary with Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon. A man exactly of Bacon's temper, for he quitted his bishoprick, that he might pursue the pleasures of Experimental Philosophy in quiet, in a monastery at Colongne (102). Yet our author appears to have had no instructor, but gathered all from his books and his

own meditation. However, with this assistance only, he became the greatest Chemist of his own time beyond comparison, and perhaps, without exceeding truth, we might say, of any other. His writings on this subject are highly finished, and they seem to speak the master in every line. His stile is neat, elegant, concise, perspicuous, and expressive, so that the reader not only understands whatever he delivers, but is also sensible at the same time, that he perfectly understood what he wrote. The most considerable of his chemical works have been printed, but the MSS. which were at Oxford are now at Leyden, being carried abroad amongst those of Vossius. In these pieces of his he attempts to prove, that imperfect minerals may be ripened into perfect metals. He maintains Geber's principles, that mercury is the common basis of all metals, and sulphur the cement. Upon these principles he shews, that it is by a gradual depuration of the mercurial matter, and the accession of a subtle sulphur, that nature forms gold; and that if while the gold is producing any third matter intervenes, some baser metal arises, according to the nature of the intervening substance. Hence he infers, that it is a thing very practicable by pursuing nature's method, to purify and change all baser metals into gold (103). He is so perfectly clear in all he has written on this subject, and appears to have been so well versed from experience in the facts which he lays down, and the consequences he draws from them, that one would be tempted to imagine, some of those trials were actually made by him, that in latter times have passed for new experiments. The late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and one of the most curious and inquisitive, as well as knowing and penetrating Princes that have lived in our times, commanded an excellent Chemist to examine into the nature of metals, and more especially of gold, that it might appear, whether the old principles of the Arabs (most clearly defined and rationally explained by our author) were solid truths or empty chimeras. This was putting the ancient science of Chemistry to the *experimentum crucis*, and giving posterity an opportunity of learning, by unexceptionable trials, what was to be depended upon in this respect. If our author and his instructors had been, as some have fancied, mere enthusiasts and dreamers, their folly had been now discovered and exploded; but the very contrary of this happened, and the experimental Philosophers, who profess themselves only the disciples of nature, have been obliged to adopt, or at least to admit, the principles of the Chemists. But to come closer to the point, and to compare the doctrine of our Bacon with the conclusions of the French proficient. The former we know laid it down in direct terms, that *the component parts of gold, are, a most pure mercury, and a subtle sulphur* (104). On the other hand, M. Homberg, in his *Essai du souffre principe*, gives us two experiments, the first with mercury, which upon being exposed to a digesting heat, ceases to be fluid, becomes a powder heavier than mercury, and at length acquires such a fixedness, as to be capable of remaining red-hot for twenty-four hours without loss, though upon applying a naked fire, the greatest part flies off in fume, leaving a piece of hard metal formed of the mercury behind. The other experiment is with regulus of antimony, which, upon being exposed to the Duke of Orleans's great burning-glass to calcine, gained one eighth part in weight; from the experiments he concludes, that light may be introduced into porous bodies, may there fix and increase both their weight and bulk, and that the light thus retained in mercury, becomes inseparable therefrom in the most vehement fire, and even changes the form of the mercury into a malleable ductile metal, heavier than any other metal except gold. In another place the same author argues, *that gold consists principally of two kinds of matter, viz. mercury or quicksilver, and a metallic sulphur; the latter, according to him, being no other than light,*

(103) Speculum Alchémie, cap. iv.

(104) His own words are, 'Aurum quidem est corpus perfectum, ex argento puro, fixo, claro, rubeo, et sulphure mundo, fixo, rubeo, non adurentem generatum et nullum habet defectum.' *Speculum Alchémie, cap. ii.*

(98) De Secretis Operib. Artis & Naturæ, cap. vi.

(99) Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 236, 237.

(100) In the Appendix to the second Volume of his History of Physick.

(101) R. Baconi Epistola de secretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, cap. xi.

(102) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique, Tom. I. p. 123.

(s) History of
Physick, Vol. II.
P. 245.

(t) See before in
note [2].

was the tincture of gold for the prolongation of life, of which as Dr Freind says, he has given broad hints in his writings (s), and which it is very probable he would have laid open more fully, if his discourses upon these and other important subjects, had been received with the candour they deserved. As it is, he has said enough to shew that he was no pretender to this art, but understood as much of it (in this respect at least) as any who have lived since his time (t) [R]. That he was far from being unskilled in the art

(105) Mémoires
de l'Académie,
1797, p. 50—
60.

either of which being taken apart, evaporates with the least heat, but when joined together in a metal, after the manner just mentioned, they lose their volatility and become so fixed, that the most intense fire of our laboratories cannot separate them (105). Thus this very knowing and judicious person, who in consequence of all the trials and experiments he ran through on this subject, was never taught to speak clearer or more assuredly than our author, who lived so many ages before him. But let us next hear a greater and more famous author among the Moderns than Homberg; I mean the most excellent and incomparable Boerhaave, whose learning, great as it was, yielded much to his veracity, and whose diligence was only equalled by his candour. This admirable man, who had not only the courage to seek truth wherever he might be met with, but likewise to own where he met with her, let it be in what place it would, discourses thus, both on the subject and of our author (106). 'By all that I have hitherto delivered

(106) Boerhaave's
Chemistry, Vol. I.
p. 200.

it appears, that Chemistry is of great use and extent through all, or at least the chief of, the mechanical arts, so that they who cultivate them might truly be called artificers, and make incredible improvements in their several provinces, if at the same time they were skilled in Chemistry; consequently there are many and weighty reasons to induce men to superadd Chemistry to all the other sciences employed in the consideration or changing of bodies; and lastly, carefully to observe and faithfully write down such effects as arise therefrom, to be afterwards reduced into order and made publick, that by a number of contributions thus brought from all quarters, the arts may at length be brought to perfection; what was in my power I have endeavoured to perform in this undertaking, wherein though I make no great advances, I am of some use, as I have set an example of labour before you; which with the advantage of genius, may lead you on to make much greater discoveries. I come now to add a few, but candid and ingenuous, considerations on the great use of Chemistry in Alchemy. To speak my mind freely, I have not met any writers on Natural Philosophy, who treat of the nature of bodies, so profoundly, and explained the manner of changing them so clearly, as those called Alchemists. To be convinced of this, read carefully their genuine writings, for instance, the piece of Raymond Lully, which he entitles *Experiments*, you will find him, with the utmost clearness and simplicity, relating experiments, which explain the nature and actions of animals, vegetables, and fossils; after this, you will hardly be able to name any author, wherein physical things are treated of to so much advantage. The bodies which Chemistry resolves before our eyes, afford demonstrations which call for our assent, infinitely more cogently than any words could do; by these we do what we say, and what we teach we perform, inasmuch, that these writers seem to have attempted to build that body of Philosophy wished for by the great Lord Bacon, viz. a Philosophy, which should lay down such powers of bodies, as the bodies themselves when present really exhibit effects to warrant, and consequently, should assign such causes of things, as being given, will readily produce the things themselves, so that when it pleased, it could do what it taught.' He then enters on a most judicious abridgment of the principles, practice, and promises of the Alchemists, the last of which he censures, as in some measure absurd and extravagant. He adds however after all, this modest, candid, and most sensible conclusion (107). 'But enough is said on this head, we are always to remember, that the limits of nature are by no means to be defined by us, things are taken for impossible, which are only unknown by the ignorant. The ancient writers spoke something of a perpetual fire, which was of a solid nature, and endured even under water, but it was

(107) Ibid. p.
204.

exploded as an idle chimera, though the same has since been actually discovered by Kraff, and prepared by Kunkel, described by Boyle, further explained by Nieuwentyt, and more amply still by Hoffman. Roger Bacon's artificial thunder and lightning were long laughed at as empty fictions, but have been discovered by Schwartz to be too true, and many of the other things related in the chapter of Natural Magic, will appear much more incredible to those unacquainted with experiments, than that lead should lose its natural form and be converted into gold. Credulity is hurtful, and so is incredulity; the business therefore of a wise man is to try all things, hold fast what is approved, never limit the power of God, nor assign bounds to nature.' Such are the sentiments of the learned and unprejudiced Boerhaave on this subject, and as to our author; whose reputation as a Chemist has been always highest among those, by whom the practice of this art was best understood, because they found from their own experience, the correctness, closeness, and veracity of all his numerous writings.

[R] As any who have lived since his time.] In this note I intend to examine what our author's notions were, in regard to the medicinal virtues of gold, of which, as the learned Physician quoted in the text, says, he gave broad hints of a *tincture*, which must have been a sort of *aurum potabile*, or *golden elixir*. There is no doubt to be made that our author had a very high opinion of gold as a medicine, it is the first in his list of secret or concealed medicines, which he recommends to Pope Nicholas IV, and the phrase he uses to express it is, *the medicine found in the bowels of the earth*. He largely explains its virtues, and shews particularly how great they are in the cure of head-achs, palsies, and other disorders which spring from the brain. He says, that Aristotle thought the life of man could not be preserved by any preparation from gold, because gold itself is perishable, or at least the medicines drawn from it; but our author advises the Pope not to believe this; for, says he, this medicine will do admirable things when it is well prepared, and thoroughly drawn out. That he might also shew what he meant by this drawing out, he tells his Holiness, that perhaps the liquor was of that kind, i. e. a *tincture of gold*, which an old husbandman in the kingdom of Sicily found, as he was ploughing, in a gold vessel; the man it seems was hot and faint, and taking this yellowish water which the vessel contained for a kind of dew, he greedily swallowed it, which so entirely changed his habit of body and complexion, that of an old man of sixty he became like one of thirty, his judgment, memory, and understanding, becoming much better than they were before, so that of a labouring peasant he became a courtier, and was advanced to be a gentleman of the chamber to William King of Sicily, in whose service (and that of his successor's I suppose) he lived fourscore years. This fact seems to have been very well known, for our author mentions it thrice: First in his book of *the Secrets of Art and Nature* (108), again in his *Opus Majus* (109), and lastly, in this book of *the Cure of Old Age* (110), and it is from all three relations that I have collected the several circumstances before mentioned. But I cannot help observing upon this occasion, that our author not only hints at the tincture of gold; but also at another *tincture* much beyond it in operation, which is the famous medicine taken notice of in a former note, and of which I propose to say something here, because I think it is not impossible to give a better account of it, than has been hitherto done. But first it will be requisite to give the author's description. 'Wife men, says he, have cautiously made mention of a certain medicine, which resembles that going out of the mine of the noble animal. They affirm, that in it there is a force and virtue, which restores and increases the natural heat; as to its disposition, they say it is like youth itself, and contains an equal and temperate

(108) De secretis
operibus artis et
naturæ, cap. vii.

(109) Page 469.

(110) In the
twelfth chapter.

of physick, we might rationally conclude, from his extensive knowledge in those sciences, which have the nearest relation thereto; but besides this, we have a particular and manifest proof of his perfect acquaintance with the most material and useful branches of Physick, in his Treatise of Old Age, which, as Dr Freind, whose authority on that subject cannot well be disputed, observes, is very far from being ill writ (u); and Dr Brown, who published it in English, esteemed it one of the best performances that ever was written (w). In this work he has collected whatever he had met with upon the subject, either in Greek or Arabian writers, and has added a great many remarks of his own. The whole, considering the time in which it was wrote, is in reality a very extraordinary performance, in point both of learning and judgment, and will appear the more curious and the more valuable, the oftener it is read, and the more it is considered [S]. In Logick and Metaphysicks he was excellently well versed, as appears by those

(u) Freind's Hist. of Physick, Vol. II. p. 244.

(w) See Dr Brown's preface to the Cure of Old Age.

temperate complexion; and the signs of a temperate complexion in men are, when their colour is made up of white and red, when the hair is yellow inclining to redness and curling. According to Pliny, when the flesh is moderate both in quality and quantity, when a man's dreams are delightful, his countenance chearful and pleasant, and when his appetite of eating and drinking is moderate. This medicine indeed is like to such a complexion, for it is of a temperate heat, it's fume is temperate and sweet, and grateful to the smell. When it departs from this temperature, it departs so far from it's virtue and goodness. This medicine therefore doth temperately heat, because it is temperately hot, it therefore heals because it is whole, when it is sick it makes a man sick, when it is distempered it breeds distempers, and changeth the body to it's own disposition, because of the similitude it hath with the body; for the infirmity of a brute animal rarely passeth into man, but into another animal of the same kind, but the infirmity of man passeth into man, and so doth health because of likeness. Know (most gracious Prince) that in this there is a great secret, for Galen saith, that whatever is dissolved from any thing, it must of necessity be assimilated to that thing, as is manifest in diseases passing from one to another; such as weakness of the eyes and pestilential diseases. This thing hath an admirable property, for it doth not only render human bodies harmless from corruption, but it defends also the bodies of plants from putrefaction, this thing is seldom found, and although sometimes it is found, yet it cannot commodiously be had of all men; and instead of it, the wife do use that medicine, which is in the bowels of the earth compleat and prepared, and that which swims in the sea, and that which is in the square stone of the noble animal, so that every part may be free from the infection of another: But if that stone cannot be acquired, let other elements separated, divided, and purified, be made use of; now when this thing is like to youth, that is of temperate complexion, it hath good operations, if it's temperature be better, it produced better effects, sometimes it is even in the highest degree of it's perfection, and then it operates best, and then there is that property whereof we have spoken before. This differs from other medicines and nutriments, which heat and moisten after a certain temperate manner, and are good for old men; for other medicines principally heat and moisten the body, and secondarily they strengthen the native heat; but this doth principally strengthen the native heat, and after that refreshes the body by moistening and heating it: For it reduces this heat in old men, who have it but weakly and deficient, to a certain stronger and more vehement power: If a plaister be made hereof and applied to the stomach, it will help very much, for it will refresh the stomach itself and excite an appetite. It will very much recreate an old man, and change him to a kind of youth, and will make complexions, by what means soever depraved or corrupted, better. Many wise men have spoken but little of this thing, they have indeed laid down another thing like it, as Galen in his fifth book of Simple Medicines, and Joannes Damascenus in his Aphorisms. But it is to be observed, that Venus doth weaken and diminish the power and virtue of this thing; and it is very likely that the son of the Prince, in his second Canon of the Operations of Simple Medicines, spoke of this thing, where he saith, that there is a certain medicine concealed by

wife men, lest the innocent should offend their creature; there is such a heat in this thing, as is in young men of a sound complexion, and if I durst declare the properties of this heat, this most hidden secret should presently be revealed; for this heat doth help the palsical, it restores and preserves the wasted strength of the native heat, causeth it to flourish in all the members, and gently revives the aged. It is from this description that Dr Brown (111), as we before observed, concludes, that the medicine here recommended, was a healthy young woman of a proper complexion. But whoever will consider the whole of this account attentively, and will compare it with what our author says upon the same subject in his Opus Majus (112), in which he speaks much more clearly than in this treatise, will (or I am much mistaken) see good grounds to believe, that this medicine is no other than the great secret, the grand elixir of the Chemicists, far beyond the tincture of gold in it's effects, though where this cannot be had, that may be used (according to our author) for the same purpose, but with less success.

(111) In his Annotations on the twelfth chapter of the Cure of Old Age.

(112) Page 466 —472.

[S] The oftner it is read, and the more it is considered.] There never was an author who took more pains to finish and perfect his discourses than Friar Bacon, who was continually reviewing, retouching, and augmenting his pieces, that as he grew older and wiser, these children of his brain might partake of their parent's fortune. The subject of this book appears plainly to have thrice exercised it's author's application; for it makes the seventh chapter of his celebrated treatise of the secret Works of Art and Nature, he revised it again, and inserted so much of it as he thought proper in his Opus Majus (113), yet in both these works he delivers himself only in general terms; but in this last treatise, which was written for the use of Pope Nicholas the fourth, he descends to practice, and give those receipts in direct and exprest terms, which he had only hinted at before. If the reader inclines to see the subject of all these three treatises in a narrow compass, and to take a view of the author's theory, as to the extent of human life, he may find it in the following extract from his first work; which contains a short view of his whole system (114). 'The possibility of prolonging life, says he, is confirmed by this: That a man is naturally immortal, that is, able not to die, and even after he had sinned, he could live near a thousand years; afterwards, by little and little, the length of his life was abbreviated; therefore, it must needs be, that this abbreviation is accidental. Therefore, it might be either wholly repaired, or at least in part. But if we would but make enquiry into the accidental cause of this corruption, we should find it neither was from Heaven, nor from ought but want of a regimen of health. For in as much as the fathers are corrupt, they beget children of a corrupt complexion and composition, and their children from the same cause are corrupt themselves, and so corruption is derived from father to son, till abbreviation of life prevails by succession. Yet for all this it does not follow, that it shall always be cut shorter and shorter, because a term is set in human kind, that men should at the most of their years arrive at fourscore, but more is their pain and sorrow. Now the remedy against every man's proper corruption is, if every man from his youth would exercise a complete regimen, which consists in these things; meat and drink, sleep and watching, motion and rest, evacuation and retention, air, the passions of the mind; for if a man would observe this regimen from his nativity, he might live

(113) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 466, & seq.

(114) De Secretis Operibus Artis & Naturæ, cap. vii.

those parts of his works, in which he has treated of these subjects; neither was he unskilled in Philology and the politer parts of learning, as might be demonstrated from his writings, if we had not touched upon so many subjects already (x). In Ethicks or Moral Philosophy he was a very great master, and as he was a man of good sense and unblemished probity, so he has laid down the noblest and most generous principles for the conduct of human life, in the treatise he has left us upon that subject (y) [T]. But as his profession and course of life required a particular application to Theology, so it plainly appears, that he made all his other studies subservient thereto, and directed both his actions and his writings to the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. He had the highest deference for the Holy Scriptures, and thought that in them were contained the principles of true science, and of all useful knowledge. He therefore pressed the study of them in their original languages, and an assiduous application to the several branches of learning, which he thought necessary for the thorough understanding them (z). To say the truth, the impressing this strongly on the minds of men, who made religion peculiarly their profession, is the great endeavour of all his works, as the applying this properly was the business of his last treatise, which he left as a kind of Testament to those of his order, and is a very excellent work in it's kind [U]. As to the vulgar imputation on his character, of his leaning to Magick, it

(x) See the note [K].

(y) This Treatise was by the author annexed to his Opus Majus.

(z) Opus Majus, p. 29, 30.

‘ as long as his nature assumed from his parents would permit, and might be led to the utmost term of nature, lapsed from original righteousness, which term nevertheless he could not pass; because this regimen does not avail in the least against the old corruption of our parents. But it being in a manner impossible, that a man should be so governed in the mediocrity of these things, as the regimen of health requires, it must of necessity be, that abbreviation of life do come from this cause, and not only from the corruption of our parents. Now the art of Physick determines this regimen sufficiently. But neither rich, nor poor, neither wise men, nor fools, nor Physicians themselves, how skilful soever, are able to perfect this regimen, either in themselves or others, as is clear to every man: But nature is not deficient in necessaries, nor is art compleat; yea it is able to resist and break through all accidental passions, so as they may be destroyed, either altogether or in part: And in the beginning when men's age began to decline, the remedy had been easy; but now after more than five thousand years, it is difficult to appoint a remedy. Nevertheless, wise men being moved with the aforesaid considerations, have endeavoured to think on some ways, not only against the defect of every man's proper regimen, but against the corruption of our parents. Not that a man can be reduced to the life of Adam or Arterfius, because of prevailing corruption, but that life might be prolonged a century of years or more beyond the common age of men now living, in that the passions of old age might be retarded, and if they could not altogether be hindered, they might be mitigated; that life might usefully be prolonged, yet always on this side the utmost term of nature; for the utmost term of nature is that which was placed in the first men after sin, and there is another term from the corruption of every one's own parents. It is no man's fortune to pass beyond both these terms; but one may well the term of his proper corruption: Nor yet do I believe, that any man, how wise soever, can attain the first term, though there be the same possibility and aptitude of human nature to that term, which was in the first men; nor is it a wonder, since this aptitude extends itself to immortality as it was before sin, and will be after the resurrection. But if you say, that neither Aristotle, nor Plato, nor Hippocrates, nor Galen, arrived at such prolongation? I answer you, nor at many mean truths, which were after known to other students; and therefore they might be ignorant of these great things, although they made their assay, but they busied themselves too much in other things, and they were quickly brought to old age, while they spent their lives in worse and common things, before they perceived the ways to the greatest of secrets: For we know that Aristotle faith in his Predicaments, that the quadrature of the circle is possible, but not then known, and he confesses, that all men were ignorant of it even to his time: But we know that in these our days this truth is known, and therefore, well might Aristotle be ignorant of far deeper secrets of nature. Now also

‘ wife men are ignorant of many things, which in time to come every common student shall know, therefore this objection is every way vain.’ These were the thoughts of our author when he first turned his inquiries upon this subject, and it is upon these principles that he reasons in his third book. It is remarkable that he professes in all his treatises, that he had never made any experiments upon himself, whence one might be tempted to conclude, that though he did not suffer his misfortunes so to break his spirits, as to hinder him from pursuing his studies; yet was he so little pleased with life, that he would not take any measures to prolong it; notwithstanding the sentiments he was in as to that point. For though it might be surmised, that Bacon might amuse others with grave discourses accommodated to their humours, though not at all to his own belief; yet whoever reads his works, will evidently perceive that such notions must be utterly groundless, since there is not only the strongest character of veracity in all he writes, but the whole is so systematical, that one part sustains another in such a manner, that it is almost impossible to form any doubts, or to fall into any mistakes about his opinions, when his Opus Majus has been once thoroughly perused and attentively considered; because it is a kind of key to all the rest.

[T] *In the treatise he has left us upon this subject.* The sentiments of our author on morality, are very singular both in this treatise and in other parts of his works; for he considered Moral Philosophy as the end and perfection of all human knowledge. He therefore considered all speculative science, as useful or useles in proportion as it contributed to the advantage of mankind. He declares, that in his judgment the Moral Philosophy of Christians is the same with their Divinity, and that though it is by far more perfect than the Philosophy of the Pagans; yet it rests upon and takes in their principles; so that he makes Natural Religion the ground-work, and Revealed, the structure, supposing each necessary to the other; and therefore, not to be separated or divided. He constantly manifests so much clearness and good sense, in treating every subject, and this, notwithstanding the difficulties under which he laboured, and his differing almost upon every topick from the notions then in vogue, that instead of wondering, there was so strong a clamour against him, we ought rather to wonder that he was able to support himself at all against the tide of popular prejudice, which is always strongest in the most ignorant ages. To say the truth, Bacon was the farthest from being a popular writer, perhaps of any man that ever wrote, and this I take to be one reason, why his writings have hitherto been admired only by the few, and I very much question, whether any age will arise so learned and so just, as to afford them a general reception.

[U] *And is a very excellent work in it's kind.* Besides the MS. in the Royal Library, there are several others still remaining, some more and some less perfect. Mr Theyer of Gloucestershire had several parts of this work (115), and perhaps there are some copies of it yet undiscovered, which however might be brought to light, if any man of equal learning and industry with the excellent editor of his

(115) As appears by the catalogue of his MSS.

it was utterly unfounded, and the ridiculous story of his making a brazen head, which spoke and answered questions, is a calumny indirectly fathered upon him, having been originally imputed to his patron Robert Grouthead, Bishop of Lincoln (a) [W]. The pains therefore that have been taken to vindicate him in this respect, by the learned Gabriel Naudé (b), and other writers, however charitably designed, was not very necessary; and that he had too high an opinion of Judicial Astrology, and some other arts of that nature, was not so properly an error of his as of the age in which he lived; and considering how few errors, among the many which infected that age, appear in his writings, it may be easily forgiven (c). As his whole life was spent in labour and study, and he was continually employed, either in writing for the information of the world, or in reading and making experiments, that might enable him to write with greater accuracy; so we need not wonder his works were extremely numerous, especially when it is considered, that on the one hand his studies took in the whole circle of the sciences, and that on the other, the numerous treatises ascribed to him, are, often in fact, but so many chapters, sections, or divisions, and sometimes we have the same pieces under two or three different names; so that it is not at all strange before these points were well examined, that

(a) *Histor. & Antiq. Oxon.* p. 122, 137.

(b) *Apologie pour les grandes Hommes soupçonnés de Magie*, p. 350.

(c) See further in the note [2].

Opus Majus, would undertake the publication of it, which could not but prove extremely agreeable to the learned world, since it contains a multitude of things, that one would scarce expect to find in a performance under this title. For it was the custom of our author, never to confine his thoughts too strictly unto any particular subject, but, on the contrary, believing, as he did, that all sciences had a relation amongst themselves, and were of use to each other, and all of them to Theology; it was very natural for him to illustrate this, in a work calculated to shew how the study of Divinity might be best promoted. It might also let us into many particulars, relating to the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of those times, which could not but be very curious and instructive. We may add to all this, that it would undoubtedly have very good effects, in elucidating and explaining the other works of our author, which are already made publick, and which are in many places not a little obscure. We may say the same thing, with regard to other treatises of our author yet remaining, but never hitherto printed; all of which, if carefully considered and compared, might be of very great use, the rather because there are some things hinted at in several parts of Bacon's works, which if we could derive lights sufficient from his hitherto unpublished works, perfectly to understand, might be of as great benefit to mankind, as any of those discoveries, which, though now common, have given great credit to this author, since it appeared from his works, that they were originally due to him, or at least, that they were long before in his possession. It would be no very difficult matter to give instances of these things, but that we have already exceeded our ordinary bounds, and are therefore forced to confine ourselves more strictly, that these memoirs may not exceed the just rules of proportion.

[W] Originally imputed to his patron, Robert Grouthead Bishop of Lincoln] One may very easily imagine, how when the common people are at a loss to account for any thing, they should call in, more especially in the darkest and most ignorant ages, the assistance of the Devil. To them this is as easy and as necessary, as the machinery of the poets, or of the playhouse, and answers the end as effectually; but what is most extraordinary, and which really deserves wonder, is, that men of good sense, and no way despicable in their understandings, should adopt these silly tales and publish them to the world as truths. Yet this happened to many others besides our author, and those too of the worthiest persons of the ages in which they lived. As for instance, William of Malmshury (116) tells us very gravely, of Pope Sylvester II, who flourished in the Xth century, that he made such a head under certain constellations, which would speak when spoken to, and oraculously answer such questions as were proposed to it. But it seems these answers were confined to single words. For the same writer tells us, that being asked by his master Whether he should ever become Pope? it answered *Yes*; and when he enquired, Whether he should die before he sung Mass in Jerusalem? it answered *No*. Which however proved a lye, for the Pope died at Rome; but to keep up the credit of this story it was pretended, that he died on that Sunday, which in the Roman Ritual is entitled, *Statio ad Jerusalem*, immediately after he had sung Mass. After this foolish story had got into the world, without any other foundation than

the Pope's being a great Mathematician: there never arose in any country a person of extraordinary abilities, especially in those sciences that were least cultivated, but presently he was reported to have made a brazen head. Hence Robert Grouthead, Bishop of Lincoln, is reported by an antient writer of his life in verse, to have made such a brazen head when he was Master of Arts at Oxford, which being broken by some accident, the relics thereof are said by him to have been kept in a vault under Lincoln College (117). Something of the same kind is thrown out by John Gower the poet (118). And indeed the story was so universally spread, and so firmly believed among the vulgar, that because Roger Bacon was his disciple, they could not help supposing, that he must be as learned in these secret arts as his master, and therefore they bestowed a brazen head upon him too, in conjunction with Fryar Bungy, of whom we shall say something in another place (119). But the design of making this head was so extraordinary, and the end it met with so odd, that it deserves to be remembered. For these two learned Fryars were no less than seven years employed in framing it, and the matter about which they were to enquire, was, Whether it might not be possible to build a wall of brass round this island? But as they had a great many things upon their hands, it seems they forgot the time at which their head was to speak, and so lost the opportunity of hearing the answer distinctly, and thus their labour being vain, and the head in a manner useless, it was demolished (120). But of all the great men who are foolishly said to have dealt in brazen heads, Albertus Magnus was the most extraordinary, for he is said to have made not barely a head, but a man, who not only answered questions very readily and truly when demanded, but was also so flippant with his brazen tongue, that Thomas Aquinas, a reserved and contemplative person, and pupil at that time to Albertus Magnus, knocked the idol to pieces to stop it's talking (121). These great men lived at the same time with our author, and it is not impossible that he might have heard something of this nature, for in a work of his which has been often mentioned, he deplores the attributing every thing that was great and remarkable to the power of Art Magick, which hindered the propagation, as it also did the reputation, of true science, depriving men thereby of that reward, which could alone encourage them to take the pains necessary to succeed in the pursuit of useful knowledge. The most learned Selden (122), in a discourse of his, wherein, with vast reading and judgment, he has examined the rise and progress of these notions, declares positively, that this story of Fryar Bacon's brazen head was equally foolish and groundless, and never gained belief, but with the meanest and lowest of the people. Yet there want not some writers who have had more credit than they deserve, that have really doubted whether our author was not a Magician (123)? and perhaps in this respect, his character would not have been much assisted, if the famous John Dee had published as well as promised his defence of him (124). To say the truth, there cannot be a greater injury offered to the memory of so wise a man, and so universal a scholar, as to treat such a calumny as this with any degree of gravity, because, in fact, there cannot be any thing more absurd, or more ridiculous.

(117) *Richardus Bardeniensis de vita Roberti Grosthead Ep. Lincoln.* cap. xx. ap. Wharton. *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II. p. 333.

(118) *In Confessione Amantis.*

(119) See the article of BUNGY (THOMAS).

(120) *Majer. Symbolor. Aurora Mensae*, lib. x. p. 453.

(121) *Delrio Dilecti. Magic. lib. i.* cap. 4.

(122) *De Diis Syris*, Syntag. i. cap. 2.

(123) *Wier. de Praestig. lib. ii.* cap. 2.

(124) *In Epistol. dedicat. lib. pro-predicatum. Aphoristicor. de Naturae viribus.*

6) *De Gestis sum Angliae*, li. c. x.

that the accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confused [X].
But

[X] *The accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confused.* This was the natural consequence of the bad usage our author met with while living, and the great declension of learning after his death. Leland complains, that either through negligence or other casualties the writings of Bacon were so dispersed, that it would be easier to collect the leaves of the Sibyl, than the very names of the treatises he wrote. He sets down however the titles of thirty, of which he had seen about a third part (125). The industrious Bale, by that time he finished his useful collection, had met with and digested the titles of upwards of fourscore pieces attributed to our author, of which he had seen near one half (126). Pits speaks with amazement of the multitude of books written by our author, and increases the number of their titles to near one hundred (127). The learned Dr Jebb has digested all these titles under the proper heads of the sciences to which they belong, so that the whole of what was either written by, or attributed to, our author, appears to the eye of the reader at one view, as in the following table he will perceive.

(125) Comment. de Script. B. itan. p. 258, 259.

(126) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(127) De Illustr. Angl. Script. p. 367.

In GRAMMAR.

<i>Summa Grammaticalis</i> , lib. i.	Oratio Grammatica.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Constructione Partium</i> , &c. lib. i.	Ad Completam.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>Grammatica Græca</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>Grammatica Hebræa</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Utilitate Linguarum</i> , lib. i.	Multæ præclaræ radices.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, &c.

<i>De Geometria</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Laudibus Artis Mathematicæ</i> , lib. i.	Post hanc Scientiam.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De quinta Parte Mathematicæ</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	
<i>Parabolæ de Quadratura</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Centris Gravium</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Planis</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Materia Prima</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Ponderibus</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Potestate mirabili Artis & Naturæ</i> , lib. i.	Quem eundem.	PITS.	
<i>De Vigore Artis & Naturæ</i> , lib. i.	Vestrae Petitioni.	BAL.	
<i>De occultis Operibus Naturæ</i> , lib. i.	Superius quidem.	PITS.	
<i>De Operibus non occultis</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	
<i>Communia naturalis Philosophiæ</i> , lib. iv.	Postquam tradidi.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>In Philosophiam naturalem</i> , lib. viii.		PITS.	
<i>De Multiplicatione Specierum</i> , lib. i.	Primum capitulum.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>Leges Multiplicationum</i> , lib. i.	Expletis quatuor partibus.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Speciebus</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>Ars experimentalis</i> , lib. i.	Positis fundamentis.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De septem Experimentis</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Rerum mirabilibus</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Fluxu & Refluxu Maris</i> , lib. i.	Descriptis his figuris.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Fluxu Maris Britannici</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>Venti novem Distributiones</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.

O P T I C S.

<i>De Visu & Speculis</i> , lib. i.	De Speculorum miraculis.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Speculi Ustorii</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Forma resultante in Speculo</i> , lib. i.	Quaritur de forma.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Speculi Facultate</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	

De Perspectivis & Multiplicationibus Specierum Tractatus. PITS.

Perspectiva quædam singularis, lib. i. Hic aliqua dicenda sunt. BAL. PITS.

Perspectiva distincta, lib. iii. Propositis radicibus. BAL. PITS.

Perspectiva continua, lib. i. Cupiens te. LEL. BAL. PITS.

De Radiis Solaribus, lib. i. BAL. PITS.

De Coloribus per Artem fendis, lib. i. BAL. PITS.

G E O G R A P H Y.

<i>Cosmographia</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Situ Orbis</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>De Regionibus Mundi</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Situ Palæstinae</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Locis Sacris</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>Descriptiones Locorum Mundi</i> , lib. i.	Ad hoc autem.	BAL.	PITS.

A S T R O N O M Y.

<i>De Cælo & Mundo</i> , lib. ii.	Prima igitur veritas.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Utilitate Astronomiæ</i> , lib. i.	Post locorum.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>Introductio in Astrologiam</i> , lib. i.	Fufius quidem dictum.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Locis Stellarum</i> , lib. i.	Quoniam infinitum.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Aspectibus Lunæ</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>Prognostica ex Siderum Cursu</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Judiciis Astrologiæ</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	

C H R O N O L O G Y.

<i>Computus Naturalium</i> , lib. i.	Omnia tempus habent.	BAL.	PITS.
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C H E M I S T R Y.

<i>De Arte Chemiæ</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>Breviarium Alchemiæ</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>Speculum Alchemiæ</i> , lib. i.	Multifariam multisque.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>Documenta Alchemiæ</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Alchemistarum Artibus</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>De Secretis</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Rebus Metallicis</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Sculpturis Lapidum</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Philosophorum Lapide</i> , lib. i.	Vestrae Petitioni.	BAL.	PITS.

M A G I C.

<i>Contra Necromaticos</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Necromanticis Imaginibus</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>De Geomantia</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>De Excantationibus</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	
<i>Præcticæ Magiæ</i> , lib. i.		PITS.	

L O G I C, M E T A P H Y S I C S, & E T H I C S.

<i>De Logica</i> , lib. i.	Introductio est brevis.	LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Metaphysica</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Intellectu & intelligibili</i> , lib. ii.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Passionibus Animæ</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>De Universalibus</i> , lib. i.		BAL.	PITS.
<i>In Posteriora Aristotelis</i> , lib. ii.	Dictum est de Syllogismo.	BAL.	PITS.
<i>In Avicennam de Anima</i> , lib. i.		LEL.	BAL. PITS.
<i>De Philosophia Morali</i> , lib. i.	Manifestavi in præcedentibus.	BAL.	PITS.

P H Y S I C.

But notwithstanding this seeming perplexity and confusion, it is not a very difficult thing; from the lights we now have, to give a very fair and distinct account of our author's works, the far greater part of which are still in being, and it were to be wished, that they were also made publick. It will likewise appear from this account, how great service has been done to the learned world, by such as have made it their business to collect and preserve ancient MSS, and to bring together the scattered memorials of those learned men who have flourished in past times, and who, until this care was taken, have been represented in very false lights to posterity. It will also appear, that this excellent person was very far from being a hasty, incorrect, or desultory writer, but that, on the contrary, all his works have a just reference to one great and general system, which he has executed in all it's parts to a much greater degree of perfection, than hitherto even the learned have imagined [2]. So that on the whole we may very safely affirm, that the history, character,

PHYSIC.

<i>De Erroribus Medicorum,</i> lib. i.	Vulgus Medicorum. PITS.	BAL.
<i>De Retardatione Senectutis,</i> lib. i.	Domine Mundi. PITS.	LEL. BAL.
<i>De Univerſali Regimine</i> <i>Senum,</i> lib. i.	Summa Regiminis. PITS.	BAL.
<i>De Conſervatione Senſuum,</i> lib. i.	Cogito & cogitavi. PITS.	BAL.
<i>De Prolongatione Vitæ,</i> lib. i.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>Antidotarium Vitæ huma-</i> <i>næ,</i> lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.	
<i>Rogerina Major,</i> lib. i.	Sicut ab Antiquis. PITS.	BAL.
<i>Rogerina Minor,</i> lib. i.	Humana Natura. PITS.	BAL.
<i>De Somno & Vigilia,</i> lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.	

THEOLOGY.

<i>Sermonum seu Concionum,</i> lib. i.	PITS.	
<i>Commentarii in Libros Sen-</i> <i>tentiarum,</i> lib. iv.	LEL. BAL. PITS.	
<i>Super Psalterium.</i>	LEL.	
<i>De Victoria Christi contra</i> <i>Antichristum.</i>	Ne sum Propheta. LEL.	
<i>Compendium Studii Theo-</i> <i>logici,</i> lib. v.	Quoniam autem. PITS.	BAL.
<i>De Copiæ vel Inopiæ Cau-</i> <i>ſis.</i>	LEL. BAL. PITS.	

PHILOLOGY and MISCELLANY.

<i>Ad Clementem IV. Pont.</i> <i>Rom.</i> lib. i.	Sanctissimo Patri. BAL. PITS.	LEL.
<i>De Impedimentis Sapientiæ,</i> lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Valore Muſices,</i> lib. i.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Gradibus intentionali-</i> <i>bus,</i> lib. i.	Omnis forma. PITS.	
<i>De Gradibus medicinalibus,</i> lib. i.	LEL. BAL.	
<i>De Regionibus Mundi,</i> lib. i.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Cauſis Ignorantiæ hu-</i> <i>manæ,</i> lib. i.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Utilitate Scientiarum,</i> lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>In Opera Virgilio,</i> lib. plures.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Arte Memorativa,</i> lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.	
<i>Ad Epistolam Bonaventuræ,</i> lib. i.	BAL. PITS.	
<i>De Vita Edmundi Archiep.</i> <i>Cantuar.</i>	LEL.	

[2] Than even the learned imagined.] When we find on one hand, some modern authors complaining that almost all the works of our old writers are either destroyed out of malice; or, through carelessness, have the monuments of their learning buried in oblivion, and on the other, see such a multitude of books ascribed to our old authors by Leland, Bale, and Pits, we can hardly tell what to believe, or how to doubt the truth of either of these assertions. Yet this instance of Roger Bacon may serve to shew us, that such general expressions ought not to have too much weight, but that it becomes us to enquire as carefully as we can after these precious monuments of antiquity, notwithstanding some who have gone before us in the

search, assure us it is to little or no purpose. At first sight, it must appear an endless, and, at the same time, a fruitless labour, for us to endeavour to pick up all the little treatises written by Roger Bacon. Yet for all this it may be, the thing is not altogether as difficult as it seems; for, as the learned Dr Jebb very justly observes, the number of our author's works may be much reduced, if we consider, that the copies of his writings being dispersed into several places, it fell out that the same tracts had different titles given them, and, which has added still more to the confusion, the titles of the several chapters of his works, have been taken for the titles of so many treatises. Now to extricate ourselves as well as may be out of these difficulties, let us consider what our author himself tells us concerning his writings. He asserts in his Opus Majus, that before he set about that work, he had published only a few pieces, and we know that he wrote this book in the year 1267. The business then is to find out first of all these *Capitula quædam* as he calls them, and then we are sure we have his first writings. But this we shall find no very difficult matter, since it plainly appears, that the pieces addressed to William of Paris, were written before the Opus Majus, and were published altogether in 1542, under the title of *Epistola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de Nullitate Magiæ* (128). i. e. 'The Epistle of Brother Roger Bacon of the secret Works of Art and Nature, and of the Non-Entity of Magick.' At the end of this treatise we have *explicitur epistola Baconis, &c. ad Gulielmum Parisiensem conscripta*. It is divided into eleven chapters, of which the two last, (as we before observed) are appendices or postscripts. The other nine chapters, from their titles appear to be what have passed for his treatises, *de Potestate mirabili Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* 'Of the wonderful Power of Art and Nature;' *de Vigore Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* 'Of the Force of Art and Nature;' *de Operibus occultis Naturæ, i. e.* 'of the secret Works of Nature;' *de Operibus non occultis, i. e.* 'of the Works not secret;' *de Rerum mirabilibus, i. e.* 'of Wonders;' *contra Necromanticos, i. e.* 'against Necromancers;' *de Necromanticis Imaginibus, i. e.* 'of Necromantic Images;' *de Geomantia, i. e.* 'of Geomancy, or Divination by Points;' *de Excantationibus, i. e.* 'of Charms;' *de Practicis Magiæ, i. e.* 'of the Practices of Magick;' and, *de Prolongatione Vitæ, i. e.* 'of the Prolongation of life;' which is a different thing from that addressed to Pope Nicholas IV on the same subject. As to the two last chapters they are dated, but so confusedly, that instead of affording any light, they have hitherto served only to increase the obscurity. For example, the tenth chapter begins in the six hundred and second year of the Arabians, but it seems the manuscript was so obscure, that it might be read the six hundred eighty eighth year of the Arabians. John Dee (129) takes the first date, and from thence infers, that our author wrote to Clement the third instead of Clement IV, because the year 602 of the Hegira, answers to the year of Christ 1205, which is nine years before our author was born; the other date of 688 might possibly be true, since it answers to the year 1289, which is three years before our author's death. But though this be possible, yet it is far enough from being probable, and therefore we will next consider the date of the eleventh chapter, or second postscript. This is A. H. 630, which answers the year of our Lord 1232, and to the eighteenth year of our author's life; whence I am persuaded that both dates are wrong, nor do I know how it is possible to correct them; we may with certainty enough conclude, that these several little pieces were writ before

(128) *Parif.* 1542, 4to. *Basilæ* 1593, 8vo. *Hamburg.* 1608, 1618, 8vo. It is also involved in the fifth volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum*, and in the first of the *Bibliotheca Chémica Curiosa*, of *Mantuetus*.

(129) See his notes on the eleventh chapter, which are printed not only in the edition he published, but in the two Collections beforementioned.

character, and reputation of Roger Bacon, is in a great measure restored, so that we may truly judge of them all, and determine from the light of evidence, of the usage he has received from all parties. We may now justly applaud those learned prelates of Canterbury and Lincoln, and all the great men who were the patrons of his junior years, the encouragers of his riper studies, and the protectors of his injured innocence. We can plainly discern how harshly, cruelly, and unjustly he was persecuted, by the ignorant and malicious Monks of his order, who envied that learning which they ought to have imitated, and hated that reputation which it became them to admire. We know now with

the year 1267, and that the the two last chapters were penned some years after the rest, and possibly A. H. 648 and 650. His next work was his *Opus Majus* divided into six parts, and had three tracts of his annexed. The several parts being separately transcribed, with a proper and distinct title to each, increased the supposed number of our author's works, by at least so many tracts. But let us explain this more particularly, and having so experienced a guide, as Dr Jebb, to direct us, let us try if we cannot point out the particular treatises which are involved in that great work. In the two first books are contained the treatises which have hitherto gone under the titles of *de Impedimentis Sapientiæ*, i. e. 'of the Impediments to Wisdom'; *de Causis Ignorantiæ humanæ*, i. e. 'of the Causes of human Ignorance'; and, *de Utilitate Scientiarum*, i. e. 'of the Usefulness of the Sciences.' The third book, is what was formerly called his book, *de Utilitate Linguarum*, i. e. 'of the Use of Languages.' In the fourth book of the *Opus Majus*, are his tracts of *Centris Gravium*, i. e. 'of the Centres of heavy Bodies'; *de Ponderibus*, i. e. 'of weights'; *de Valore Musicis*, i. e. 'of Musick'; *de Judiciis Astrologiæ*, i. e. 'of the Judgments of Astrology'; *de Cosmographia*, i. e. 'of Cosmography'; *de Situ Orbis*, i. e. 'of the Situation of the World'; *de Regionibus Mundi*, i. e. 'of the Regions of the World'; *de Situ Palestinæ*, i. e. 'of the Situation of Palestine'; *de Locis Sacris*, i. e. 'of the holy Places'; and, *Descriptiones Locorum Mundi*, i. e. 'Description of the World.' To this fourth book is annexed, his tract *de Prognosticis ex Stellis*, in which is comprehended, *de Utilitate Astronomiæ*, i. e. 'of the Usefulness of Astronomy'; *Prognostica ex Siderum Cursu*, i. e. 'Prognosticks from the Course of the Stars'; and perhaps also his tract, *de Aspectibus Lunæ*, i. e. of the Aspects of the Moon. His fifth part includes the various treatises of Perspective ascribed to him in the foregoing catalogue, viz. *Perspectiva quædam singularis*, *Perspectiva distincta*, and *Perspectiva continua*. To the end of this book is added, his large treatise *de Specierum Multiplicatione*. In the sixth book we find contained his tracts *de Arte experimentalis*, i. e. 'of the experimental Art'; *de Radiis solaribus*, i. e. 'of the solar Rays'; and, *de Coloribus per artem fiendis*, i. e. 'of the Colours that may be produced by Art.' Besides his *Opus Majus*, our author wrote two other pieces, and addressed them to the same patron, that is to say, Pope Clement IV. One of which he titled his *Opus Minus*, and the other *Opus Tertium*, of which there are still copies amongst the MSS in the Cotton library; but that of the *Opus Minus* is imperfect. It is not to be doubted, that in these works, abundance of the tracts which have been ascribed to our author are involved, the rather, because it is certain, that after the death of Pope Clement, Bacon revised and augmented these pieces, in order to render his system more compleat, and of greater use to posterity. There is in the Royal Library a treatise of our author's, which bears the title of *Liber Naturalium Rogeri Bacon*, which is the same that in the common catalogues of his works, is titled *Communia Naturalis Philosophiæ*, i. e. 'the Heads of Natural Philosophy'; which, on a closer inspection, appears to be the third part of the *Opus Minus*. On the whole, there is reason to believe, that in this treatise are comprehended the tracts following, *de Summa Grammaticalis*, *de Constructione Partium*, *de Logica*, *de Laudibus Artibus Mathematicæ*, *Communis Naturalis Philosophiæ*, *de Intellectu et Intelligibili*, and *de Universalibus*. His treatise of Chronology, which in the MS in the King's Library (130), is entitled *Computus Rogeri Baconis*, called by Balæus and Pitæus, *Computus Naturalium*. He divided it into three parts, at the end are subjoined a kalendar and some astronomical tables, which, though they have not his name to them, are most probably of his own composition; since he

tells us himself, that he had undertaken to draw up such a set of tables, and some of them relate to the year 1269, which very well agrees with the age of Bacon (131). As to the chemical writings of our author, that are extant in MS. or in print, they are these; *Traçtatus duo de Chemia*, i. e. 'Two Treatises of Chemistry.' *Speculum Alchemiæ*, 'Mirror of Alchemy.' *Thesaurum Chymicum*, i. e. 'Chemical Treasure (132).' *Specula Mathematica*, i. e. 'Mathematical Mirrors.' *Medulla Alchemiæ*, in 8vo, ann. 1608, i. e. 'Marrow of Alchemy.' *De Arte Chemia Scripta*, i. e. 'Writings upon the Art of Chemistry.' *Breviarium de dono Dei*, 'Breviary of God's Gifts.' *Verbum abbreviatum de Leone viridi*, i. e. 'A short Word of the Green Lyon.' *Secretum secretorum Naturæ de laude Lapidis Philosophorum*, i. e. 'Secret of Nature's Secrets in praise of the Philosopher's Stone.' *Traçtatus trium Verborum*, i. e. 'Treatise of three Words.' *Epistola de Modo miscendi*, i. e. 'Epistle on the Manner of mixing.' *Epistola secretissima de Ponderibus*, i. e. 'A secret Epistle of Weights.' *Speculum secretorum*, 'Mirror of Secrets.' It is not easy to assign the dates of these several pieces, but most probably they were wrote and sent abroad before the time of his imprisonment, and they seem to have had a much greater currency than his other writings, since we find them frequently quoted by the succeeding sages in that school, such as Norton, Ripley, &c. About the year 1288, he addressed to Pope Nicholas IV, his book *De retardandis senectutis accidentibus*, which being divided into three parts, each of these has been taken for a separate treatise, and so the whole divided into *De retardatione senectutis*, i. e. 'Of the retarding Old Age.' *De universalis regimine senum*, i. e. 'Of the Regimen for Men in Years'; and *De conservatione Senium*, i. e. 'Of the Preservation of the Senes.' His last work, as we have already shewn, was his *Compendium Theologiæ*, i. e. 'Compendium of Divinity,' of which there are several MSS. yet in being, some more and some less perfect. Thus it plainly appears, that though it may be true, that some of our author's works are lost, or at least so hid, as that the publick has no knowledge of them; yet that the far greater part of Bacon's works still remain, and if they were published with the same care that has been taken about his *Opus Majus*, it would undoubtedly be an acceptable service rendered to the commonwealth of learning, and contribute not a little, to the bringing such pieces of our author to light, as are still buried in obscurity. We must likewise observe, in order to compleat the design of this note, that several of the pieces mentioned in the foregoing catalogue, are falsely ascribed to our author, and ought really to be accounted the works of other men. Such as the Treatise *Of the Flux and Reflux of the British Sea*, which belongs to William Burley (133). The discourse on the *Usefulness of Astronomy*, which is attributed to William Botoner (134). The treatise of the *Magnet or Loadstone*, said to have been written by Peter Peregrinus (135): The *Rogerina Major & Minus*, which as Dr Freind justly observes, are not at all like to be his, but belong rather to Roger of Parma (136). The treatise on the *Psalms*, and the *Life of St Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury*, we have already asserted to be the works of Robert Bacon (137). On the whole therefore it will appear from this account, that we are already in a much better condition in this respect, than Leland thought was possible; and that we know much more of the life, character, and writings, of this famous man, than Bale or Pits, or any of the writers who transcribe from them, which is not said with any design of discrediting their labours, but with a view to encourage others to surpass our's, and give still a clearer account of this admirable person and his discoveries, to which we shall esteem ourselves happy, if we have any way contributed by the pains we have bestowed.

(131) Perhaps there are copies of the MS. in Mr Theyer's Collection.

(132) I find this title set down by Dr Shaw as of Bacon's Treatise, but I apprehend it is the Editor's title, for I find *Thesaurus Chemicus*. Francofurti. 8vo, 1603, 1620. in which most of these treatises are contained.

(133) Cave, Hist. Literar. Vol. II. P. 326.

(134) Id. ibid.

(135) This was the judgment of the famous Thomas Allen, as Wood tells us, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 140.

(136) History of Physick, Vol. II. P. 249.

(137) See the former article of BACON (ROBERT).

(130) As we are informed by Dr Jebb in his preface to the *Opus Majus*.

with certainty to what Popes he address'd his writings, what those writings were, and why they were address'd to them. We can form a just notion of the reason why he was honoured to so extraordinary a degree, by the most learned and the most worthy men of the age in which he flourish'd, and how his writings have been in some sort the standard of a true taste for science, that is to say, sought for and admir'd when it prevail'd, neglected and misrepresent'd whenever it was clouded or obscur'd. We are now sensible of the folly of those prejudices, the falshood of those calumnies, and the causes of those mistakes, which have been spread concerning our author and his writings. Lastly, we are enabled to discern, from the fullest and most authentick evidence, the justice and sincerity of those praises, which in the highest degree have been bestowed upon him, by the ablest writers and best judges of true and useful knowledge, in our own and in foreign countries [Z]. It is true, that a great deal of time and pains have

been

[Z] *In our own and in foreign countries.* It is a very just reflection made by Dr Freind, on the writers of our English history, who are so copious in their praises of much more inconsiderable persons, and yet silent as to Roger Bacon, 'that surely some relation of so extraordinary a genius, would have as well deserv'd to have had a place in their writings, as the detail of a blazing star or a bloody shower, which they never fail to register at large. And it might perhaps have been of as much use and pleasure to the reader, as a long recital of the rise and fall of a great minister, or the wars and victories of our Kings (138).' It is indeed doubtful, whether he would have been remembred at all in the times nearest his own, if it had not been for the rumours spread amongst the vulgar of his being a great Magician, and the honours paid him by the Alchemists at home and abroad, by whom he is always mentioned with great esteem, and as one of the Patriarchs in their science. Thus Thomas Norton, in his famous book on this subject, places him before Raymond Lully, and frequently cites his very words (139). He is also mentioned with great applause by George Ripley (140), which evidently shews, that his chemical works were universally known, among such as addict'd themselves to that study. It is not at all strange therefore, that when John Leland, with most laudable zeal, undertook to rescue some part of the literary history of his country from oblivion; he found it so difficult to obtain any tolerable account of our author's life and writings; as to which, however, he made very diligent search, and found enough to warrant his declaring our author, a man most diligent in acquiring every kind of learning, and justly meriting the title, of the miracle of the age in which he lived. Nay, so great an opinion had he of Bacon's learning, more especially in the Mathematicks, that he wishes for an hundred mouths and an hundred tongues to proclaim his praises, and most passionately deploras the various accidents, by which he was deprived of the pleasure of perusing all his works (141). Bishop Bale, though carried away at first by the stream of common opinion, yet afterwards did him ample justice, and fairly acknowledges, that he was both an excellent Mathematician, and a most learned Philosopher (142). John Pits gives him a very high character, and celebrates him as one perfectly skil'd in Poetry, Rhetoric, and every part of polite learning, all the liberal arts, in the several branches of Mathematicks, Physicks, and Philosophy, eminent in Divinity and Law, well read in Greek and Hebrew learning, and thoroughly vers'd in all the monuments of venerable antiquity. So that, says he, there was nothing wanting to render him the most knowing person of his age, and in every various kind of knowledge, most excellent. He vindicates him from all the injurious calumnies that had been thrown upon him, and very justly pronounces them the effects of that envy, to which the ignorant are provok'd against such as distinguish themselves by their extraordinary learning (143). After this, we find him mentioned with the greatest honour, by the most learned and most judicious writers, and it began to be accounted a merit to publish his writings, and to defend his character. The famous Dr John Dee (144), undertook the former, and promised the latter, and perhaps perform'd it too, though his work was never published. The learned Selden often mentions our author, with reverence and applause (145). The judicious Sir Thomas Brown, speaks of him with great respect, and takes particular notice of the story of the brazen-head, which he tells us, said no more

than *Time is*; he will have it that this tale is too literally received, as being but a mystical fable concerning the Philosopher's great work, wherein he eminently labour'd, implying no more by the copper-head, than the vessel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it spake, than the opportunity to be watch'd of the birth of the mystical child, or Philosophical King; which critical opportunity having slipped, he mist'd the intended treasure; which, says Sir Thomas, had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England, that is the most powerful defence and strongest fortification, which gold could have effected (146). But our author's memory has been indebted to none more than the industrious Anthony Wood, who, with incredible pains and diligence, first drew together the most remarkable passages of Friar Bacon's history, from his own, and from the writings of original authors near his time (147). We have already shewn what the learned Dr Plot has said in his defence, in his excellent Natural History of Oxfordshire; but it may not be amiss to observe, that in another work of his, he takes notice of Friar Bacon's curious remarks, on the efficacy of unction and painting for preserving the body, and thereby prolonging life (148); as also, of his having observ'd the motion of *asteria* or *star stones* in vinegar, four hundred years before he wrote (149). Our author is likewise celebrated for his discoveries by the famous Joseph Glanvil, who wrote in defence of the Royal Society (150). The great Mr Boyle speaks of him as the father of the Chemists, and the author of that notion, that metals are compos'd of mercury and sulphur, which however he does not absolutely approve (151). The famous Dr Cave, says of him very truly, that being immerst in philosophick studies, he wholly gave himself up to the search of hidden things, so that penetrating into the secret recesses of nature, he was able to assign the causes of things, and so to exert the effects of his wisdom in practice, as by the performance of extraordinary deeds, to create in the vulgar an apprehension of his being a Magician (152). We have often quoted Dr Freind in his praise, so that we shall at present borrow only a few words from him, and these such as shew him to have been a very impartial judge. 'We find, says he, enough in him to let us see, that the pursuit after the Philosopher's stone began early; and Lully, who owns himself his disciple (which probably might be when both were at Paris) carried these visionary notions to an extravagant height. However, there is a great deal of new and solid learning upon this subject of Chemistry in the works of Bacon; if we strip it of that jargon of language, which was so fashionable in those times. We may be the less surpriz'd to find such discoveries in him, who was indeed the miracle of the age he lived in (153).' After this excellent person, I shall not mention any more of our own countrymen, but content myself with shewing, in how great esteem our learned author has been with such foreigners, as were so happy to meet with, and so well vers'd in the sciences, as to be able to judge of his writings: For as to such as have written general introductions to literature, or short characters of great men, whose works they never saw, and on whom therefore they pass rash censures, capable only of misleading raw and weak minds, they are not worth regarding (154). The celebrated Picus de Mirandula, who was himself such a prodigy of learning, that, solely on this account, he was traduced for a Magician, from a supposition that it was impossible for him to have acquired so large a stock of science, without more than human assistance, speaks himself with reverence

(146) *Vulgar Errors*, Book vii. chap. xvi.

(147) *Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* p. 120—140.

(148) *Natural History of Staffordshire*, ch. ii.

(149) *Id. ibid.* ch. v.

(150) See his *PLUS ULTRA*; or, *The Progress and Advancement of Knowledge since the Days of Aristotle*, ch. v.

(151) *Boyle's Works*, Vol. I. p. 323.

(152) *Hist. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 225.

(153) *History of Physick*, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.

(154) *Gottlieb Stoll's, Introductio in Histor. Literar.* p. 474, 656.

(38) *History of Physick*, Vol. II. p. 248.

(139) *Ordinal.* p. v.

(140) See his *Compound of Alchemy*, in *Adnole's Thesaurum Chemicum Britannicum*, p. 131.

(141) *Comment. de Script. Britan.* p. 257, 258.

(142) *De Script. Britan.* p. 342.

(143) *De Illust. Angl. Scriptor.* p. 366, 367.

(144) See the article of DEE JOHN.

(145) *De Diis Syntag. i.* p. 2.

been employed, as indeed they were most necessary, to bring these several points, with the authorities requisite to support them, to the view of the publick; but, when the design of this work is considered, the merit of the man duly weighed, together with the glory which results to this nation from having produced, and that too in one of the darkest and most unlettered ages, the brightest and most universal genius, that perhaps the world ever saw, it is hoped that this time and pains, both with regard to the reader and the writer, will be esteemed properly employed.

(155) De Prænotione, lib. vii. c. 7.

and admiration of Roger Bacon (155). One of the most eminent members of the republick of learning in Holland, Gerard Joannes Vossius, has bestowed many and high commendations upon our author, whose works he had read and studied. I will mention only what he says of him in one place. 'In the year 1270

(156) De natura Artium, lib. iii. c. 70. §. 8.

'flourished in every kind of learning among the English, Roger Bacon, a Monk of the Franciscan order, and an Oxford Divine, a man of such vast learning, that England, nay the whole world beside, had not in this respect his equal, or his second; yet either through the envy, or the ignorance, of the age in which he lived, he was stigmatized as a Magician (156). That most ingenious Danish Philosopher Olaus Borrichius, shewed himself a zealous admirer of Bacon's learning and merit, with which he was well acquainted, and asserts him to have discovered all the kinds of glasses now in use, to have known gun-powder, and to have made many other important discoveries, which entitle him, as he observes, to immortal reputation (157). In another book of his, he declares, that he had a most extensive and surprizing capacity, in penetrating whatever subject he studied. He recommends him as one of the most candid, as well as most able of the Chemists, and one from whom many of the rest borrowed (158).

(158) Conspectus Scriptorum Chemicorum celebriorum, sect. xix.

There are few of the French writers who have given us greater marks of their general learning, than Gabriel Naudé, who expressly undertook the defence of our author, and who appears to have been very well acquainted with such of his writings, as in his time were made publick (159). The famous Morhoff mentions him often, and always with the greatest marks of approbation and esteem, and often with the highest praises; neither does he make any doubt of the discoveries ascribed to him by Wood, and other English writers (160). To him I may subjoin the learned and impartial Casimir Oudin, who, with infinite labour and diligence, has collected the best accounts that are any where to be met with, of the pieces written by Bacon, and the places where his manuscripts are preserved (161). The most judicious and indefatigable Fabricius, commends him highly in the short account he has given

(159) Apologie pour les grands Hommes supponez de Magie, chap. xvii.

(160) Polyhistor. I. 2, 6, 67. II. 2, 12, 6. III. 4, 1, 9, 17.

(161) De Script. Ecclesiast. Tom. III. col. 190, 191, 192, 193.

us of his life and writings. I cannot help taking notice of the amazing industry of this excellent person, whose labours are, and ever will be extremely useful to the lovers of learning; for though his account of Roger Bacon very little exceeds two pages, yet it plainly proves, that he had neglected nothing in his power, to gain a competent knowledge of this author and his works, and the desire he expresses of seeing Dr Jebb's edition of his Opus Majus, an account of which he had met with in a French Journal, is a singular instance of his veracity and willingness, to let his readers know, how far his materials extended and where they fell short (162). The most ingenious author of the History of Hermetick Philosophy Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy, has given a very concise and accurate account of Roger Bacon as a Chemist, and done him all the justice that could be desired (163). Another French writer of distinguished abilities, speaks of him with such an air of admiration, and so warmly asserts his right to those discoveries which have made other men famous, as shews, that he preferred truth to all things, and was resolved to espouse merit, in what age or country soever he found it (164). I shall conclude this catalogue of authorities in support of Bacon's character, which however long it may appear, comes very far short of what might have been collected, with that of the famous Boerhaave, who, in his account of Chemical writers, tells us, that Roger Bacon, an English Monk, who flourished in the thirteenth century, excelled in Alchemy, Chemistry, Natural Magic, Mechanics, Metaphysics, Physics, and Mathematics, and that such of his works, as have been handed down to us, are generally written in a clear, easy stile, without circumlocutions (165). Thus it appears that the reputation of this extraordinary person, has not risen from any superstitious regard to antiquity, or the prejudices of a few great men in his favour, but is truly founded on merit, and has been cherished and maintained, from a principle of justice, by the ablest men, and the most competent judges in all ages, and of all countries, from the times nearest his own, down to those in which we live.

(162) Bibliotheca Latina medicæ infimæ ætatis. P. 431—433.

(163) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 109.

(164) Histoire Critique de la Philosophie, Vol. III. p. 325.

(165) Boerhaave Chemistry, Vol. I. p. 28.

B A C O N (Sir **NICHOLAS**) Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He descended from an antient and honourable family in Suffolk [A]. His father was Robert Bacon of Drinkston in that county, Esq; and the name of his mother was Isabel, the daughter of John Gage of Pakenham in the said county, Esq (a). Our Nicholas was their second son, and born some time in the year 1510, at Chiffhurst in Kent (b). After having received the first rudiments of learning, either in the house of his father, or at some little school in the neighbourhood; he was sent when very young to Corpus Christi (vulgarly) Bennet college in Cambridge (c), where having improved himself in all branches of useful knowledge, for which he made a very grateful return [B], he travelled into France, and made some stay at Paris, in order to give the last polish to his education (d). On his return he settled in Gray's-Inn, and applied himself with such assiduity to the study of the Law, that he quickly distinguished himself in that learned profession, so that on the dissolution of the monastery of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he had a grant from King Henry VIII, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, of

(a) See the Pedigree of the family of Bacon MS. belonging formerly to Peter le Neve, Esq;

(b) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

(c) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 46.

(d) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 47.

[A] *An ancient and honourable family in Suffolk.* The learned Camden tells us, that Averton, in the county of Suffolk, was the feat of the antient family of Bacon, who held the manor of Thornage and that of Brome, by conducting all the footmen of Suffolk and Norfolk to the wars in Wales (1), and indeed there is a fair pedigree of this family extant, which deduces them from Grimbaldus, who came over hither at the Norman conquest, and had lands given him near Holt in Norfolk, where he founded the parish church of Letheringset, of which he made his second son Parson. From him Robert Bacon, the father of our Nicholas, was lineally descended. In support of this account many quotations might be made from our most antient writers, and particular-

ly from Weaver's Monuments, wherein there is mention made of many of the family of Bacon in Suffolk (2).

[B] *A very grateful return.* In regard to the university in general, he shewed his kindness, by making a present to the publick library of 103 Greek and Latin books, when such presents were much wanted, and not a little encouraged by his example (3). To the college he was a great benefactor, by endowing it with six scholarships, three of which he appropriated to his school of Botefdale, which he built, together with the chapel and library over it, shewing himself thereby a true lover and encourager of learning, which never enabled any family more conspicuously than his own (4).

(1) Camden. Britan. p. 352. edit. 1594.

(2) Pedigree for the family of Bacon, MS. Funeral Monuments, p. 813, 863.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 345.

(4) Stowe's Annals, p. 685. English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

of the manours of Redgrave, Botefdale, and Gillingham, with the park of Redgrave, and fix acres of land in Wortham, as also the tythes of Redgrave to hold *in capite* by Knight's service (e), which shews that he stood high at that time in the favour of his Prince, who was one that never gave or preferred but where true merit invited. In the thirty-eighth of the same King, he was promoted to the office of Attorney in the court of Wards, which was a place both of honour and profit. In this office he was continued by King Edward VI, his patent being renewed in the first year of that Prince (f), and in 1552, which was the last year of his reign, Mr Bacon was elected Treasurer of Gray's-Inn (g). His great moderation and consummate prudence, preserved him thro' the dangerous reign of Queen Mary. In the very dawn of that of Elizabeth he was knighted, and the Great Seal of England being taken from Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, was delivered to Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the twenty-second of December 1558, with the title of Lord Keeper (h). He was also of the Privy-Council to her Majesty, who had much regard to his advice. The Parliament met on the twenty-third of January, but was prorogued on account of the Queen's indisposition to the twenty-fifth, when the Lord Keeper opened the session with a most eloquent and solid speech [C]. Some of the Queen's Counsellors thought it necessary that the attainder of the Queen's mother should be taken off, but the Lord Keeper was of another mind, he thought the crown purged all defects, and in compliance with his advice, two bills were brought into Parliament, and passed into laws, one for recognizing the Queen's title, the other for restoring her in blood as heir to her mother (i). The main business of this session was the settlement of religion, in which no man had a greater share than the Keeper, though he acted with such prudence as never to incur the hatred of any party. On this account he was made choice of, together with the Archbishop of York, to be Moderator in a dispute between eight Protestant Divines, and eight Popish Bishops, and the latter behaving very unfairly in the opinion of both the Moderators, and desiring, to avoid a fair disputation, to go away, the Lord Keeper put that question to each of them, and when all except one insisted on going, his Lordship dismissed them with this memorandum, *For that ye would not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us*, and accordingly for this contempt, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower, and the rest were bound to appear before the Council, and not to quit the cities of London and Westminster without leave (k). The whole business of the session, than which there was none of greater importance throughout that reign, was chiefly managed by his Lordship, who pursued therein his wife maxim, *Let us stay a little, that we may have done the sooner* (l), and thereby brought all to a good conclusion, ending the session as he began it, with a most excellent speech [D]. Thence-

(e) Chitting's Tenures of Suffolk, MS. p. 154.

(f) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 3. m. 36.

(g) Dugdale, Orig. Juridic. p. 298.

(h) Pat. 1 Elix p. 3. m. 21.

(i) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. in the Appendix, where the last of these Acts may be found.

(k) Hollinghead, Stowe, Speed, Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 88, 94, 95, 96. Fuller's Church History, B. ix. p. 56.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

[C] *A most eloquent and solid speech.*] The sum of his discourse was to this purpose, 'That the Queen had God before her eyes, and was not unmindful of holy precepts and divine counsels, and therefore meant chiefly in this conference; that the advancement of God's honour and glory, should be fought as the sure and infallible foundation, whereupon the policies of every good commonwealth were to be erected, and was as the strait line, whereby it was wholly to be directed and governed; and as the chief pillar and buttress, where-with it was to be continually sustained. And as the well and perfect doing of this, could not but make good success in all the rest; so the remis and loose dealing in it, would not but make the rest full of imperfection and doubtfulness, which must needs bring with them continual change and alteration; a thing to be eschewed in all good governments, but most of all in matters of faith and religion. That the Queen therefore, principally required them, for the duty they bore to God, and their service to her and their country, that in this consultation they would with all humbleness, fugleness, and pureness of mind, use their whole endeavour and diligence to establish that which by their wisdoms should be thought most meet, for the well preserving this godly purpose; and this without respect of honour, rule, or sovereignty, profit, pleasure, or ease; or of any thing that might touch any person in estimation or opinion of wit, learning, or knowledge; and without all regard of other affection. And that in their conference about this, they should wholly forbear, as a great enemy to good counsel, all manner of contention, reasonings, disputes, and sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, matters for ostentation of wit, rather than consultation of weighty matters; comlier for scholars than counsellors. And because commonly they were causes of much expence of time, and bred no good resolutions. He advised that by counsel, provision should be made, that no contentious and contu-

melious words, as heretic, schismatic, papist, and such like, being nurses of seditious factions and sects, should be used, but banished out of men's mouths as the causers, continuers, and increasers of displeasure, hate, and malice; and as utter enemies of all concord and unity; and the very marks they were now come to shoot at. And that as nothing should be advised or done, that might any way breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition; so heed was to be taken, that by licentious or loose handling, any occasion were given, whereby contempt, or irreverend behaviour towards God and godly things, might creep in (5).'
[D] *A most excellent speech.*] On the subject of religion he spoke thus: 'That as to the observation of the uniform order in religion, they of the Parliament, in their several places, should endeavour, to the best of their powers, to further and set forth the same; which by great and deliberate advice in that Parliament, had been established. That watch should be had of the withdrawers and hinderers thereof, especially of those that subtly, and by indirect means, sought to procure the contrary. Among these he comprehended, as well those that were too swift, as those that were too slow; those that went before the Law or behind the Law, as those that would not follow. For good government could not be where obedience failed, and both these alike broke the rule of obedience. That these were they, that in all likelihood would be the beginners and maintainers of factions and sects, the very mothers and nurses of all seditious and tumults. Of these therefore great heed should be taken; and upon their being found, sharp and severe corrections should be imposed, according to the order of Law; and that in the beginning, without respect of persons, as upon the greatest adversaries that could be to unity and concord, without which no commonwealth, he said, could long endure.' After this speech, which was made on the fifth of May, 1559, the Parliament was dissolved (6).

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 54.

(6) Ibid. p. 61.

(m) Camden. An-
nal. p. 309.

forward the Lord-Keeper stood as high in the favour of the Queen as any of her ministers, and he took care to fortify his friendship, by maintaining a cordial interest with other great men, particularly with those eminent persons (m), who had married into the same family with himself, viz. Cecil, Hobby, Rowlet, and Killigrew. By their assistance he maintained his credit at Court, though he sometimes differed in opinion from the mighty favourite Leicester, who yet once bid fair for his ruin. There was, it seems, great intrigues at that time carried on in relation to the succession. Some great men, and particularly the Earl of Leicester, pretended to favour the title of the Queen of Scots, whereas others were more inclined to the House of Suffolk. The Queen sometimes affected a neutrality, but at others, she shewed a tenderness for the title of the Scottish Queen. In 1564, when these disputes were at the height, one Mr John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, thought fit to write a treatise, or rather to publish it, for it seems to have been written before in favour of the Suffolk line, and directly, and in plain terms, against the title of the Queen of Scots. This book was complained of by the Bishop of Ross, who was Ambassador from the Queen of Scots, and his cause being warmly supported by the Earl of Leicester, Hales was committed to prison, and so severe an enquiry made after all who had any notice of, or had expressed any favour for, this piece, that at last the Lord-Keeper came to be suspected, which drew upon him the Queen's displeasure to such a degree, that he was forbid the Court, removed from his seat at Council, and prohibited from meddling with any affairs but those of the Chancery; nay Camden carries it so far as to say he was confined. Certain it is, that the Queen was much estranged from him, and he in the utmost danger of total ruin (n) [E]. At last, however, Cecil with much difficulty restored him to the Queen's good opinion, who in all probability liked him not the less in the succeeding part of her reign, for this distaste he had shewn towards the title of the Queen of Scots (o), as appears by her setting him at the head of that commission, granted in the year 1568 (p), for hearing the difference between that unfortunate Princess, and her rebellious subjects; and in 1571 (q), we find him again acting in the like capacity, though very little was done before the Commissioners at either time, and very likely this was what Queen Elizabeth chiefly desired, and the covering her inclination with a decent appearance of justice, was perhaps not a little owing to the address of the Lord-Keeper. Thenceforward he continued not only in, but at the head of her Majesty's Councils, and had a great hand in preventing, by his moderation, some warm advices that afterwards took effect. The share however that he had in the business of the Duke of Norfolk, his known dislike to the title of the Queen of Scots, and his great care for promoting the Protestant religion, created him many bitter enemies among the Papists both at home and abroad, who though they were able to do him no great hurt, yet by several bitter libels gave him no small pain (r) [F]. As a statesman he was remarkable for a clear head, and deep counsels, and

(n) Strype's An-
nal's, Vol. I. p.
453, 454, 455,
456.
Camden. Annal.
p. 109, 110.

(o) See Strype's
Annals, Vol. II.
in the Appendix,
p. 109; where
there is a long
Memorial of Sir
Nicholas Bacon's,
dated Nov. 20,
1577.

(p) Camden. An-
nal. p. 170.

(q) Ibid. p. 225,
226.

(r) Strype's An-
nal's, Vol. II.
p. 173.
Camden. Annal.
p. 274.

[E] In the utmost danger of total ruin.] This is the most curious, as well as most difficult point to settle, that occurs in the memoirs of this great man, and yet few of our historians have given any clear account of this matter. I will therefore endeavour to set it in the best light that may be, so that the reader may at least comprehend, how a matter of no great importance at first sight, came to affect so great a man so deeply. Among other projects formed by Queen Elizabeth, to make herself easy in relation to the Queen of Scots, one was contrived in the beginning of 1564, for marrying that Princess to Lord Robert Dudley, created for that purpose Earl of Leicester, and the great argument used to persuade the Queen of Scots to this marriage, was a solemn assurance, that upon it's taking place, Queen Elizabeth would declare her presumptive heir to the crown. This project alarmed all the great men, who were of a party opposite to that of the Earl of Leicester, and this induced them to wish that something might be written, to shew that this new project was impracticable, by reason of the title of the House of Suffolk to the crown. This occasioned some countenance to be given to a treatise written the year before, on the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Lady Katherine Gray, under the title of *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England*, which the author laboured to prove, must belong to the issue of this marriage (7). The Earl of Leicester highly resented this, for which various reasons have been assigned, the most obvious is it's crossing his intended match; a late writer has guessed, that he might think it necessary to declare against the House of Suffolk, because of his near relation to it, which might otherwise have brought him into suspicion with Queen Elizabeth (8). For my own part, I think a better reason than any of these may be given, and that is, his hopes of ruining his adversaries, by fixing this book upon them, which he knew must be as odious to the Queen his mistress,

as to the Queen of Scots. In the month of April 1564, Hales was committed to the Fleet, and the farther enquiry into the matter, was committed to Sir William Cecil Secretary of State. He, in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, written at this very time, expresses a great concern at his being obliged to meddle in so knotty a business, however he professes that he would act in it uprightly, and move neither to the right-hand nor to the left. Upon his report, one Mr Nudigate was likewise committed, and upon farther searching into the business, Lord John Gray of Pyrgo was retrained. These proceedings occasioned such general discontent, that the Queen thought proper to prorogue the Parliament, and in the month of November, Hales was committed to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper disgraced, upon which Secretary Cecil in one of his letters says, *The affairs of the nation suffered much, as well as the Lord-Keeper's life, being in danger through heaviness of mind* (9), and this appears the more probable, since Lord Gray before-mentioned, died thro' apprehension of what might befall him. The matter suspected was, that the Lord-Keeper had some hand in writing the book. Anthony Wood tells us, that Cecil had as much hand in it as Bacon, but that it was agreed he should lay the whole weight upon the former, that he might preserve his interest with the Queen entire, and so be the more capable of bringing the Keeper again into favour, which however he was not able to do, till the beginning of the next year, nor had it been done at all, if Sir Anthony Browne, who in the reign of Queen Mary was Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, would have accepted the seals, but he a wife man, and of a religion different from that of the State, wisely and steadily refused them, though strongly importuned by the Earl of Leicester, who by this gentleman's prudence, found all his fine-spun schemes defeated (10).

[F] Gave him no small pain.] About the year 1570, some Popish fugitives in Scotland, not content

(7) Camden. An-
nal. p. 109, 110.
Strype's Annals,
Vol. I. p. 453,
& seq.
Wood's Athenae
Oxon. Vol. I.
col. 176.

(8) Hist. of the
Church and State
of Scotland, by
Mr Robert Keith,
p. 353.

(9) Strype's An-
nal's, Vol. I. p.
456.

(10) Wood's Ath-
nae Oxon, ubi supra

and while it was thought of some other great men that they seemed wiser than they were, yet the common voice of the nation agreed in this, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was wiser than he seemed. His great skill lay in balancing factions, and it is thought he taught the Queen that secret, the more necessary to her because the last of her family, and consequently without many of those supports incident to Princes (s). In the Chancery he distinguished himself by a very moderate use of power, and shewing great respect to the Common Law. At his own request, an act of Parliament was made, to settle and establish the power of a Lord-Keeper (t) [G]; though he might probably have taken away all need of this, by procuring the title of Lord Chancellor, but according to his motto which was *Mediocra firma*, he was content to be safe, and did not desire to be great. In that court, and in the Star-Chamber, he made use on proper occasions, of set speeches, in which he was happier than most men, pleasing the people by their sound, and charming the wisest men of that age with their sense, whence he attained the reputation of uniting two opposite characters, viz. of a witty and a weighty speaker (u). His great parts and great preference were far from raising him in his own opinion, as appears from the modest answer he gave Queen Elizabeth, when she told him his house at Redgrave was too little for him, *Not so, Madam*, returned he, *but your Majesty has made me too great for my house*. Yet to shew his respect for her Majesty's judgment, he afterwards added wings to his house (w). His modesty in this respect was so much the greater, since he had a great passion for building, and withal a very fine taste, as appeared by his house and gardens at Gorbambury near St Albans, a description of which the reader will find in the notes [H]. Towards the latter end of his life he became very corpulent,

(s) See Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 25. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 470, 471.

(t) Lives of the Chancellors, p. 86, 87.

(u) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 43.

(w) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 3.

with having printed there several seditious books, sent one of them, entitled *A Detection of certain Practices, &c.* with the following letter, addressed to their loving friends, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir Thomas Russel, the Queen's Lieutenants in the county of Worcester. 'After our hearty commendations; foreseeing, by mature advice and consideration, the present perils and imminent dangers whereinto the realm is like to fall, and that even at hand, if wisdom prevent not the same; and having a natural care, and faithful affection towards our country, as becometh all true Englishmen, we have thought good, as well to prevent the peril, as also to take care for the continual, prosperous, and peaceable government of this State, to signify unto you, what we, as well by credible report of strangers, as also by the universal speech of our countrymen at home, understand to be the causes of these so sudden dangers like to ensue. The commonality of this realm are thoroughly persuaded, that the Lord-Keeper, Master Secretary, Mr Mildmay, and Mr Sadler, should so misgovern the State, and abuse our Sovereign; that all, or the most part, of these dangers should arise from them, as procurers of the same; and that by them, and the Paganical pretended Bishops, now usurping in this realm, we should be thus still drawn and continued in a religion of their devising, much worse than Turkerie, &c. (11).'

From the close of this letter it appears, that letters of the same sort had been dispatched to every county in England, with a view, no doubt, to stir up a general rebellion, under pretence, that the Queen was guided by evil Counsellors. In the beginning of the year 1572, there was a libel published in France, deeply charging the Lord-Keeper, and the Lord-High-Treasurer Burleigh, as traitors to the State of England, which book was written with such bitterness, that it gave these great men much disquiet. The Treasurer hereupon wrote to the English Ambassador, 'That he had a great mind to know who the author was, and desired him to make his enquiry, adding that if by means of the printer it might be found out, he would bestow a reward upon the discovery. But that if it could not, then he wished that some means might be used, as of himself, to the Queen-mother, that the print might be destroyed, for that otherwise they should think themselves, considering the places they held in this estate, not well considered by that estate. He added, that this licentiousness to inveigh against men by name in printed books, who did not themselves use by books to provoke any, was in all good estates intolerable. And then he added, by way of protestation of the integrity and faithfulness of both their services, God, said he, send this estate no worse meaning servants in all respects than we two have been, who indeed have not spared labour nor care to serve our Queen and country, and if we had not, we might truly avow, neither our Queen nor country had enjoyed

'that common repose that it hath done (12).' Mr Camden, in his Annals, tells us, the title of this book was, *A Treatise of Treason*, and that the Queen was so moved therewith, as to publish a proclamation to justify her Ministers, and directing that all these books should forthwith be brought in and burnt, under severe penalties (13).

(12) Stuype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 274.

[G] *The power of a Lord-Keeper.* We have before observed, that he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, the twenty-second day of December, 1 Eliz. (14), but it seems, after he had been some months in his office, he began to doubt to what degree his authority extended, which seems to have been owing to the general terms used upon the delivery of the Great-Seal, of which we have various instances in Rymer's *Fœdera* (15). Upon this, he first applied himself to the Queen, from whom he procured a patent, bearing date at Westminster, the fourteenth of April, in the first year of her reign, whereby she declares him to have as full powers as if he were Chancellor of England, and ratifies all that he had already done (16). This however did not fully satisfy him, but four years afterwards he procured an act of Parliament (17), which declares, 'That the Common Law always was, that the Keeper of the Great Seal always had, as of right belonging to his office, the same authority, jurisdiction, execution of laws, and all other customs, as the Lord Chancellor of England lawfully used.' What the true reason was that made his Lordship so uneasy, is not perhaps known to posterity, but Sir Henry Spelman (18) has observed, that for the benefit of that wise counsellor Sir Nicholas Bacon, the authority of the Keeper of the Great Seal, was by this law declared to be in all respects the same with that of the Chancellor.

(14) Chronica Juridicalia, p. 167.

(15) Tom. IV. p. 523. Tom. V. p. 62. Ibid. p. 194.

(16) Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 30. do. do.

(17) 5 Eliz. c. xviii.

(18) Gloss. Verbo Cancellarius.

[H] *Find in the notes.* This manour was part of the antient revenue of the church of St Albans, near which it lies. On the dissolution of the monastery, it was granted to Ralph Rowlet, Esq; afterwards knighted, and by him conveyed to Sir Nicholas Bacon (19), who charmed with the pleasant situation, built here a neat and elegant house, adorned with fine gardens, which in those days made it very famous. Over the entrance into the hall stood these lines (20):

(19) Chidney's Hertfordshire, p. 464.

(20) History of English Improvements in Architecture, Gardening, &c. M3.

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus testâ Baconus
Elizabeth regni lustra fuere duo.
Factus eques magni Custos ipse Sigilli:
Gloria sit foli tota tributa Deo.
Mediocria firma.

*This house Nicholas Bacon finished
When Elizabeth had ten years ruled,
Who made him Knight and Keeper of her Seal:
To God alone all glory ever be.
Firm is the middle state.*

11) Cotton. Lib. Titus, B. ii.

corpulent, which made Queen Elizabeth say merrily, that *Sir Nicholas's soul lodged well*, to himself however his bulk was very cumbersome, inasmuch, that after walking from Westminster-Hall to the Star-Chamber, which was but a very little way, he was usually so much out of breath, that the Lawyers forbore speaking at the bar till he recovered himself, and gave them notice of it by knocking with his staff (x). After having held the Great-Seal more than twenty years, this able Statesman and faithful Counsellor, was suddenly removed from this life, as a certain writer informs us, by the following accident. 'He was under the hands of his barber, and the weather being sultry, had ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, he presently fell asleep, in the current of fresh air that was blowing in upon him, and awaked after some time distempered all over. Why, said he to the servant, did you suffer me to sleep thus exposed? the fellow replied, That he durst not presume to disturb him. Then said the Lord-Keeper, By your civility I lose my life; and so removed into his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after (y).' I have transcribed this story exactly, though I think there is some reason to doubt the circumstances of it, for all our writers agree, that Sir Nicholas Bacon paid his last debt to nature, on the twentieth of February 1579 (z), and one would imagine, that the weather could not then be very sultry, if it had, that must have been very unusual, and the historians of those times would not have failed to take notice of it. It cannot however be supposed, that such a fact as this is absolutely unsupported by authority, though the original writer, whoever he was, must probably have been mistaken, and have applied to Sir Nicholas Bacon, what was true of some other great person in those times. However that matter may be, most certain it is, that the Lord-Keeper Bacon, after a long, happy, and honourable life, died, equally lamented by the Queen and her subjects, as I have said, on the twentieth of February 1579, and on the ninth of March following, was buried with great solemnity, under a sumptuous monument erected by himself in St Paul's church (a) [I]. Camden's character of him is just and plain, *Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentia, summa eloquentia, tenaci memoria, & sacris Conciliis alterum Columnen* (b). i. e. A man of a gross body but most quick

(x) Chauncy's Antiquities of Hertfordshire, p. 464.

(y) Mallet's Life of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, p. 4.

(z) Strype's Annals, p. 547. Stowe, p. 685. Hollinghed, Vol. II. p. 1286.

(a) Camd. Ann. p. 333. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 547. Stowe's Annals, p. 685.

(b) Annal. p. 333.

Over a gate leading into the orchard, which had a garden on one side and a wilderness on the other, under the statue of Orpheus, stood these verses:

Horrida nuper eram aspectu latebræque ferarum,
Ruricolis tantum numinibusque locus.
Edomitor faustò huc dum forte supervenit Orpheus
Ulterius qui me non sinit esse rudem;
Convocat, avulsis virgulta virentia truncis
Et sedem quæ vel Diis placuisse potest.
Sicque mei cultor, sic est mihi cultus et Orpheus:
Floreat O noster cultus amorque diu.

*Of yore how frightful did this place appear,
Here howl'd wild beasts and satyrs frolick'd here,
When luckily for me this Orpheus came,
Whose heav'nly art has smooth'd my rugged frame,
For wither'd stocks, gave these fair spreading trees,
And rais'd a shade that deities might please.
Labours like his my Orpheus here employ,
O may we both each other long enjoy.*

In the orchard was a little banquetting-house, adorned with great curiosity, having the liberal arts beautifully depicted on it's walls, over them the pictures of such learned men as had excelled in each, and under them, verses expressive of the benefits derived from the study of them. The verses, and the names of those whose pictures were there placed, follow:

GRAMMAR.

Lex sum sermonis linguarum regula certa,
Qui me non didicit cætera nulla petat.
*O'er speech I rule, all tongues my lazius restrain,
Who knows not me seeks other arts in vain.*
DONATUS, LILLY, SERVIUS, and PRISCIAN.

ARITHMETICK.

Ingenium exaquo, numerorum arcana recludo,
Qui numeros didicit quid didicisse nequit.
*The wit to sharpen, I my secrets hide,
These once explor'd, you'll soon know all beside.*
STIFELIUS, BUDEUS, PYTHAGORAS.

LOGICK.

Divido multiplices, res explanoque latentes
Vera exquiro, falsa arguo, cuncta probo.
*I separate things perplex'd, all clouds remove,
Truth I search out, shew error, all things prove.*
ARISTOTLE, RODOLPH, PORPHYRY, SETON.

MUSICK.

Mitigo mærores, et acerbas lenio cruras,
Gestiat ut placidis mens hilarata fonis.
*Sorrow I sooth, relieve the troubled mind,
And by sweet sounds exhilarate mankind.*
ARION, TERPANDER, ORPHEUS.

RHETORICK.

Me duce splendescit, gratis prudentia verbis
Janque ornata nitet quæ fuit ante rudis.
*By me the force of wisdom is display'd,
And sense shines most when in my robes array'd.*
CICERO, ISOCRATES, DEMOSTHENES, QUINTILIAN.

GEOMETRY.

Corpora describo rerum et quo singula pacto
Apte sunt formis appropriata suis.
*What bodies are and all their forms I shew,
The bounds of each, and their proportions too.*
ARCHIMIDES, EUCLID, STRABO, APOLLONIUS.

ASTROLOGY.

Astrorum lustrans cursus viresque potentes,
Elicio miris fata futura modis.
*I mark the motions of the starry train,
And what those motions mean, I too explain.*
REGIOMONTANUS, HALY, COPERNICUS, PTOLEMY.

The manour, together with this fine seat, belongs now to the Lord Grimston of the kingdom of Ireland.

[I] In St Paul's church.] The inscription on this monument, penned by the famous George Buchanan, is singular and very worthy of notice (21), and therefore though it has been often printed, yet because it

(21) Dugdale's History of St Paul's, p. 71.

quick wit, singular prudence, supreme eloquence, happy memory, and for judgment the other pillar of the State. His felicity was not greater in his fortune than in his family. His first wife was Jane, daughter of William Fernley, of West Creting in the county of Suffolk, Esq; by whom he had issue three sons and three daughters. The sons were, 1. Sir Nicholas. 2. Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey in Norfolk, Esq; who married two wives, 1. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Gresham of London, Knt. by whom he had three daughters his coheirs; 1. Anne, who being married to Sir Roger Townshend of Rainham in Norfolk, ancestor to the present Lord Viscount Townshend, brought the Stiffkey estate into that family; 2. Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Knyvet of Ashwelthorp in Norfolk; and 3. Winifred, to Sir Robert Gawdy, of Claxton in Norfolk, Knt. Sir Nathaniel's second wife was Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Hopton of Suffolk, Knt. by whom he had no issue. 3. Edward Bacon, of Shrubland-Hall in Suffolk, Esq; in right of his wife Helen, daughter and heir of Thomas Littel of the same place, Esq; and of Bray, in the county of Berks, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to Sir Robert Litton, of Knebworth in the county of Hertford, Knt. from whom is lineally descended Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland-Hall, Esq; and from younger sons of the said Edward, are the Bacons of Ipswich in Suffolk, and Earlham in Norfolk, descended. The daughters were, 1. Anne, married to Sir Henry Wodehouse, of Waxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. 2. Jane, married 1. to Sir Francis Windham, Knt. one of the Justices of the Common Pleas; 2. to Sir Robert Mansfield, Knt. And 3. Elizabeth, married 1. to Sir Robert D'Oyly of Chislehampton in Oxfordshire, Knt. 2. to Sir Henry Nevil, Knt. and 3. to Sir William Periam, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. After her decease, he married Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy-Hall in the county of Essex, Knt. by whom he had two sons, Anthony and Francis (a), of whom an account will be given in the following articles.

(a) English Baronage, Vol. I. P. 45.

is generally speaking strangely mangled, it may not be amiss to give a correct copy of it here.

The sense in English, thus:

Hic Nicolaum nē Baconum conditum,
 Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
 Regni secundum columnen, exitium malis,
 Bonis Asylum; cæca quem non exultit
 Ad hunc honorem fors, sed æquitas, fides,
 Doctrina, Pietas, unica et Prudentia,
 Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
 Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
 Vitam secundam cælites inter animus,
 Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est.
 Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
 Ara dicata sempiternæ Memorix.

Here reposes Nicholas Bacon,
 The same who was so long
 The second pillar of the British state,
 Scourge of the wicked, to the good a refuge;
 Whom no blind fate exalted
 To this high honour; but equity and truth,
 Learning, piety, and exalted prudence:
 Think not that death has snatched him,
 Because in one short life, he merited two without end:
 His soul among the happy leads a second,
 His fame, which fills the world, is to him a third life:
 Here insorined lies the body, his soul once inhabited,
 Under a monument sacred to his deathless memory.

E

BACON (FRANCIS) Viscount St Albans, and High-Chancellor of England in the reign of King James I, the glory and ornament, as he has been justly stiled, of his age and nation. His parents were, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, with whose character the reader is already acquainted; his mother, Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, Tutor to King Edward VI, a lady equally distinguished by her piety, prudence, and learning (a). She was the second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and this Francis her second son, was born at York-House in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561 (b). His infancy being past, his noble genius, cultivated and encouraged by his excellent parents, gave early proofs of it's surprizing strength and pregnancy, insomuch, that we may justly say, his fame commenced with his childhood, as it accompanied him to his grave; for so remarkably conspicuous were his parts, even in his tender years, that persons of great worth and high dignity, delighted in conversing with him while a boy, and Queen Elizabeth herself, whose peculiar felicity it was to make a right judgment of merit, was so charmed with the solidity of his sense, and the gravity of his behaviour, that she would often call him *her young Lord-Keeper* (c); a happy presage, which, in the succeeding reign, was fully accomplished. When he had acquired the necessary rudiments of learning to qualify him for academical studies, he was sent to the university of Cambridge, where, on the sixteenth of June 1573, he was entered of Trinity-college, under Dr John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, being then in the twelfth year of his age (d). The quickness of his natural parts, assisted by an uncommon diligence and application, under the direction of as able and careful a Tutor, as any that learned age afforded, enabled our young scholar to make a most surprizing progress in his studies; so that before he was full sixteen, he had not only run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, as they were then taught, but began to perceive those imperfections in the reigning Philosophy, which he afterwards so effectually exposed, and thereby, not only overturned that tyranny which prevented the progress of true knowledge, but laid the foundation of that free and useful Philosophy, which has since opened a way to so many great and glorious discoveries (e). A thing highly worthy of notice, and which would certainly be esteemed incredible, if it were not supported by as clear evidence, as the nature of the fact

(a) See the character of this Lady in note [A] in the article BACON (ANTHONY).

(b) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his *Refusitatio*, p. 1.

(c) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 249.

(d) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 776.

(e) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

requires [A]. His father, the Lord-Keeper, discovering in his son such a ripeness of judgment and discretion, as seemed to warrant taking an extraordinary step in his education, resolved to send him, young as he was, to France, that he might improve himself in the knowledge of the world, under a Minister, as capable and as honest as that age produced, Sir Amias Powlet, then the Queen's Ambassador at Paris. His behaviour while in the house of that famous statesman was so well conducted, that he gained the esteem and confidence of Sir Amias to such a degree, as to be intrusted with a commission of importance to the Queen, which required both secrecy and dispatch. To execute this he came over hither, and performed it with such applause, as gained both himself and the Ambassador credit (f). He afterwards returned to Paris, from whence he made some excursions into the French provinces, that he might be the better acquainted with the country, residing for some time at Poitiers, and making such observations upon men and things, as opportunities would allow, of which we have a remarkable instance in his writings [B]. He applied himself during his stay there, not only to such studies as were agreeable to his inclination, but to those likewise, for his improvement in which, his father might probably be supposed to have sent him thither, as appears from a very ingenious and elegant performance of his, containing A succinct View of the State of Europe at that time, which, as the worthy writer of his life, with great penetration has observed, appears plainly to have been written when our author was but nineteen (g). In this short treatise there appears, not only much of the spirit and judgment, but of the method also which he pursued in his succeeding writings, which is a point particularly worthy of notice, because it corroborates and supports what has been before related, of his early proficiency, and surprizing progress in learning, and is indeed, not only worthy in all respects of so great a genius, but deserves likewise to be especially pointed out, for the imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumstances [C].

But

[A] *As clear evidence as the nature of the fact requires.* We are indebted to Dr Rawley, who was our author's Chaplain, for this and many other circumstances relating to the earlier years of his life. He tells us, for instance, that Queen Elizabeth was charmed at an answer given her by Bacon, when a perfect child. Her Majesty it seems had asked him how old he was, to which he answered, *that he was two years younger than her Majesty's happy reign.* (1). There was certainly a great deal of wit in this sprightly and well-turned compliment, from whence one may easily be induced to believe, that by the help of his education, and the example of his parents, the best bred and the most learned couple of their time, Mr Bacon might have acquired very extraordinary lights even before he went to the University. But the point which in this note we are to make good, was not at all of this nature, since, whatever he heard of Aristotle before he went to College, must have been such things as would have served rather to impress on him an awe of his authority, than a distrust of his knowledge. Yet we are assured by Dr Rawley, that he received this particular from Lord Bacon's own mouth, who likewise told him, *that his exceptions against that great Philosopher were not founded upon the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a Philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only for disputations and contentions, but barren in the production of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued to his dying day.* (2). Dr Tenison likewise, in his introduction to the *Baconiana* tells us, that when our author began his studies, Aristotle was in effect, the Pope in Philosophy, the lectures both in his private college and in the publick schools, were generally expositions upon Aristotle's text, and every opinion written by him as his own, was esteemed as authentic, as if it had been given under the seal of the Fether; it was therefore a very singular felicity in a young gentleman, to see farther into nature than the celebrated Philosopher, at whose feet he was placed; and it was as happy as it was extraordinary, that he took dislike betimes at the vulgar schemes of Natural Philosophy. * Use and custom in that way, continues Dr Tenison, might have reconciled it to him, as it had done to others of great learning. For a Philosopher is like a vine, of which they say, it must be set of a plant and not of a tree. But tho' there was bred in Mr Bacon so early a dislike of the Physiology of Aristotle, yet he did not despise him with that pride and haughtiness, with which youth is wont to puffed up. He had a just esteem of that great master of learning, a greater than that which Aristotle expressed himself, towards the Philosophers that went before him, for he endeavored (some say) to stile all their labours,

' designing to himself an universal monarchy over opinions, as his patron Alexander did over men. Our hero owned what was excellent in him, but in his enquiries into nature, he proceeded not upon his principles. He began the work anew, and laid the foundation of philosophic theory in numerous experiments (3). Thus we see that upon the whole, there is not the least reason to doubt the truth of this matter of fact, how extraordinary soever it may appear in its nature, and we shall very soon have occasion to support the evidence already given, by another proof as convincing as either of those which we have alledged already; for truths appear clearer the more closely they are examined, whereas errors, however specious, cannot endure such tests.

[B] *Of which we have a remarkable instance in his writings.* The most curious as well as the most authentic passages of the lives of learned men, are usually drawn from their own works, and therefore they ought to be read with the utmost attention for this purpose. The passage I am to cite on this occasion, has not, for any thing that I know, been taken notice of by any who have laboured to oblige the world with memoirs of this learned person; and I the rather cite it, because it shews how early he began those enquiries into human nature, which were finished only with his life. Speaking of the differences between youth and old age, and having enumerated many of them, he proceeds thus: When I was a young man at Poitiers in France, I familiarly conversed with a young gentleman of that country, who was extremely ingenious, but somewhat talkative, he afterwards became a person of great eminence. This gentleman used to inveigh against the manners of old people, and would say, that if one could see their minds as well as their bodies, their minds would appear as deformed as their bodies; and indulging his own humour, he pretended; that the defects of old men's minds, in some measure corresponded to the defects of their bodies. Thus dryness of the skin, he said, was answered by impudence; hardness of the viscera, by relentlessness; blear-eyes, by envy; and an evil eye, their down look, and incurvation of the body, by atheism, as no longer, says he, looking up to heaven; the trembling and shaking of the limbs, by unsteadiness and inconstancy; the bending of their fingers, as to lay hold of something, by rapacity and avarice; the weakness of their knees, by fearfulness; their wrinkles, by indirect dealings and cunning, &c (4).

[C] *The imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumstances.* The principal design in travelling is, or ought to be, the shaking off such prejudices as are contracted in a manner unavoidably in the course of common education, and the acquiring such lights, by experience and enquiry, as can be obtained no

(3) *Baconiana*, edit. Lond. 1679. p. 10, 11.

(4) *Historia Vitæ & Mortis*. Vol. 111. p. 130.

(f) *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 375.

(g) *Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon*, prefixed to the first Volume of Bacon's Works; London, 1740, in four Volumes in Folio.

(1) *Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon*, p. 2.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 3.

But while he was thus improving his talents abroad, his fortune received a very untoward check at home, by the sudden and unexpected death of his father, the Lord-Keeper, who having provided amply for his eldest son by his second venter, had laid by a considerable sum of money for the settlement of the younger son, but dying before he could find a proper purchase, Mr Francis Bacon had no more than the fifth part of this money for his whole fortune, which proving but a narrow provision, he found himself obliged to return to England, and to think of some profession that might sustain his fortune (b). He was not long in making this choice, in which perhaps the advice of his relations, the persuasion of friends, and the fame of his father, had to the full as great a share as his own inclinations. However that might be, he, on his return home, applied himself to the study of the Common Law, and for that purpose entered himself of the honourable society of Gray's-Inn, where his superior talents rendered him the ornament of the house, as the gentleness and affability of his deportment, procured him the affection of all its members. The place itself was so agreeable to Mr Bacon, that he erected there a very elegant structure, which for many years after was known by the name of the *Lord Bacon's Lodgings*, which he inhabited occasionally through the greatest part of his life, and thereby testified, how pleasantly he had passed his time in that seat of learning, while he had no higher title than that of a member of Gray's-Inn (i). He spent his time during the first years of his residence in that place, in very hard study, not confining himself entirely to the Law, which however he made sufficiently his care, but indulging his extensive genius, in the free contemplation of the whole circle of science. This appears clearly from hence, that he framed, as he tells us himself, not long after his being settled here, the plan of that great philosophical work, which will not only render his name immortal, but do honour to his age and country, so long as learning shall continue to flourish (k). As to this tract of his, in which, as an ingenious writer observes, he traced the out-lines of that magnificent structure, which after thirty years labour he finished; it seems (at least to me) doubtful, whether it be entirely lost, or whether we have it still as it's author left it, imperfect and unfinished [D]. But though he did not entirely

(b) Stephen's Introduction to his Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters.

(i) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4.

(k) See his Letter to Father Fulgentio.

confine

other way. It was to facilitate these, that Mr Bacon composed, as far as we can judge from the piece itself, this treatise intitled, *Of the State of EUROPE* (*), in which he sets down the names of all the Princes then reigning, their characters, families, interests, dominions, forces, revenues, and principal transactions of their reigns; together with some notices of their ministers, favourites, and the principal persons in their dominions; which without doubt our author drew forth into this form, that he might with the greater ease, understand what he heard or read concerning them, as also to help his own conversation on any of these subjects, and thereby prevent his falling into any of those errors, which are but too common with young travellers, and which frequently lay them open to such corrections, as must naturally put them out of countenance. It is a very ingenious observation of Mr Mallet, who has written our author's life with great spirit and vivacity, that this tract must have been written about the year 1580, because he tells us therein, that Henry III of France was then thirty years old; and as that Prince began his reign in 1574, when he was twenty-four years of age; this is certainly a very clear proof of the fact, and that our author composed this work by that time he was nineteen (5). I cannot however help believing, that it was not composed all at once, but rather, that our author began it in his travels, and afterwards revised and finished it when he was settled at Grays-Inn. I am confirmed in this by observing some other dates, mentioned in this short tract, which do not fall in exactly with that year; as for instance, speaking of Pope Gregory XIII, he says, he was then seventy years old, but as that Pontiff died in 1585, at the age of eighty-three (6); it is plain that he must have wrote this particular passage in 1582. Again, speaking of Philip II King of Spain, he says he was about sixty years of age, but this King Philip was born in 1527, and consequently, was not sixty till the year 1587 (7); and if we examine his other dates with the same care, we shall find that they refer to different years, which plainly proves that my conjecture is probable at least, if not certain. But what is extremely remarkable in this small treatise, is the care and accuracy with which he has set down most of the little Princes in Germany, with the state of their dominions. In short, the whole of this piece argues the author's great diligence and exactness, and at the same time demonstrates, how early he had found the advantages of committing whatever he thought worthy of notice to writing, and reducing it into a proper method: To say the truth, this was a thing very customary in those days, with

(*) See this treatise in the appendix to the first Volume of Bacon's Works, edit. 1740, p. 35.

(5) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

(6) Histoire des Papes, Vol. V. p. 44.

(7) Vie de Philippe II, par Greor. Leti, Vol. 1. p. 3.

such as applied themselves to the study of publick affairs, with a view to make themselves useful to the state; of which many instances might be given, if we had not already exceeded the bounds of a note, and spent rather too much time upon a performance, chiefly remarkable, for being in all probability the first that fell from the pen of this eminent writer, and in all likelihood, was never intended by it's author for the eye of the publick; though from the great esteem attracted by many excellent works, it was justly held a benefit conferred upon posterity to deliver from obscurity, whatever was assuredly the product of so vast a genius.

[D] Or whether we have it still as it's author left it imperfect, and unfinished.] In order to clear up this subject, I shall endeavour to shew on what grounds it is believed our author wrote such a work so early; next, what the title of that piece really was; and lastly, what reasons there are to conceive it is not wholly lost, as has hitherto been the common opinion. As to the first, the author himself, in a letter to Father Fulgentio, a very learned Italian (9), who desired to have an account of the works he had already written, and of those he had still thoughts of making publick, having first mentioned the several parts of his great body of Philosophy, which had already seen the light, he goes on thus: 'Attamen in prodromis (sui dico) tantum, quæ ad universalis naturæ fere pertingunt non levia jacta erunt hujus rei fundamenta. Conamur (ut vides) tenues grandia: in eo tamen spem ponentes, quod videntur ista a Dei providentia & immensa bonitate profecta. Primo, propter ardorem & constantiam mentis nostræ, quæ in hoc instituto non confenuit, nec tanto temporis spatio refrixit. Equidem memini me quadraginta abhinc annis juvenile opusculum circa has res confecisse, quod magna prorsus fiducia et magnifico titulo, temporis partum maximum inscripsi. Secundo quod propter utilitatem infinitam Dei opt. max. auctoramento gaudere videatur (10).' That is, *Nevertheles, in these introductory pieces (those I mean which related chiefly to generals) the foundation of this matter was not hastily laid. We struggled (as you see) to effect great things by a small force, putting our firm confidence in God, that through his providence and great goodness, we should accomplish them. First, because of the ardour and constancy of our mind, which grew not languid after making a beginning, or cooled at all in so long a space. For well I remember that forty years ago, I composed a juvenile work about these things, which with great confidence, I graced with the swelling*

(9) The constant companion of Father Paul at Venice, and the same who wrote his life.

(10) *Epist. ad Fulgentium*, in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 404.

confine his thoughts to his profession, yet his quick parts and surprizing penetration, enabled him to make as rapid a progress in that, as in other kinds of learning, and the rather, because he was extremely methodical, and wonderfully diligent in his study, taking all imaginable pains, to make himself thoroughly master of the principles of the Law, and to extend his knowledge gradually through all the branches of that laborious, but most useful and noble profession, as is very evident, from his solid and learned writings. He distinguished himself no less in his practice, which was very considerable, and after discharging the office of Reader at Gray's-Inn, which he did in 1588, when in the twenty-sixth year of his age; he was become so considerable, that the Queen, who never over-valued any man's abilities, thought fit to call him to her service, in a way which did him very great honour, by appointing him her Counsel learned in the Law Extraordinary; by which, tho' she contributed abundantly to his reputation, yet she added but very little to his fortune, as indeed in this respect he was never much indebted to her Majesty, how much soever he might be in all others (1). We are henceforth to consider him in a new character, I mean that of a statesman and candidate for Court favour, as well as a Lawyer, and it will require some pains, and much caution, so to speak of him in this light, as to avoid injuring either his character or the truth. He seemed to come into the world with as great advantages, and with as high pretensions to preferment as any man

(1) Stephens's Introduction, p. xi.

ling title of the Greatest Birth of Time. Secondly, because for it's infinite utility, the most wise God seemed to encourage my progress. It is very clear from hence, that our author wrote a book, containing the rudiments of his Philosophy, when he was very young; for if we should even allow this letter which is without date, to have been written in the last year of his life, yet this will carry the treatise so far back as to the year 1586, when our author was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and before he had attained to any preferment; and it is possible, that it might have been wrote some time before. As to the title of this book, the Reader has it in the letter, but then there is some doubt, whether this title were the true one, or rather as I think, whether it was the only one. It may not be amiss to hear, what a very learned editor of some of our author's works has said upon this subject, in which, speaking of the works of Lord Bacon that are missing, he says (11), 'Loft

(11) Dr Tenison, in his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 22.

likewise is a book, which he wrote in his youth, he called it (Temporis Partus Maximus) the Greatest Birth of Time, or rather, Temporis Partus Masculus, the Masculine Birth of Time, for so Gruter found it called in some of the papers of Sir William Boswell; this was a kind of embryo of the Instauration, and if it had been preserved, it might have delighted and profited philosophical readers, who could then have seen the generation of that great work, as it were, from the first egg of it.' In like manner the ingenious Mr Mallet (12), speaking of this treatise, is pleased to deliver himself thus: 'Tho' the piece itself is lost, it appears to have been the first out-lines of that amazing design, which he afterwards filled up and finished, in his grand Instauration of the Sciences; as there is not a more amusing, perhaps a more useful speculation, than that of tracing the history of the human mind, if I may so express myself, in it's progression from truth to truth, and from discovery to discovery; the intelligent reader would, doubtless, have been pleased, to see in the tract I have been speaking of, by what steps and gradations, a spirit like Bacon's advanced in new and universal theory.' But perhaps, after all this, the treatise so much deplored may not be lost, for it is certain, that the tract mentioned by Gruter, under the title of *Temporis Partus Masculus, or the Masculine Birth of Time*; is in some measure preserved by him, in the Latin works which he published of Lord Bacon, and we find it again in the latest English edition of his works, in the language and state in which it's noble author left it (13). But here seems to lie the difficulty, some

(12) In the Appendix to the first Volume of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 17; where it is intitled, 'FALSERIUS TERMINUS of the Interpretation of Nature, with the Annotations of HERMES STELLA.

writers who have reviewed the scattered works and fragments of Lord Bacon, have with great labour and industry, endeavoured to bring in this treatise, otherwise stiled *Of the Interpretation of Nature*, as a part of that great body of Philosophy which he had framed; whereas our author himself, speaking of this treatise, tells us, as the reader may see above, that it was not a part or portion of his great structure of Philosophy, but the first sketch or rough draft of the whole. Now I conceive, that whoever looks into these fragments of the book on the Interpretation of Nature, as they stand in the

works of our author, and shall afterwards compare them with the beginning of his Instauration, will not need many arguments to persuade him, that this conjecture is founded in truth, and that there is as much reason to conceive that the great work just mentioned, rose out of the *Temporis Partus Masculus*, as that the *Novum Organon*, sprung from another of the fragments which accompanies this, and is commonly called his *Cogitata & Visa*. If the reader would be told what is the issue, what the advantage of this laboured inquiry, he will surely be satisfied with this answer, That by drawing these fragments of the Interpretation of Nature into a good light, it appears, that what the honest and candid Tenison thought so fine a fight, the generation of Lord Bacon's Philosophy from the egg is still in our power; and what the ingenious and instructive Mr Mallet most truly observes, the ability of reviewing and tracing the author's steps from one discovery in science to another, is yet in a great measure with us, which, to such as rightly apprehend Lord Bacon's worth, and have a just conception of the value of his writings, will appear somewhat of considerable consequence. I am satisfied, that in matters of this nature there is no absolute certainty, and that in the depths of Lord Bacon's knowledge, a man of ordinary talents may be very easily lost; but I own at the same time, the thing struck me so strongly, that I could not help putting it down, yet with all imaginable submission to the reader, to whose service as I dedicate my labours, I hope (should it be found so) he will the more easily pardon my mistake. There are, however, a few circumstances more, to which I must desire the reader's attention, and then he will have a just notion of Mr Bacon's frame of mind. While at Gray's-Inn, he was eagerly engaged in the study and pursuit of his new Philosophy, the whole scheme of which he had already formed. It was to this he applied his thoughts, and this was the great object of his ambition. If he desired or laboured for preferment in civil life, it was but with a view to gain thereby the means of improving and accomplishing his system, for he made even the most shining transactions of his life, but subservient thereto. In a word, the introducing this new method of attaining wisdom was his ruling passion, and his great spring of action through life. It quickened him in the pursuit of employments, it consoled him when he met disappointments in that pursuit; it filled up (most agreeably) his few leisure moments when in the zenith of his grandeur; it softened his fall, by proposing a new road to fame and esteem, in which he was in no danger of being either imposed on by one set of men, or sacrificed to the interests of another. Thus, this was always, and in all conjunctures, his leading object, of which he never lost sight, and as we have already had a train of evidence sufficient to convince us, that he conceived something of this kind when he was but sixteen, and brought it into some form by that time he was twenty-six; so the remainder of this article will show, how warmly he prosecuted this point till death overtook him on the road, when his mind was wholly occupied with these speculations.

man of his time; for, besides being the son of a Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, and one of the ablest statesmen of the age, he was nephew to William Lord-Burleigh, who married his mother's sister, and first cousin to Sir Robert Cecil, his son, who was Principal Secretary of State, so that one would have thought Mr Bacon's abilities, supported by such powerful mediators, might easily have made their way at Court (m). But it was his misfortune to have too much merit, and too extensive interest, the former rendered him suspicious to his Court patrons, and the latter engaging both parties in his favour, produced him much credit, but contributed more than any thing to spoil his fortune. The Court and Ministry of Queen Elizabeth, was through her whole reign divided into two parties, at the head of one of which were the two Cecils, and at the head of the other, first the Earl of Leicester, and afterwards his son-in-law the Earl of Essex (n). If Mr Bacon, who, as we have already shewn, was nearly allied to their family, had steadily adhered to the Cecils, he might very probably have risen by their interest, but he made a very early friendship with Robert Earl of Essex, who was at the head of the other faction, and attached likewise his elder brother, Mr Anthony Bacon, to that nobleman's service, and that in so strict a manner, as could not fail to give great jealousy to the Cecils (o). All these are indisputable matters of fact, and therefore such as are acquainted with the intrigues of a court, will not be very much surprized at the fate of Mr Bacon, of whose parts and application, while both parties made their advantage, yet neither made his fortune. Sir Robert Cecil is represented, and perhaps justly, as the person who threw those obstacles in Mr Bacon's way, that throughout this whole reign he was never able to surmount, for he who had all the arts and address of a Court, failed not to suggest, that Mr Bacon was a speculative man, and consequently the less fit for business, one who had his head full of philosophical notions, and therefore more like to perplex than to promote publick affairs, if permitted to have any share in their direction (p). However, that they might not seem to neglect so near a relation, or to slight a person of such distinguished abilities, the Cecils procured for him the reversion of a very considerable place, viz. the Register of the Court of Star-Chamber, which nevertheless he did not enjoy till the next reign (q) [E]. As for his other patron, Robert Earl of Essex, as he was a nobleman justly celebrated for his great qualities and eminent virtues, so he approved himself to Mr Bacon, a warm, steady, and indefatigable friend. This appeared clearly, upon Mr Bacon's pressing very earnestly to be made Queen's Solicitor, in the year 1594, in which he made use of all his friends, and exerted his own endeavours to the utmost; it was now that he discovered, how little reason he had to trust to, or depend upon, the Cecils, and had very little cause to be well pleased with the conduct of the then Lord-Keeper (r); but as for the Earl of Essex, he not only afforded him all the assistance, both by personal application, and by engaging his friends to interest themselves on the behalf of Mr Bacon, that was in his power, but had so generous a concern for his want of success in that application, which he believed to be owing to his own appearing in this gentleman's cause, that he most kindly and freely made him amends for his disappointment out of his own fortune (s) [F]. This was so rare, so extraordinary an

(m) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(n) See Camden, Strype, Dugdale, and the rest of the writers of her reign.

(o) Lord Bacon's Apology, in the third Vol. of his Works, p. 429.

(p) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9, 10. See also Lord Bacon's Letters in the fourth Vol. of his Works.

(q) See Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(r) See the Letters of Lord Bacon on this Subject, in the fourth Vol. of his Works, from p. 516.

(s) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 431.

[E] *The register of the court of Star-Chamber which however he did not enjoy till the next reign.* When our author first applied himself to publick affairs, he studied to recommend himself solely to the good graces of the Lord High-Treasurer Burleigh, from whom, as his uncle, he expected, and had reason to expect, the fairest quarter in the world. We learn this from his own writings, for there are many of his letters to that noblemen still extant, in which he declares no less, and expresses a very warm and passionate desire, to dedicate himself entirely to the Queen's service, through the interposition, and solely by the recommendation of that great minister (14). It was by the means of that Lord he obtained the reversion of this office, as he acknowledges in the same letters, with this additional circumstance, that his Lordship obtained it for him, notwithstanding a vehement opposition. What this place was and the value of it, Dr Rawley, who was his Lordship's Chaplain, and one who lived with him in the strictest intimacy, tells us plainly, and with circumstances worthy notice (15). 'His birth and other capacities, says he, qualified him above others of his profession to have ordinary access to Court, and to come frequently into the Queen's eye, who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession or business in Law, but also about the arduous affairs of state, from whom she received from time to time a great satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheared him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheared him with the bounty of her hand, having never conferred upon him any ordinary place, or means of honour, or profit, save only one dry reversion of the Register's office in the Star-Chamber, worth about 1600 l. per Ann. for which he waited

in expectation, either fully, or near, twenty years; of which his Lordship would say in Queen Elizabeth's time, *That it was like another man's ground buttalling upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn.* His having the reversion of this place, I take to be the reason, why several writers stile him one of the clerks of the privy-council (16), for that he had no other employment than this under that reign, is very clear from the foregoing passage in Dr Rawley's Memoirs, and from his own letters (17). It was in gratitude for his obtaining for him this reversion, that in the year 1592, our author composed a large treatise, which he called *Certain Observations upon a Libel entitled, A Declaration of the true Causes of the great troubles*; in which he very warmly vindicates the Lord Treasurer particularly, and his own father, and the rest of Queen Elizabeth's ministers occasionally, and this I take to have been the first political production of his pen (18), and, by the way, it may not be amiss to remark, that these sort of ministerial pamphlets were much in fashion in those days, and proved the great support of that Queen's administration; for her Ministers being wise and able men, and acting upon just and honest principles, were not afraid of explaining and justifying their conduct, by which they were sure to satisfy the sensible part of the nation, and secure to themselves the rational support of a well founded popularity during their lives, and a just respect for their memories after their decease; which are blessings that can never be enjoyed by wicked or weak ministers, such as act either upon bad principles, or upon no principles at all.

[F] *Made him amends for his disappointment out of his own fortune.* We learn this singular particular from best authority possible; viz. that of our

(16) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(17) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 573.

(18) In the Refutation published by Dr Rawley, p. 81. And in the fourth Vol. of Bacon's Works.

(14) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 512

(15) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

an instance of this nobleman's sincere friendship, and tender regard for Mr Bacon, and at the same time, so noble a testimony of his spotless honour and boundless generosity, that one would have thought it must for ever have attached Mr Bacon to that Earl's fortunes. But it happened otherwise; that great favourite fell into deep misfortunes; which prove so frequently the fate of all Court favourites, that it ought not to be esteemed a wonder; yet, that Mr Bacon should be apparently, and in the eye of the world, an instrument of his misfortunes, that in the exercise of his profession he should appear against him as a Lawyer, that he should plead for the Crown when that nobleman was tried for his life, and that after he had suffered a shameful death, Mr Bacon should endeavour to perpetuate this shame, by drawing that declaration of the treasons of the late Earl of Essex, which was calculated to justify the government, in a measure very disagreeable to the bulk of the people, and to ward off the publick hate, from those who had ruined the Earl of Essex, and had never done Mr Bacon any good; this indeed is strange, but at the same time it is true, so true, that our author found himself obliged to write an apology for his conduct, which he addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, who was the fast friend of the unhappy Earl of Essex, and his own (t) [G]. But this apology, though admirably well penned, and which seems to be as much distinguished by the sincerity of the writer's heart, as enlivened by the beauties of his eloquence; yet amounts to no more than this, that he had given the Earl good advice, which he did not follow; that upon this a coldness ensued, which kept them at a greater distance than formerly; that however he continued to give his advice to the Earl, and laboured all he could to serve him with the Queen; that in respect to his last unfortunate act, which

(t) See the Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 429.

(19) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 430, 431.

author himself, who in his apology (19) addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, gives us the story at large in these words: 'I trust and will ever acknowledge my Lord's love, trust, and favour towards me, and last of all his liberality, having enfeoffed me of land, which I sold for eighteen hundred pounds to Master Reynold Nicholas, which I think was more worth, and that at such a time, and with so kind and noble circumstances, as the manner was as much as the matter, which though it be but an idle digression, yet because I am not willing to be short in commemoration of his benefits, I will presume to trouble your Lordship with relating to you the manner of it. After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twicknam-park, and brake with me, and said, Mr Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill, because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance; yet you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die, (these were his words) if I do not somewhat toward your fortune, you shall not deny to accept a piece of land, which I will bestow upon you. My answer, I remember, was, that for my fortune, it was no great matter, but that his Lordship's offer, made me call to mind what was wont to be said when I was in France of the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations; meaning, that he had left nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him. Now, my Lord, said I, I would not have you imitate his course, nor turn your estate thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors. He bad me take no care for that and pressed it; whereupon I said, my Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift, but do you know the manner of doing homage in Law? Always it is with the saving of his faith to the King, and his other Lords; and therefore, my Lord, said I, I can be no more your's than I was, and it must be with the antient savings, and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back again to some of your unrewarded followers.' There is an odd story reported by a person who was once in Lord Bacon's service, which attributes this gift to another cause, which I must confess, is not very probable; but however, as the man tells it with extraordinary confidence, it ought not to be passed over. He says, that our author, then his master, presented to the Earl of Essex a secret curiosity of nature, whereby to know the season of every hour of the year by a philosophical glass (with a small proportion of water) in a chamber; with which that Earl was so pleased, that he bestowed upon him Twitnam-park, and it's garden of paradise, as a place for his studies (20). It was such a story as a servant might pick up and repeat,

(20) Bassell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in mineral productions. Lond. 1659. 420. In the Postscript after Lord Bacon's Atlantis, p. 1.

but, as Dr Tenison (21) justly observes, could have no farther foundation in fact, than what is contained in the beforementioned account by our author himself on such an occasion to such a person, and attended with such circumstances, as leaves no room to surmise, he would either conceal or depart from truth, which at the time he wrote could have done him no good.

[G] Which he addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, who was fast friend to the unhappy Earl of Essex and himself. This discourse of our author's, in vindication of his conduct towards the Earl of Essex, was wrote many years after the death of that nobleman, and is certainly a very curious and very elegant performance; the chief topicks insisted on therein are briefly summed up in the text. But whereas our author positively declares in his address at the beginning of that work, that he did not write it for the satisfaction of the many but of the few; it from thence most clearly appears, that with all his learning and all his art, he did not think it possible to satisfy common minds on that topic, and therefore affected to despise them. But undoubtedly, he was too good a judge of truth and of the nature of mankind to be really of this opinion; since at the bottom it will be found that the measures and obligations of gratitude, must depend upon the sentiments of mankind in general, or have no foundations at all. The ground-work of his defence is this, that he indeed had obligations to the Earl of Essex as his friend and patron, which we have already seen he had in the highest degree, but then he likewise owed duty and obedience to the Queen, which he thought, and very justly too, ought not to be sacrificed to his private obligations to the Earl of Essex. But this is so far from untying, that it does not touch the knot, which he ought to have resolved, and which was plainly this; whether, after the Earl of Essex had been so active in his favour, he should have been so busy as he was in the proceedings that brought him to the block: That he was not bound to rebel with the Earl because he was his friend, which yet the Earl of Southampton did, no man in his wits would deny; but that he should be so ready to do against the man that he had professed such friendship for, and that had been so good a friend to him, what any other man might have done as well, is what even the wit of this able author could not account for. I could mention a late instance of a great man in the like circumstances with the Lord Bacon, who when called upon by the highest authority to prosecute his benefactor, modestly declined it, though he might have pleaded the same excuse, and even a better than our author had to alledge, which proved no bar to his preferment, and which, when his name shall come to adorn a work like this, will redound to his immortal honour, as at the time it happened, it procured him universal applause; which shews the truth of what I advanced, that the obligations of gratitude are determined by common opinion.

(21) In his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 18.

was in truth no better than an act of madness, he had no knowledge or notice whatever; that he did no more than by duty he was bound to do for the service of the Queen, in the way of his profession; and that the declaration was put upon him altered, after he had drawn it, both by the Ministers and the Queen herself; and it had not the wished-for effect, of entirely wiping off the imputation of ingratitude, but left him under such a stain, as injured his reputation, in the common opinion of mankind, as long as he lived (y) [H]. The ingenious author of his life has treated this matter very freely and fairly, and has shewn that he was not led away by that fond spirit of partiality, which too often betrays the writers of great men's lives, into an approbation of their weaknesses, as well as a zeal and admiration for their virtues (w) [I]. But it is now time to return, not only to the thread of our memoirs, but to the course of our author's studies, which were always the principal business of his life, and which we interrupted a little, that we might prosecute the story of his transactions as a courtier, without breaking the thread. His enemies represented him as a man, who, by applying too much of his time in pursuit of other branches of knowledge, could not but neglect that of his profession; which, however, at this distance of time, when all prejudices are worn off, and nothing hinders men from perceiving or owning truth, is confessed by the best judges to have been a rank calumny. This judgment of theirs is founded on his writings upon the Law, most of which were written, though not published under this reign. About the year 1596, he finished his *Maxims of the Law* (x) [K], which, though

(y) Osborne's Memoirs, p. 459.

(w) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

(x) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18.

[H] Injured his reputation in the common opinion of mankind as long as he lived.] There is extant a letter of our author's to Queen Elizabeth, written some little time after this unlucky affair, when it seems he thought fit to absent himself from court, on account of the uneasy situation in which he found himself there; and yet it appears, his privacy did not give him that quiet and content he looked for in it, as we may gather from the following conclusion of this letter to her Majesty (22): 'But in this mind I find such solitude and want of comfort, which I judge to be because I take duty too exactly, and not according to the dregs of this age, wherein the old anthem might never be more truly sung: *Totus mundus in maligno positus est*. My life hath been threatened, and my name libelled, which I count an honour. But these are the practices of those whose despairs are dangerous, but yet not so dangerous as their hopes, or else the devices of some that would put out all your Majesty's lights, and fall on reckoning how many years you have reigned, which I beseech our blessed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may never live to see any eclipse of your glory, interruption of safety, or indisposition of your person, which I commend to the Divine Majesty who keeps you and fortifies you.' This plainly shews into how great danger as well as obloquy he was fallen by taking this course, to which, from this letter, and whatever else he has written about it, he would persuade us he was moved by duty and reverence for the Queen his mistress, but perhaps, there might be also a mixture of fear, which I do not by any means hint as an imputation on his memory, but on the contrary suggest it by way of excuse. If we may credit a writer who lived near, not to say in those times (23), the Queen and her ministry, drove the prosecution upon Essex's treason, which might as well have been stiled madness, with unaccountable fury, and exercised such rigour against all offenders, nay, and all suspected of having a will to give offence, as is scarce credible to us in better times. Thus for instance, he talks of Sir Henry Lee losing both life and fortune, for wishing well to the three Lords in the Tower, and of another meaner person who was hanged in Smithfield, for only writing to his father in the country, an account of their apprehension and commitment. In a season like this, our author, who had been both a favourite and of the privy-council to the Earl of Essex, might very well doubt his safety, and make it his choice, rather to perform the functions of his office, yet with tenderness and decency (as it is owned he did) than expose himself either to the Queen's anger, or to the resentment of those ministers who had her confidence at that time, and whose power in the succeeding reign not only continued, but increased, which I take to be the reason that this affair was never more truly stated by men of knowledge and capacity, but left to the pens of such, as for want of more authentic vouchers had recourse to traditional memoirs, enlarged and pieced out by their own fancies, by which means, this is become one of the most perplexed passages in our history.

[I] Approbation and defence of their weaknesses,

as well as zeal and admiration of their virtues.] The author cited in the text speaking of this transaction says (24), 'The untimely fate of this nobleman, who died on a scaffold in the prime and vigour of his years, excited universal pity, and was murmured against by all conditions of people. Their reflexions on the prevailing party at Court, even on the Queen herself, were so bold and injurious, that the Administration thought it necessary to vindicate their conduct in a publick appeal to the people. This task was assigned to Bacon, even then in high esteem for his excellencies as a writer, some say it was by his enemies insidiously imposed on him, to divert the national resentment from themselves upon a particular person, who was known to have lived in friendship with Essex, and whom they intended to ruin in the publick esteem. If such was their intention they succeeded but too well in it. Never man incurred more universal or more lasting censure than Bacon by this writing. He was every where traduced as one who endeavoured to murder the good name of his benefactor, after the ministry had destroyed his person. His life was even threatened, and he went in daily hazard of assassination. This obliged him to publish in his own defence the apology we find among his writings. As it is long and elaborate, but not perhaps in every part satisfactory, let us believe him on his own testimony, that he had never done that nobleman any ill offices with the Queen, though she herself had insinuated the contrary; that, on the other hand, he had always, during the time of their intimacy, given him advice no less useful than sincere; that he had wished, nay endeavoured, the Earl's preservation, even at last, purely from affection to him, without any regard to his own interest in that endeavour; let all this be allowed, some blemish will still remain on his character. Essex deserved the fate he underwent, but he had paid his debt to justice, and the common-wealth had now nothing to fear from any of his party. The declaration abovementioned could therefore be intended to still the present clamours of the multitude, and though the matter of it might be true, Bacon was not the man who should have published those truths, he had been long and highly indebted to the Earl's friendship, almost beyond the example even of that age. In another man this proceeding might not have been blameable; in him it cannot be excused. In the next reign, Sir Henry Yelverton ventured on the displeasure both of the King and his minion, rather than do the ministry of his office, by pleading against the Earl of Somerset who had made him Solicitor-General; had Bacon refused that invidious part, there were others among the herd of aspiring and officious lawyers ready enough to have performed it, and his very enemies must have thought more advantageously of him, for declining a task itself of no essential importance to the State, and in him unjust to friendship, obligation, gratitude, the most sacred regards among men.'

[K] About the year 1596 he finished his maxims of the Law.] As these are now published they make only the first part of what are stiled, the *Elements of the*

COMMON

(22) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 511.

(23) Osborne's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, sect. 1.

(24) Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his Works.

though he had been so hardly dealt with the year before in his suit for the Solicitorship, he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and yet for reasons we are unacquainted with, he did not think proper to print it, which was a great misfortune to the publick, since, by coming abroad after his decease, it has considerably suffered. The next year he published a work of quite another kind, that is to say, the first part of his *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (y) [L]; an admirable work, in which our author instructs men in the most useful principles of wisdom and prudence, and teaches how to acquire what are esteemed the greatest blessings, and how to avoid the evils which are most dreaded in the conduct of human life. His penetration, exactness, and perfect skill in all the offices of civil life, appeared to great advantage in this performance, which, as our author himself was sensible, proved of great service to his character, and promoted the high esteem that was already conceived of his parts and learning. About the close of the succeeding year 1598, he composed, on a particular occasion, his *History of the Alienation-Office* (z) [M], which however

(y) *Ibid.* Vol. III. P. 401.

(z) *Ibid.*

(25) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. P. 12. Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 23.

COMMON LAW of ENGLAND (25), but I think there can be no sort of doubt, that the author himself intended a separate work. His own title was, *A Collection of some principal Rules and Maxims of the COMMON LAW with their Latitude and Extent*. To this work of his, which however was intended but as a specimen of a much larger, since it contains but twenty-five rules out of three hundred which he had collected, he prefixed a dedication and a preface, in both which he largely explains, both the intention and utility of his performance. The former is addressed to Queen Elizabeth, and is written in a very high strain of compliment, yet mixed with many serious and important truths; he observes, that those were times in which if science increased, conscience decayed, and laws, though multiplied in number, were slackened in vigour and execution; so that suits in law, the major part of which, he says, are always unjust, daily multiplied and increased; and, which was still worse, indirect courses and practices to abuse Law and Justice, where often attempted and put in use; from whence he adds, much greater enormities would have been bred, but for the royal policy of the Queen, the foresight at her Council-table and Star-Chamber, and the integrity of her Judges, by whom they were repressed and restrained; for he farther notes, that for the preventing frauds in agreements, abuses in the Law, and the bad behaviour of it's ministers and instruments, there had been more statutes made in her Majesty's reign, and those too of deeper reach, than in any of her predecessors. He then proceeds to the reasons which induced him to offer this work, in representing which, we will make use of his own words (26). 'But I am an unworthy witness to your Majesty, of an higher intention and project, both by that which was published by your Chancellor in full parliament from your royal mouth, in the five and thirtieth year of your happy reign, and much more by that which I have been since vouchsafed to understand from your Majesty, imparting a purpose for these many years infused into your Majesty's breast, to enter into a general amendment of the state of your laws, and reduce them to more brevity and certainty, that the great hollownes and unsafety in assurances of lands and goods, may be strengthened, and swerving penalties that lie upon many subjects removed, the execution of many profitable laws revived, the Judge better directed in his sentence, the Counsellor better warranted in his counsel, the student eased in his reading, the contentious suitor that seeketh but vexation disarmed, and the honest suitor that seeketh but to obtain his right relieved; which purpose and intention, as it did strike me with great admiration when I heard it, so it might be acknowledged to be one of the most chosen works, and of the highest merit and beneficence towards the subject, that ever entered into the mind of any King, greater than we can imagine. Because the imperfections and dangers of the Laws, are covered under the clemency and excellent temper of your Majesty's government.' In his preface he very fully shews, the nature and the consequence of his design, and explains with great accuracy, the benefit and advantage arising from the use of maxims or general rules in the Law, and their being universally known and understood. As for the second treatise, which together with this, goes to the making up of what is called his Elements of the Common Law, it was by himself stiled, *The Use of the Law for Preservation of our Persons, Goods, and good Names, according to the Laws and Customs of this Land* (27).

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. P. 56.

An excellent work it is, and not only compleatly fitted for the improvement of such as study the Law, but also the book in the world best calculated, to give every man of good sense and unbiassed judgment, both a general idea, and a good opinion of the Law, which is represented therein in that light, which is at once the fairest, fullest, and most agreeable; that is, not as a contrivance to limit the freedom, and abridge the natural liberty of mankind, but as an institution, principally intending the benefit and advantage of men, as rational beings, and members of society, by protecting them in their persons, fame, and estates, and therefore I esteem it one of the best and most useful pieces that our author ever composed.

[L] *The first part of his Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral*.] The reason why Mr Bacon published these essays at this time, is assigned in his dedication of them to his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, which was, that many of them had stolen abroad in writing, and were very likely to come into the world in print, with more imperfections than the author thought it just to take upon himself (28). About sixteen years afterwards, he had thoughts of publishing a new edition of them, which he intended to dedicate to Prince Henry, and in his dedication he inserted a very clear and candid account of the book (29). 'To write just treatises, says he, requires leisure in the writer and leisure in the reader, and therefore are not so fit neither in your Highness's princely affairs, nor in regard of my continual service, which is the cause that I hath made me chuse to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays. The word is late, but the thing is antient, for Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but essays, that is, dispersed meditations, tho' conveyed in the form of epistles. These labours of mine I know, cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you! But my hope is, they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things, wherein both men's lives and their persons are most conversant, yet what I have attained I know not, but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books, so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies.' Sir Francis Bacon designed to have prefixed this epistle to his Essays, printed in the year 1612, but was prevented by the Prince's death. Yet it was so well liked by Mr Matthew, that he inserted in his declaration to the Duke of Tuscany, before his translation of those Essays printed in 1618 (30). This second edition when published, the author addressed to Sir John Contable, his brother in law. He afterwards sent them abroad again revised and enlarged in Latin and in English, dedicating them in both languages to the Duke of Buckingham, in which dedication he tells his Grace, that he thought it agreeable to his affection and obligations to prefix his name before them, because he conceived they might last as long as books last (31); there are other places in our author's writings in which these Essays are mentioned, and in which he expresses a particular sense of their usefulness to mankind, and redounding as much or more to his honour, than those large and extensive works, which had cost him much greater pains and labour, in which he certainly was not mistaken, as we shall have occasion to shew in it's proper place.

[M] *He composed, on a particular occasion, the History of the Alienation-Office*.] This curious and highly finished

(28) See his Dedication to his brother in his Works, Vol. III. P. 290.

(29) See this Dedication in his Works, Vol. IV. P. 586.

(30) See Stephens's Letters, and of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(31) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. P. 300.

however was not published till many years after his decease. In this learned work he has fully shewn, how great a master he was, not in our Law only, but in our History and Antiquities, so that it may be justly said, there never fell any thing from his pen, which more clearly and fully demonstrated his abilities in his profession. It is not written in that dry, dark, and unentertaining way, which so much discourages young readers in the perusal of books of this kind; but, on the contrary, the style is pleasant and agreeable, though plain and suitable to the subject, and facts, authorities, observations, remarks, and reflections, are so judiciously interwoven, that whoever reads it with a competent knowledge of the subject, must acknowledge him an able lawyer, and an elegant writer. It is needless to mention some smaller instances of his abilities in the Law, which nevertheless were received by the learned society of which he was a member, with all possible marks of veneration and esteem, and which they have preserved with that reverence due to so worthy a person, and so eminent an ornament of their house (a). As a further argument of their respect, they chose him Double Reader in the year 1600, and in the thirty-ninth of Mr Bacon's age, which office he discharged with remarkable sufficiency, as appears by his learned reading on the Statute of Uses, being one of the first who argued Chudleigh's case, largely reported by Lord Coke (b), which reading, as it well deserves, has been printed in his works, and in the collection of his Law Tracts, where it remains an everlasting monument of his abilities in his profession (c). He distinguished himself likewise, during the latter part of the Queen's reign, in the House of Commons, where he spoke often, and yet with such weight and wisdom, that his sentiments were generally approved by that august assembly, and himself so much esteemed therein, that though he usually spoke on the side of the Court, yet he was ever looked upon as a friend to the people, and therefore as popular a member as any, though sometimes, as appears from his letters, it created great jealousy in the Ministers, who took it ill, that any thing they thought proper to introduce into that House, should be opposed by such as were in the Queen's service (d). However, this did not hinder him from persevering in the same course to the end of that reign, in which, though he received but slender marks of honour, and scarce any of profit, which yet his family, his merit, and his circumstances, not to mention his near relation to the Ministers, and his personal favour with the Queen, seemed to require; yet this was so far from warping him either in duty or affection, that, so long as the Queen lived, he served her both with zeal and fidelity, and after her decease, composed a memorial of the happiness of her reign, which did equal honour to her administration, and to the capacity of its author, being esteemed a most exquisite performance in its kind, and as such made use of by the learned M. de Thou, in his invaluable History (e) [N]. After the

(a) See Arguments, &c. in the fourth Volume of his Works.

(b) Coke's Reports, Book i. fol. 113.

(c) Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 299.

(d) See his Letter to the Lord Treasurer on his opposing a Subsidy, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 5.

(e) Histor. sui Temporis, lib. cxxvi.

finished tract, which has been but lately published from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library (32), is one of the most laboured pieces penned by our most learned author, containing his resolutions of a very perplexed question, Whether it was most for the Queen's benefit, that the profits arising from this office for Alienations, should be let out to farm or not? In handling this he has shewn such diversity of learning, and so clear a conception of all the different points of Law, History, Antiquities, and Policy, as is really amazing; for I think it may be truly said, that there is not any treatise of the same compass extant in our language, which manifests so comprehensive a genius, and so accurate a knowledge, both with respect to theory and practice as this, and therefore it cannot but seem strange, that it lay so long hid from the world; but what appears to me most surprizing is, that it shews our author to have had as true notions, and as good a turn for economy as any man ever had, which before the publication of this treatise, was thought the only kind of knowledge in which he was deficient. But it seems it was one thing as a Lawyer, Statesman, and candidate for court favour, to enter into a detail of the Queen's revenues, to consider the various methods in which they might be managed, together with the advantages and disadvantages attending each method; and quite another, to enter with like spirit and diligence into his own affairs, which if he had done, he might have passed his days more happily, and have left his fame without blemish.

[N] Made use of by the learned M. de Thou in his invaluable history.] It was one, and that not the least remarkable, point of the felicity of Queen Elizabeth, that not only those who owed their being, or at least their greatness to her bounty, but even such as experienced little or nothing of her favour, were equally desirous of supporting her fame and transmitting it to posterity. As for this piece written by our author, it seems to have been originally composed in the life-time of that Queen (33), and after her decease thrown into another form, revised, corrected,

and translated into Latin (34). It was transmitted by the request of the author to M. de Thou, who freely owns, that he made use of it in his history (35). As for our author, he was not only pleased with shewing this mark of esteem and honour for his deceased mistress, but considering that the piece he had written was not published in his life-time, he particularly directed, that it should be printed after his decease, which, tho' at a considerable distance of time, was performed (36). There is not, perhaps, in all the works of Lord Bacon, any treatise which does more honour to his memory than this, in which he shews himself not only a great master of learning and language, one capable of expressing great things in an equal and elevated style, but an admirable politician also; one capable of penetrating even into the depths of the councils of those times, which perhaps were as deep and as intricate, as any this country ever saw, or perhaps that have guided the concerns of any country whatever. Yet if this performance does honour to the solid wisdom and prodigious abilities of our author, it does much more with respect to the great Princess celebrated therein, and is, beyond all doubt, the noblest of the many monuments erected to her memory. The great point laboured in this panegyrick is to shew, that as, on the one hand, the wise councils, prudent measures, and great undertakings of this high-spirited Queen, merited the greatest success; so they were conducted in such a manner as to be, generally speaking, crowned with that success which they deserved; herein he places, and indeed very justly places, the felicity of Queen Elizabeth. But there is still another light in which this piece may be considered with equal reputation to the author who wrote, and to the monarch who is the subject of this excellent discourse: The light I mean is that of a political history, or rather speculation of the politicks of this reign, and I think one may truly assert, that it was the peculiar felicity of this Queen, to have the actions of her reign recorded by so able and so candid a historian, as the learned and judicious Camden (37); and the councils and springs of those actions, represented to posterity by the pen

(32) Vol. II. p. 389.

(33) Histor. sui temporis, l. cxxvi. See also Bacon's Letter to Sir George Carew, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 575.

(34) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon.

(37) Gulielm. Camdeni Annal. Rerum Anglicarum & Hiberniarum regionum Elizabetha, &c.

(32) Appendix to the third Vol. of his Works, p. 549.

(33) To judge of his, the reader must consult our author's discourse, intitled, Of the Traje of his Sovereign, published in Stephens's letters, &c. p. 45.

the decease of his mistress, he applied very early to her successor King James VI, who, by a quiet and peaceable accession, became King James I of England. Mr Bacon had many reasons to hope, that this tender of his services would be well received by that Prince, as he was known to be learned himself, and a great encourager of learning; as he was well acquainted with the general characters and reputation of all persons of note in England, and as he had a singular esteem for, on account of the signal services rendered him by, our author's brother, Mr Anthony Bacon (f). So that taking all these circumstances together, there was nothing forward or haughty, much less mean or indecent in the first applications of our author to that Prince. He seems in this, as in the former reign, to have fixed his hopes of advancement upon the prosecution of a plan of his own framing, which consisted in procuring a fair report of him to the King, by men of different parties and different nations; and it is remarkable on this occasion, that he offered his service to the Earl of Northumberland, and at the same time sought the friendship of the Earl of Southampton, who was so near destruction in the unfortunate affair of the Earl of Essex (g). But if he depended upon the English, he did not totally neglect the Scotch, with some of whom he had formerly had an acquaintance, which he now renewed, and thereby wrought himself into great credit with that nation (h). He likewise offered his pen, and drew up the form of a proclamation, which, though it was not used, had nevertheless a good effect, and was taken for an instance of his duty and good affection (i). On the twenty-third of July, 1603, he was introduced to the King at Whitehall, when he received the honour of knighthood, as a mark of his Majesty's gracious acceptance of past services, and of the tender he had made of the continuance of them for the future (k). This might have been thought a greater favour, if the new King had been more careful of his honours, but most of our historians have remarked, that King James was as profuse in this particular, as Queen Elizabeth was sparing. But however it ought to be considered, that many circumstances concurred to make this difference in their conduct. It was necessary at the opening of a new reign, and even customary, so that Queen Elizabeth herself had then used it; but this was not only a new reign, but the coming in also of a new family, and, which was still more, a family from another country, which made such numerous acts of royal favour more expedient. We may add to this another reason, which was the quiet and peaceable accession of King James, arising from the readiness of all ranks of people, to own and acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and as he could not without ingratitude avoid bestowing some honours on so singular an occasion; so in policy he could not bestow such marks of distinction on one set of people, or in one part of the kingdom, without taking notice of the loyalty and affection shewn in other places, and by other persons. There was yet another cause of the beneficence of this Monarch in this particular, which was his desire to unite the whole nation in their affections to himself, and to one another, instead of governing, as his predecessor had done, by factions, which, though no error in her, because founded in necessity, had been a great error in him, when that necessity was taken away (l). In his first applications to the King, Sir Francis Bacon appeared as a courtier and servant to the crown, but it was not long before he had occasion to approach his Majesty in quite a different capacity. The country people found themselves greatly oppressed in the last reign by Purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. Queen Elizabeth had been informed of it by accident, and, it is said, had given way to an act of extraordinary severity to repress it; but still there had been nothing done towards a thorough reformation, which obliged the House of Commons, in the first Parliament of King James, to think of some method for effectually redressing this evil. The way they took, was by a solemn representation of this grievance and its consequences, and the person they made choice of to set forth the sense of the House on this subject, was Sir Francis Bacon, which shews his credit in Parliament at that juncture. He performed it in such a manner, as both satisfied the House, whose servant he was in this particular, and pleased the King (m) [O]. His Majesty, from his

(f) See the King's own Testimony, Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 597.

(g) See his Letters to both Lords, Vol. IV. p. 555, 561.

(h) See his Letters to Dr Morison, Mr Murray, &c.

(i) See that Draught recommended by him to the Earl of Northumberland, Vol. IV. p. 560.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(l) See Stephen's Historical Introduction, p. 4.

(m) See his Letter to the King, Vol. IV. p. 573.

of so capable a writer as Bacon; who in this treatise has given us an admirable supplement to the histories of those times, and has therein taken notice of many things that would otherwise have escaped the knowledge of succeeding ages, and set all the facts of which he takes notice in such lights, as they could have scarce been represented by any other writer than himself. This tribute therefore to the memory of his sovereign, deserved, in every respect, the regard paid to it both at home and abroad, as well as the particular concern which our author expressed that it might be printed after his decease, as an everlasting testimony of his reverence for the memory of his incomparable sovereign.

[O] Both satisfied the House whose servant he was in this particular, and at the same pleased the King.] It appears evidently enough by a letter still extant, from Sir Francis Bacon to his Majesty, that he managed the business of this complaint with great address, in which I conceive, the chief point was the procuring himself to be chosen to this difficult task:

difficult indeed, it might well be called, since, on the one hand, it required much delicacy to press a complaint of this kind, to a Prince of King James's temper, so as not to wound his authority by the manner of doing it; and next, there required no less art, so to represent the grievance as to come up to what the people expected from their representatives, and the house from their member. He did both very happily, for by magnifying the King's power, wisdom, and natural clemency, at the beginning, and promising likewise, that the House had no intent to injure the royal prerogative, but barely to provide against the abuse of it; he thereby obtained the means, under colour of vindicating his majesty's person and government, from the imputations brought upon both, by these illegal and unjustifiable actions, to deliver the very utmost, of what even the warmest patriots of those times, could desire should be spoken in the royal presence. The reader will fully apprehend this, from the manner of his stating the complaint (38): (38) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. 'The abuses of purveyors, says he, naturally divide themselves p. 23.

his first entrance, had continued him in his service, in the same manner in which he had served the late Queen, but when his affairs were better settled, he thought fit to shew him higher marks of favour than he had received from her late Majesty; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of August 1604, constituted him by patent, one of his Counsel learned in the Law, with a fee of forty pounds a year, which is said to have been the first act of royal power in that nature (2). He granted him the same day, by another patent under the Great-Seal, a pension of sixty pounds a year, for special services received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himself, which I rather take notice of, because it has not hitherto been mentioned by any of the authors who have undertaken to write his life (3). He was from this time a special servant to the crown, and seemed to be in a fair road to preferment; but however, he found himself still crossed by the jealousy and envious dislike of two great men, who were afraid of his parts, and apprehended that the course of his fortune might thwart the views of their ambition. The first of these, was his near relation and old antagonist, Sir Robert Cecil, now created Earl of Salisbury, and in as great credit with King James, as ever his father, the wise Lord Burleigh, had been with Queen Elizabeth; the other was Sir Edward Coke, distinguished by his great knowledge of the Law, and the King's Attorney-General, a man who affected to slight our author's knowledge in his profession, who envied his general reputation, and feared his abilities as a statesman. But though no man saw clearer than Sir Francis Bacon into matters of this nature, and though he perceived very early, how little service the one, and how much disservice the other of these great men meant him; yet he behaved towards both in the manner that became him; towards the Earl of Salisbury, who was now become Lord-Treasurer and Prime-Minister, with submission and respect, and yet with frequent admonitions, as to what he had reason to believe he might expect, from the nearness of their relation, and his Lordship's fair promises. Towards the other, he used more freedom and less ceremony, as appears clearly from a letter of his, in which he expostulates with Mr Attorney very roundly, on the usage he had met with (4). But in the midst of these difficulties and disappointments, he not only prosecuted his own plan for preferment with the utmost steadiness, but also that of his studies; so that in the year 1605, he published the first specimen of his great work, in his book of *the Advancement of Learning* (5) [P], a performance most excellent in itself, and considered by

(2) Nymet, Vol. 2.V. p. 596.

(3) Ibid. p. 597.

(4) See his Letter to Mr Attorney Coke, Vol. 1.V. p. 570.

(5) Stephens's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

‘ themselves into three sorts; the first they take in kind, that they ought not to take; the second they take in quantity, a far greater proportion than cometh to your Majesty's use; the third, they take in an unlawful manner, in a manner, (I say) directly, and expressly, prohibited by diverse laws. To the first of these I am a little to alter their name, for instead of Takers, they become Taxers; instead of taking provision for your Majesty's service, they tax your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; imposing upon them, and extorting from them diverse sums of money, sometimes in gross, sometimes in the nature of stipends annually paid, *ne nocent*, to be freed and eased of their oppression. Again they take trees, which by law they cannot do, timber trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and shelter of men's houses, that men have long spared from their own purse and profit, that men esteem (for their use and delight) above ten times the value, that are a loss which men cannot repair or recover; these do they take to the defacing and spoiling of your subjects mansions and dwellings, except they be compounded with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is at home, they will watch their time when there is but a Bailiff or servant remaining, and put the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the master can stop it. Again, they use a strange and most unjust exaction, in causing the subjects to pay poundage of their own debts due from your Majesty unto them; so as a poor man, when he has had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which perchance, he was full loth to part with, and had for the provision of his own family, and not to put to sale) taken from him, and that not at a just price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his money, he shall have after the rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage, of his due payment upon so hard conditions: Nay farther, they are grown to that extremity, (as is affirmed, tho' it be scarce credible, save that in such persons all things are credible) that they will take double poundage, once when the debenture is made; and again the second time, when the money is paid, &c.' As to the particular facts which had been laid before the House in order to justify this charge, Sir Francis Bacon caused them to be digested into as narrow a compass as possible,

and desired they might be read to his Majesty, as accordingly they were after he had finished his speech.

[P] *In his book of the Advancement of Learning*

This admirable and elegant performance was intitled, ‘ The two Books of Francis Bacon of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human; to the King (39).’ We have a large and excellent account of this work given us by the learned Dr Tenison (40), who speaking of the great Infaturation of the Sciences, which our author divided into six parts, proceeds thus. The first part proposed, was the partition of the sciences, and this the author perfected in that golden treatise of the Advancement of Learning, addressed to King James; a labour, which he termed a comfort to his other labours (41). This he first wrote in two books in the English tongue, in which his pen excelled; and of this first edition, that is to be meant, which with some truth and more modesty, he wrote to the Earl of Salisbury, telling him (42), *That in his book he was contented to awake better spirits, being himself like a bell-singer, who is first up to call others to church*; afterwards he enlarged those two discourses, which contained, especially the aforesaid Partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books; and knowing that this work was desired beyond the seas, and being also aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change, in a few years were out of use, he caused that part of it which he had written in English, to be translated into the Latin tongue by Mr Herbert, and some others, who were esteemed masters in the Roman eloquence. Notwithstanding which, he so suited the stile to his conceptions, by a strict castigation of the whole work, that it may deservedly seem his own. The translation of this work (that is, of much of the two books written by him in English) he first commended to Dr Playfer, a Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, using, among others, these words to him (43). ‘ The privateness of the language considered, wherein the book is written, excluding so many readers, as on the other side, the obscurity of the argument in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I must account it a second birth of that work, if it might be translated into Latin, without manifest loss of the sense and matter: For this purpose, I could not represent to myself any man, into whose hands I do more earnestly de-

(39) London: Printed for Henry Tonnes, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, 4to. 1605, again 1629, and in 1633. In the new edition of Bacon's Works, 1740, Vol. 11. p. 413.

(40) In his Account of all Lord Bacon's Works, annexed to his *Baconiana*, p. 24.

(41) See his Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, Vol. 1.V. p. 364.

(42) Ibid. p. 565.

(43) Ibid. p. 567.

itself, and not as a part of that great system to which it belonged, and into which it was afterwards incorporated by its author. He likewise continued his diligence in Parliament, where he did the King and his Ministers great service, which ought to have been so much the more regarded, because scarce any other man could have rendered them such service (r). One thing there was above the rest, about which the King was extremely sollicitous, and yet only in part successful, which was the promoting an union between his subjects in the two kingdoms, and becoming thereby fully and perfectly, as well as strictly and literally, King of *Great Britain*. In Parliament, Sir Francis Bacon laboured this point with great diligence, and to his great reputation, though it went on slowly, and never came to any conclusion; but in Westminster-Hall, his eloquence was more prevailing, and the Judges did for the King there, almost as much as he fought elsewhere (s) [Q]. In other things of the like nature, he proceeded with the like diligence, and this giving him not only great countenance at Court, but gaining him also the general esteem of the world, his friends advised him to take this opportunity

of

(r) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 4.

(s) See this fact explained in note [Q].

'fire the work should fall than yourself, for by that I have heard and read, I know no man a greater master in commanding words to serve matter.' The Doctor was willing to serve so excellent a person and so worthy a design, and within a while sent him a specimen of a Latin translation; but men generally come short of themselves, when they strive to outdo themselves, they put a force upon their natural genius, and by a straining of it crack and disable it; and so it seems it happened to that worthy and elegant man upon this great occasion; he would be over accurate, and he sent a specimen of such superfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which, he desired not so much neat and polite, as clear, masculine, and apt expression. The whole of this book was rendered into English by Dr Gilbert Wats of Oxford, and the translation has been well received by many; but some there were who wished, that a translation had been set forth, in which the genius and spirit of the Lord Bacon had more appeared; and I have seen a letter written by a certain gentleman to Dr Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate version by his own hand: *It is our humble suit to you, and we do earnestly solicit you, to give yourself the trouble to correct the too much defective translation of de Augmentis Scientiarum, which Dr Wats hath set forth. It is a thousand pities so worthy a piece should lose its grace and credit by an ill expositor, since those persons who read that translation, taking it for genuine, and upon that presumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of the benefit, which (if you would please to undertake the business) they would receive. This tendeth to the dishonour of that noble Lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.* This work hath been also translated into French, upon the motion of the Marquis Fiat, but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly mistaken, and some things (especially such as relate to Religion) wilfully perverted; inasmuch that in one place, he makes his Lordship to magnify the Legend, a book sure of little credit with him, when he thus began one of his essays (44): *I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind.* The fairest and most correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio, printed at London, anno 1623: And whosoever would understand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him consult that accurate edition (45); for in some other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the mystery consisteth, is not observed; but the Roman and Italic shapes of them are confounded. To this book we may reduce the first four chapters of that imperfect treatise, published in Latin by Isaac Gruter, and called, *The Description of the Intellectual Globe*; they being but a rude draught of the partition of the sciences, so accurately and methodically disposed in the book of the Advancement of Learning: To this also we may reduce the treatise called *Thema Cæli*, published likewise in Latin by Gruter; and it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter and the third book of it, as being a discourse tending to an improvement of the system of the Heavens, which is treated of in that place, the houses of which (had God granted him life) he would have understood, as well almost as he did his own. For the same reason, we may reduce to the same place of the Advancement, the fifth, sixth, and seventh

chapters, of the *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis* above remembered.

[Q] *Did for the King there almost as much as he sought elsewhere.* There was no one point which King James pressed for eagerly as this, which he thought would do him honour in his own country, and procure him credit in this. The last attempt made in the House of Commons, was to procure a law for a general naturalization of all the inhabitants of Scotland, which met, as might be very readily expected, a very warm opposition: It is very easy to conceive, that though there might be many reasons for the King's desiring the thing, and some very good ones why the English nation, should, out of regard to their own interests, have yielded to it; yet there were many causes, why the people in general should be then extremely averse to it; and indeed, it does sufficiently appear that their prejudices were very strong against it; in this situation things were, when Sir Francis Bacon was prevailed upon to speak in favour of this point in the House of Commons, and one cannot help wondering, that he should do this with great warmth, without losing his character for popularity (46): But upon perusing of his speech it will appear, that he had studied this subject so well, and understood it so perfectly, that tho' he might not be able to conquer the prejudices of some, or to convince the judgments of all, yet he shewed evidently, that he was far enough from having taken up his own opinion upon trust, or undertaking to manage this affair upon no better ground, than that of making his court to his master. His discourse was so eloquent, and withal so weighty, the arguments he offered so strong in themselves, and so well supported by examples drawn from history, that though they might be over-ruled, they could not easily be answered; and as in most other things so in this, what he has delivered upon the subject, is as full and as satisfactory as the learning of those could, or the experience of succeeding times is ever like to furnish. In as much as that I may venture to assert, the inhabitants of Scotland never had so good an advocate, and never can have a better. Yet after all, the dispute upon this head was of no great consequence, as Sir Francis Bacon well observed, for it was only whether the fathers should be put into as good a condition as their children, for it was held for Law then by the ablest men of the profession, and decided afterwards in a great cause argued by Sir Francis Bacon, when King's Solicitor, that the *Post Nati*, or such as were born in Scotland after the King's accession to the throne of England were naturalized; so that the point then under the consideration of the House, was whether the *Ante Nati* should be naturalized by law or not (47). The reader, from what has been said on this head in the text and in this note, will easily comprehend the merit of Sir Francis Bacon's services in this affair, which is all that we intended; for if a history were to be written of the endeavours used in this reign, to procure an union between the two nations, it would take up much more room than we have to spare, and would besides, lead us too far from our present subject; and therefore we have included, in as few words as possible, those points in which this gentleman was principally concerned; and if the reader is inclined to obtain a farther view of this matter in all its branches, he may consult the histories of those times, and the letters and works of our author, which will afford him tolerable satisfaction (48).

(46) See Arthur Wilson's History of Great Britain, in the Compleat History of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 673.

(44) Essay on Atheism, Vol. III. p. 323.

(45) De Augment. Scientiar. lib. vi. c. 1.

(47) See this Speech of Sir Francis Bacon in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 235.

(48) See his Preparation towards the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland, Vol. IV. p. 84. His Brief Discourse of the Union of the Kingdoms, to the King, Vol. IV. p. 210. His Considerations touching the Union, ibid. p. 217.

His Argument in the Case of the *Post Nati*, ibid. p. 185.

of marrying, that so he might establish his family; which motion he readily embraced, and soon after took to wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq; Alderman of London, a lady who brought him an ample fortune, but by whom he never had any children (v). A little after this marriage, there happened a promotion in the Law, which induced him to renew his application for the Solicitorship, which was then like to become vacant, by the promotion beforementioned, in which, with some difficulty, he prevailed, and upon Sir John Doderidge's being advanced from that post to be the King's Serjeant, he was, in the year 1607, appointed Solicitor, with the consent at least, if not by the recommendation, of his cousin, the Earl of Salisbury, and then he appeared more frequently in Westminster-Hall, grew into more extensive practice as a Lawyer, and had a share in almost all great causes; which were the reasons he assigned, for being so pressing in his applications for that employment, though one may reasonably suppose, he was influenced in some degree by motives of a superior nature, as considering this, but as a step to higher preferment (w). He assured the King, before he obtained this employment, that it would give him such an increase of capacity, though not of zeal, to serve his Majesty, that what he had done in times past should seem as nothing, in comparison of the services he would render for the future. In this respect, Sir Francis Bacon kept his word, for in that session of Parliament, held in the year in which he was made Solicitor, he ran through great variety of business, and that of a nature which demanded a man, not only of great abilities but of great art, and yet of general reputation, for he was employed from the House of Commons to the King, to represent to him the grievances under which the nation laboured; and though the paper relating to them was couched in pretty strong terms, which could not but be disagreeable to his master's temper, yet Sir Francis, by a soft and smooth speech, so abated their harshness, as to perform this difficult commission with universal applause (x). He was likewise employed by the House at a conference with the Lords, to persuade them to join in an application to the Crown, for the taking away the ancient tenures, and allowing a certain and competent revenue in lieu of them, and in his speech on this occasion, Sir Francis Bacon set that affair in so clear a light, as excited that spirit, which at length procured the dissolution of the Court of Wards, which has been justly esteemed a point of the highest consequence to the liberties of this kingdom (y). He likewise satisfied the House, at a time when they were much out of temper, at the manner in which the King's messages were conveyed to them; and towards the close of the session, when the supply stuck in the House, he procured a passage for it, by a very short and well-timed speech, which effectually shewed of how great consequence it was to the King, to have so able and so popular a speaker at his devotion (y). One would have imagined, that in the midst of so many arduous affairs of State, joined to the cares of his employment, and the business of his profession, Sir Francis Bacon should have had but little leisure for his philosophic studies; and yet we find, that about this time, he had in some measure digested the plan of the second part of his great work, which he transmitted to his friends, who were the ablest and the best judges in the kingdom, in order to have their free sentiments upon the subject; for as Sir Francis laboured only to arrive at truth, and not to acquire a mighty reputation, so he was rather desirous of hearing the objections that might be made against his new system, than to seek the praises of such, as were more willing to bestow applause, than to enquire into his title to it (z) [R].

(v) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(w) See his Letters to the King and his Ministers, with Mr Stephens's excellent notes, in his Collection, p. 28— 34.

(x) See this Speech in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 260.

(y) Ibid. p. 262.

(y) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 832.

(z) See the Letters here referred to in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 176.

Was

[R] More willing to bestow applause, than to inquire into his title to it.] This piece of our author's was intitled, *Cogitata & Visa*, and contained the ground-work or plan of his *Novum Organum*, so essential a part of his Instauration, that it sometimes bears that title. He was sensible of the difficulties that would attend his great design of building up the whole Palace of Wisdom anew, and that he might be the better able to overcome those difficulties, he was desirous of seeing what they were, before he undertook his large work, of which this piece was no more than the out-lines. We may form a true notion of what he sought by considering the letter, which he wrote to the learned Bishop Andrews, when he sent him the discourse of which we are speaking (49). 'Now your Lordship hath been so long in the Church and the Palace disputing between Kings and Popes, methinks you should take pleasure to look into the field, and refresh your mind with some matter of Philosophy, though the science be now through age waxed a child again, and left to boys and young men; and because you were wont to make me believe you took a liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation's fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpose. I hasten not to publish; perishing I would prevent, and I am forced to respect, as well my times as the matter; for with me it is thus, and I think with all men in my case. If I bind myself to an argument it loadeth my mind, but if I rid my mind of the present cogitation, it is rather a recreation;

this hath put me into these Miscellanies, which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect volume of Philosophy, which I go on with, though slowly. I fend not your Lordship too much, least it may glut you; now let me tell you what my desire is; if your Lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is, that not by pricks but by notes, you will make known unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you, either not current in the stile, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer. For no man can be judge and party, and when our minds judge by reflexion of ourselves, they are more subject to error, and though for the matter itself, my judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any man's judgment, that goeth not my way; yet even in those things, the admonition of a friend may make me express myself diversly.' He likewise recommended with the same view, the perusal of the *Cogitata & Visa* to Sir Thomas Bodley, who wrote him a very full answer, which, together with the piece itself, is printed amongst the Latin works of our author (50). There is also in the last Collection of Mr Stephens, a small discourse in English, under the Latin title of *Filum Labyrinthi*; see *Formula Inquisitionis, ad Filios. Pars prima*. This we see plainly was the original of the *Cogitata & Visa*, and the first draught of our author's first plan. Of this very short treatise, the three first paragraphs (which may serve as a specimen of the whole) run thus (51). 'FRANCIS BACON thought

(50) Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 266.

(51) Stephens's Collections, p. 452.

(49) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 576.

was by this means, which very few great writers have taken, that Sir Francis obtained those lights, which enabled him to finish those parts of the Instauration to so high a degree of perfection; he likewise in a great measure avoided, by taking this method, those ill-natured censures, and critical examinations, to which works of this nature are usually exposed, and to which his own system was so much the more liable, as it went entirely upon new principles, and could therefore only be supported by its own worth, and stand on no other foundation than its own solidity (a). But that he might relieve himself a little from the severity of these studies, and as it were amuse himself with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of Philosophy was building; he composed and sent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatise *Of the Wisdom of the Antients*, in which he shewed that none had studied them more closely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning (b) [S]. There have

(a) Dr Tenison's Introduction, p. 29.

(b) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 21.

' thought in this manner, the knowledge where of the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works, the Physician pronounces many diseases incurable, and faileth oft in the rest: The Alchemists wax old and die in hopes: The Magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable: The Mechanicks take small lights from Natural Philosophy, and do but spin out their own little threads: Chance sometimes discovereth inventions, but that worketh not in years but ages; so he saw well, that the inventions known are very imperfect, and that new are not like to be brought to light but in great length of time, and that those are come not to light by Philosophy. He thought also this state of knowledge was the worse, because men strive (against themselves) to save the credit of ignorance, and so satisfy themselves in this poverty: For the Physician, besides the cautes of practice, hath this general cautele of art, that he discharges the weakness of his art upon supposed impossibilities, neither can his art be condemned, when itself judgeth. That Philosophy also, out of which the knowledge of Physick which now is in use is hewed, receiveth certain positions and opinions, which (if they be well weighed) induce this persuasion that no great works are to be expected from art and the hand of man; as in particular, that opinion that the heat of the sun and fire differ in kind, and that other in composition is the work of man, and mixture is the work of nature and the like, all tending to the circumscription of man's power, and to artificial despair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the industry of trial; only upon vain glory, to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impossible that is not already found. The Alchemist discharges his art upon his own errors, either supposing a misunderstanding of the words of his authors, which maketh him listen after auricular traditions, or else a failing in the true proportions and scruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials, and finding also that he lighteth upon some mean experiments and conclusions by the way, feedeth upon them and magnifieth them to the most, and supplieth the rest in hopes. The Magician, when he findeth something (as he conceiveth above nature) effected, thinketh when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and small, not seeing that they are but subjects of a certain kind, wherein Magick and superstition hath played in all times. The mechanical person, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three observations or practices together in one, or couple things better with their use, or make the work in less or greater volume, taketh himself for an inventor. So he saw well, that men either persuade themselves of new inventions as of impossibilities, or else think they are already extant but in secret and in few hands, or that they account of those little industries and additions, as of inventions, all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any just and constant labour, to invent further in any quantity. He thought also, that when men did set before themselves the variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the provisions of man, than to apprehend his wants, not considering that the original inventions and conclusions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and that the rest is but the subtle and ruled motion of the instrument and hand, and that the shop therein, is

' not unlike the library, which in such number of books, containeth (for the far greater part) nothing but iterations, varied sometimes in form, but not new in substance; so he saw plainly that opinion of store was a cause of want, and that both works and doctrines appear many, and are few.' We may from hence conceive, the manner in which this piece was written, and how well it was suited to serve the author's purpose, of so far manifesting his own design, as to obtain a tolerable account of the strongest and best founded objections which could be brought against it, so as that in his larger work, he might either correct his own faults, or shew such as were inclined to criticize his performance, theirs.

[S] Had pierced deeper into their meaning] In the first part of his Instauration our author had observed, that there was a great deficiency in explaining the allegorical poetry of the Antients, and more particularly in laying open the Philosophy of ancient fables; and as he was desirous of affording instances of the possibility of supplying all the deficiencies he pointed out, he composed this work, to answer the end of supplying the deficiency before mentioned (52). In his introduction to this book, he gives a large and very clear account of the reasons which induced him to believe, that notwithstanding the seeming absurdities in the fabulous history of the Antients; there was however, something at the bottom which deserved to be examined into and enquired after: These observations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus: But the argument of most weight with me is this, that many of these fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons, who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Hesiod, or others; for if I were assured they first flowed from those latter times, and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect any thing singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages: Besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, 'tis easily perceived, that the relators drew from the common stock of ancient tradition, and varied but in point of embellishment, which is their own, and this principally raises my esteem of these fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the Poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more ancient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks: But if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or imposed upon the ancient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects (though we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatick) and if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument. Men have proposed to answer two different and contrary ends by the use of parable, for parables serve as well to instruct and illustrate, as to wrap up and envelope; so that though for the present we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague undeterminate things, formed for amusement, still the other use must remain and can never be given up; and every man of any learning must readily allow, that this method of instructing is grave, sober, and exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding in all new discoveries, that are abstruse,

(52) See the second part of the author's Advancement of Learning, Vol. II. p. 497.

have been very few books published, either in this or in any other nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in literature, as in his political conduct, he stood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate, that the sagacity of a modern genius, had found out much better meanings for the Antients, than ever were meant by them (c). At this time, Sir Francis Bacon was in such high credit with his master, as well as in such high esteem with all ranks and degrees of people, that as, on one hand, he was able to attain, with little or no assistance from the Ministers, whatever he thought expedient to ask of the King; so, on the other, there was no danger that any suit he obtained, should beget either popular dislike, or distaste those of his profession; yet it does not appear, that Sir Francis made any great advantages of this favourable situation, except that in the year 1611, he procured the office of Judge of the Marshal's Court (d), jointly with Sir Thomas Vavasor, then Knight Marshal, by which he presided, though for a very short time, in the court newly erected, under the title of the Palace-Court for the verge of the King's house, in which station he has left us a most learned and methodical charge, given to the jury there upon a commission of oyer and terminer (e). One may easily discern from hence, that he had not either a very aspiring, or a very covetous disposition, but was content to wait the proper seasons and favourable opportunities of rising, which are brought forth by time. It must however be owned, that his private fortune was never in a better condition, or his domestick affairs in a happier situation, than at present; he was possessed, and had been so for some years, of a good estate in Hertfordshire, and of his father's pleasant seat of Gorhambury, which came to him by the death of his brother, Mr Anthony Bacon. He was in great practice at the bar, the King's Solicitor, and, besides the new place last mentioned, was just come into the possession of that office, which had been granted him twenty years before, of Register of the Court of Star-Chamber, which was of great value; so that at this time he could not enjoy less than five thousand pounds a year, including the fortune brought him by his wife, of which, though there are good reasons to believe that he took little to himself, yet it must have prevented a very considerable expence in his family, which would have been otherwise necessary. Besides, as his employments were not of a nature to require much splendor or magnificence, so, notwithstanding the generosity of his temper, which it must be confessed leaned a little towards profuseness, yet he must have been at this juncture in very easy circumstances, which to a man who never affected riches, must have been a very comfortable condition, especially when joined to the high reputation and unenvied credit which at this time he enjoyed (f). He had now the King's ear so entirely, that he obtained a promise of succeeding Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, in case either of his death or removal. In the beginning of the year 1612, that worthy man had a very severe fit of illness, which induced Sir Francis Bacon to put the King in mind of his promise, and it seems by another letter of his, that he was now on very good terms with the Earl of Salisbury, Lord-Treasurer, who supported his pretensions (g), but however the Attorney recovered, and he did not succeed him in that employment till the year following, when Sir Henry Hobart was made Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, upon the removal of Sir Edward Coke from that office, who was made Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench. Sir Francis Bacon took possession

(c) Dr Shaw's Preface to his excellent Abridgment of Bacon's Works.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II, p. 438.

(e) See this Charge in Bacon's Works, Vol. II, p. 288.

(f) See his Letter to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, in his Works, Vol. IV, p. 574.

(g) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 586.

and are out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of the human reason, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilst the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty or speculation, or even impatient, or in a manner incapable of receiving such things, as did not directly fall under and strike the senses; for as hieroglyphicks were in use before writings, so were parables in use before arguments; and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion. To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy, great, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; happy, if whilst they had other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations; let either be the case, our pains perhaps will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity, or the things themselves; the like indeed has been attempted by others, but, to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labours have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilst being

unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth; for myself therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things, because leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich (53). In this admirable work our author has laid open with great sagacity and penetration, the secret meaning of the physical, moral, and political fables of antiquity, in doing which, he very wisely and prudently took occasion to throw out many observations of his own, for which he could not have found other ways so fit and favourable an opportunity. He published this treatise in Latin, in which language he seems to have wrote it, and dedicated it to his cousin, the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, and the university of Cambridge. This work has been very often reprinted since, and, except his Essays, is of all his writings the most generally known and esteemed. Sir Arthur Gorges rendered the whole into English, which is usually added to the author's essays, and it is to this book the great poet as well as traveller, Mr George Sandys (54) doth, in his learned notes on his version of Ovid's Metamorphoses, acknowledge himself to be much indebted, styling my Lord St Albans, the crown of all modern authors.

(53) De Sapientia Veterum in Prefat. Vol. II p. 349, 350.

(54) See his translation of Ovid, p. 257.

(b) Pat. 11 Jacob.
P. 5.

(i) Petyt's Placit. Parliament.
P. 174.

possession of his new office, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1613 (b), in which he made as great a figure as any of his predecessors, and had some particular honours done him, which few or none of them had received; as for instance, he was allowed to take his seat in Parliament, though it was adjudged, that by reason of his office he had no right to it, as being an attendant on the House of Lords; but this favour was granted him, purely out of respect to his person, and the services he had formerly rendered his country in that House (i). In the court of Star-Chamber again, a solemn decree having been made against the fashionable, though fatal practice of duelling, his speech, which gave occasion to it, was, contrary to custom, printed therewith [T]. These are the strongest

[T] His speech which gave occasion to it, was, contrary to custom, printed therewith.] This barbarous and bloody custom, like most of our other bad customs, was derived to us from France, where, notwithstanding the edicts of Henry IV and Louis XIII, it occasioned the shedding of rivers of blood, till the great Cardinal de Richelieu, though cruel and revengeful himself, put some stop to it, by the execution of Lord Bouteville, a man of high quality, and of as great interest as any in France, which, though severe, was universally allowed one of the best acts of his administration. It is easy to perceive from the writings of Wilton, Osborne, and other authors of those times, to what height it was risen in England, and what lamentable effects it produced; for when once it grew into practice amongst persons of distinction, those of an inferior degree, forgetting that it was altogether inconsistent with the laws of God and man, affected it as a point of good breeding; so that it grew every day more and more frequent, notwithstanding the melancholy consequences with which it was attended, and the severity with which some had been prosecuted, who by this means had been drawn in to commit capital offences: But still the root of the evil was left, such persons, though they died with shame, had the pity and compassion of the people, and, though murderers, were regarded as men of honour (55). This served to keep up the practice to the scandal of Law, Religion, and Government, which were set at defiance by this lawless and bloody course of calling men to account for trifles, and taking that satisfaction by the sword, which the laws of nature and the land would never have granted. Sir Francis Bacon being made the King's Attorney, used all his efforts to put a stop to this practice here, and his charge with regard to duels, upon an information in the Star-Chamber against *Priest* and *Wright*, was so highly approved by the Lords of the Council, who were then in the Star-Chamber, that they ordered it, as is said in the text, to be printed and published with the decree of the Court itself (52). 'In this charge he speaks of the nature and greatness of the mischiefs of duels, the causes and remedies of it, the justice of the Law of England, which some, he says, sticks not to think defective in this matter; of the capacity of the Court in the Star-Chamber, where certainly the remedy of that mischief was to be found; and of his own purpose and resolution, wherein he humbly desires the assistance of that Court. With regard to the mischief itself, he observes, that when revenge is once extorted out of the magistrate's hand, contrary to God's ordinance; and every man shall bear the sword, not to defend but to assail, and private men begin once to presume to give law to themselves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foresee the dangers and inconveniences which may arise and multiply by that means. Other offences yield and consent to the law, that it is good, not daring to make defence, or to justify themselves; but this offence expressly gives law an affront, as if there were two laws, one a kind of gown law, and the other a law of reputation as they term it: So that *Paul's* and *Westminster*, the pulpit and courts of justice, must give place to the Law (as King James expresses it in his proclamation) of ordinary tables, and such reverend assemblies. The year books, and statute books, must give place to some French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of duels, which if they be in the right, *transsumus ad illa*, let us receive them, and not keep the people in conflict and distraction between two laws. He considers then the loss which the nation suffers by the destruction of those persons by private, insignificant quarrels, whose blood, if it was adventured in the service of the King and realm, would be able to make the fortune of a day, and to change the fortune of a kingdom, with respect

to the cause of it; the first motive undoubtedly is a false and erroneous imagination of honour and credit, upon which account, King James in his proclamation, calls them *bewitching duels*, 'for if one judge of it truly, says the Attorney, it is no better than a forcery that enchanted the spirits of young men, that bear great minds with a false shew, species falsa, and a kind of fatanical illusion, and apparition of honour against Religion, against Law, against moral virtue, and against the precedents and examples of the best times, and the valiantest nations.' Besides this, men have almost lost the true notion, and understanding of fortitude and honour. 'For fortitude distinguisheth the grounds of quarrels whether they be just, and not only so, but whether they be worthy, and setteth a better price upon men's lives than to bestow them idly, nay it is a weakness and and disesteem of a man's self, to put a man's life upon such lieger performances; a man's life is not to be trifled away, it is to be offered up and sacrificed to honourable services, publick merits, good causes, and noble adventures: It is in expence of blood as it is in expence of money, it is no liberality to make a profusion of money upon every profane occasion, no more is it fortitude to make effusion of blood, except the cause be of worth.' The remedies which he proposes for the restraint of this evil are, First, that there appear and be declared a constant and settled resolution in the State to abolish it: Secondly, care must be taken that it be no longer countenanced, or the humour of it indulged: Thirdly, says he, 'I must acknowledge that I learned out of the King's last proclamation, the most prudent and best applied remedy for this offence (if it shall please his Majesty to use it) that the wit of man can devise. This offence is grounded upon a false conceit of honour, and therefore it should be punished in the same kind, *in eo quis rectissime plebitur, in quo peccat*; the fountain of honour is the King and his aspect, and the access to his person continueth honour in life, and to be banished from his presence, is one of the greatest eclipses of honour that can be: If his Majesty shall be pleased, that when this court shall censure any of these offences in persons of eminent quality, to add this out of his own power and discipline, that these persons shall be banished and excluded from his court for certain years, and the courts of his Queen and Prince; I think there is no man, that hath any good blood in him, will commit an act, that shall cast him into that darkness, that he may not behold his Sovereign's face.' Lastly, that this court should punish all the middle acts and proceedings which tend to the duel, and so to hew and vex the root in the branches, which no doubt will kill the root, and yet prevent the extremity of the Law. The Attorney observes then, that the Law of England is excepted to, tho' ignorantly, in two points; the one, that it should make no difference between an insidious and foul murder, and the killing a man upon fair terms, as it is called: The other, that the Law has not provided sufficient punishment and reparations for contumely of words, as the lye, and the like: But these are no better than childish novelties against the divine law, and all laws in effect; and against the example of all the bravest and most virtuous nations in the world; for in the law of God there is never to be found, any difference made in homicide, voluntary and involuntary, which we term misadventure: As for example in civil states, 'All memory, says he, doth consent that Greece and Rome were the most valiant and generous nations of the world, and that which is more to be noted, they were free states, and not under a monarchy, whereby a man would think it a great deal the more reason, that particular persons should have righted themselves, and yet they had not this practice

(55) See Arthur Wilton's Life, written by himself in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

(52) See this Charge of our author in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 297.

strongest marks of the high esteem he was then in that can be desired, and indeed Sir Francis Bacon had now overcome all difficulties, and stood securely on his own interest with the King, the Earl of Salisbury being dead, and for any thing that appears, Sir Francis having no dependence on the Earl of Somerset, who was the reigning favourite, but kept at a distance from him when he was in his greatest power, and consequently had nothing to answer for, with respect either to his personal or political failings (k). It is however manifest, that after the death of the Earl of Salisbury, there grew many disorders in the government, which verified the character Sir Francis Bacon gave of that great Minister to the King his master, viz. *That though it was not likely the King's affairs should ever have gone much better under his management, yet he was such a Minister, as would have hindered them from growing worse* (l), which as things stood would have been of very great service, as appeared by what happened in the year following, when the King having called a Parliament in hopes of obtaining a supply, some forward people in the House of Commons, to ingratiate themselves with the Court, made a tender to the King of their interest, with a kind of promise, that in case they were obliged, his Majesty's affairs in Parliament should go to his wish (m). These people, from this bold, and as it afterwards appeared, illgrounded presumption of their own abilities and interests, were stiled undertakers; yet so far were they from being able to carry matters, as they pretended, in the House of Commons, that this foolish and unjustifiable scheme of theirs having taken air, one of the first things the House fell upon, was an enquiry after these Undertakers (n). To pacify the heats occasioned by this strange project, the Attorney-General made a long and very fine speech, which is still preserved. It had not however the desired effect, for the House was so much out of humour at this, and some other mistakes in the administration, that the King seeing no hopes of obtaining any thing from them, dissolved the Parliament in a heat, and soon afterwards committed several members, who had spoken freely of his measures in the House of Commons. This instead of allaying increased the ferment in the nation (o), and that to such a degree, that the King seeing little hopes of better success in another, than he had found in the former Parliament, declined calling one; but being extremely distressed for money, he was glad to receive it in any manner, and by any means; and upon this, several of the nobility and clergy in and about London, made at least a seeming voluntary present to his Majesty, which the Council taking notice of, and being willing to encourage such an example, and make it more diffusive, they wrote letters to the Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace of the counties, and Magistrates of several corporations, informing them what had been done above, and how acceptable and reasonable the bounty of his subjects would be to the King and his occasions, but without any clauses of compulsion; or requiring, or returning of the names of such as should refuse (p). Among others, one was directed to the Mayor of Marlborough in Wiltshire, where Mr Oliver St John, a gentleman of an antient family, was then residing, who being consulted thereupon, he wrote a letter to the Mayor upon the eleventh of October, 1614, representing to him, that this benevolence was against the laws, reason, and religion, insinuating, that the King, by promoting the same, had violated his coronation oath, and that by such means as these, King Richard II, had given an opportunity to Henry IV, to deprive him of his crown, desiring if he thought fit, to communicate his sentiments to the Justices who were to meet about the benevolence (q). For this action, Mr St John was prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, and upon the fifteenth of April, 1615, the cause was brought to a hearing, as appears by

(k) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(l) Amongst Apophthegms of himself and others, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 295.

(m) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(n) Memorables in the reign of James I; p. 119.

(o) Saunderson's History of King James, p. 407.

(p) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(q) See this Letter of Mr St John's in the CABALA, editæ 1691, p. 333.

of duels, nor any thing that bare shew thereof, and sure they would have had it if there had been any virtue in it; nay, as he saith (*fas est et ab hoste doceri*) it is memorable, that is reported by a Counsellor, Ambassador of the Emperor's, touching the censure of the Turks of these duels. There was a combat of this kind, performed by two persons of quality of the Turks, wherein one them was slain, the other party was convented before the council of Bashaws, the manner of the reprehension was in these words: "How durst you undertake to fight one with the other, are there not Christians enough to kill? Did you not know, that whether of you should be slain, the loss would be the Grand Seigneur's?" So as we may see, that the most warlike nations, whether generous or barbarous, have ever despised this, wherein now men glory. As for the second defect pretended in our Law, that it hath provided no remedy for lies or fillips; it may receive the same answer. It would have been thought a madness amongst the antient lawgivers to have set a punishment upon the lye given, which, in effect, is but a word of denial, a negative of another's saying. Any lawgiver if he had been asked the question, would have made Solon's answer, That he had not made any punishment for it, because he never imagined the world would have been so fantastical as to take it so highly. The Civilians dispute whether an action of injury lie for it, and rather resolve the contrary; so every touch or light blow of the person is not in itself considerable, except that they have got upon them the stamp of a dif-

grace, which makes these light things pass for great matter. The law of England and all laws hold these degrees of injury to the person, slander, battery, maim, and death; and if there be extraordinary circumstances of despite and contumely, as in case of libels, and bastinadoes, and the like, this court taketh them in hand, and punisheth them exemplarily: But for this apprehension of a disgrace, that a fillip to the person should be a mortal wound to the reputation, it were good that men did hearken to the saying of *Consalvo*, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, that a Gentleman's honour should be, *de tela crassiore*, of a good strong warp or web, that every little thing should not catch it, whereas now it seems they are but cobweb, lawn, or such like stuff, which certainly is weakness, and not true greatness of mind; but like a sick man's body, that is so tender that it feels every thing. We find likewise, that in December in the year 1616, he prosecuted one Mr Markham, for dispersing letters of challenge to the Lord Darcy: He mentions this in a letter to the Lord Viscount Villiers, published in the works of our author; who in reference to this crime, shewed himself no respecter of persons, but prosecuted with the utmost severity, such as, forgetting their duty to God and the government by which they were protected, ran into offences of this kind, merely to gain or to support their reputation, with such as were the worst judges of what deserved praise or dispraise.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 603.

(s) Memorables in the reign of King James I. p. 231.

(t) Crook's Reports, p. 125.

(u) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 601.

(w) Ibid. p. 321.

Sir Francis Bacon's letter of that date (r). In this Court, which was composed of a great many Lords of the Council, the Chief-Justices and Chief-Barons, some of them thought that this offence was of a higher nature than a contempt; but they all agreed, that this benevolence, as it was circumstanced, was not restrained by any of the acts of parliament, which prohibits that sort of taxation, and that the defendant should be fined five thousand pounds, imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and make submission in writing, which he accordingly did (s). While this cause was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, in right of his office, was employed in the prosecution of two other offenders for high-treason, and they were both cases in some sort singular, and in which he had a great deal of trouble. The first was that of Peacham a clergyman, who had inserted several treasonable passages in a sermon never preached, and which, as some said, was never intended to be preached; however the papers being found in his study, it was resolved he should be prosecuted, and the King being, it seems, doubtful of the event, was resolved to go upon as sure grounds as he could, and therefore directed Sir Francis Bacon, to procure the opinion of Sir Edward Coke and the rest of the Judges beforehand, which was accordingly done, but the Chief-Justice Coke was not prevailed upon to give his without much difficulty, declaring it to be a thing unusual, and which he was very much afraid might be attended by very ill consequences; the point was at last carried notwithstanding, and Peacham was afterwards tried and found guilty, but not executed (t), which, however it may lessen the severity, does not in the least excuse the injustice of the proceeding, since several of the Judges were of opinion, that his crime was not high-treason. The other case was that of Mr Owen, of Godstowe in Oxfordshire, who returning out of Spain, did not only affirm, but enforce with reasons, a doctrine, which 'tis probable Suarez and some other Jesuits had disseminated, in that country; That if the King were excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, it was lawful for any person to kill him. This being a position in direct terms contrary to the late Oath of Allegiance, and of dangerous consequence if believed and propagated, it was thought necessary that he should be made an example, and accordingly in Easter term, 1615, he was prosecuted and convicted in the King's-Bench, my Lord Coke and the other Judges of that Court declaring, that it was high-treason within the statute of 25 Edw. III (u). The speech of Sir Francis Bacon at the arraignment of this Owen, is preserved in his works (w) [U], and there are also a great many passages in his letters, relating to both these prosecutions. But we are now to shift the scene a little, and to take notice of a new favourite, who began to engross King James's good

[U] *Is preserved in his Works.*] The case of this Owen was very remarkable, and the true reason of his being prosecuted, seems to have been, in order to awe the more violent sort of Papists. This man had asserted, that if the King was excommunicated, it was lawful to kill him, which assertion the Attorney maintained to be high-treason, in which he was supported by the Lord Coke, who was even more forward in this business than the Attorney himself, and inclined to carry the thing higher, as may appear from the following passage in a letter, written by Sir Francis Bacon to the King upon this subject (53). 'The Judges desired us to leave the examinations and papers with them for some little time to consider, (which is a thing they use) but I conceive there will be no manner of question made of it. My Lord Chief Justice, to shew forwardness, (as I interpret it) shewed us passages of Suarez, and others, thereby to prove, that though your Majesty stood not by particular sentence, yet by the general bulls of *Cæna Domini*, and others, you were upon the matter excommunicate, and therefore, that the treason was as *de presenti*. But I that foresee, that if that course should be held, when it cometh to a publick day, to disseminate to the vulgar an opinion that your Majesty's case is all one, as if you were *de facto*, particularly and expressly, excommunicate, it would but increase the danger of your person with those that were desperate Papists; and that it is needless, commended my Lord's diligence, but with all put it by, and fell upon the other course (which is the true way) that is, that whosoever shall affirm *in diem*, or *sub conditione*, that your Majesty may be destroyed, is a traitor *de presenti*, for that he maketh you but tenant for life, at the will of another; and I put the Duke of Buckingham's case, who said, that if the King caused him to be arrested of treason, he would stab him; and the case of the impostress, Elizabeth Barton, that said, if King Henry VIII took not his wife again, Katherine Dowager, he should be no longer King, and the like.' When this man came to be indicted for high-treason, at the bar of the court of King's Bench, Sir Francis Bacon supported the charge against him by that speech which is mentioned in the text, of which the latter part is lost,

or at least, has not hitherto been printed; and it is remarkable, that it is that very part of the speech in which he maintained, that tho' the prisoner did not affirm simply, that it is lawful to kill the king, but conditionally only, that if the King be excommunicated, that it is lawful to kill him; yet this was treason. It was for this reason, that I cited in this note, the foregoing passage from his letter to the King, because it fully supplies the sense and argument, tho' not the form of the speech, and shews in what manner he made that out, which, for any thing I know, has not been observed before. At the beginning of this speech there is something very remarkable; this Mr Owen, it seems, was but an obscure man, and therefore the Attorney-General thought it requisite, to take off the imputation of severity in this respect, by shewing the true reason for this proceeding against him. His words are these (54): 'I have now served his Majesty, Solicitor and Attorney, eight years, and better, yet this is the first time that ever I gave in evidence against a traitor at this bar, or any other. There hath not wanted matter in that party of the subjects, whence this kind of offence floweth, to irritate the King, he hath been irritated by the powder treason, which might have turned judgment into fury; he hath been irritated by wicked and monstrous libels, irritated by a general insolvency and presumption of the Papists throughout the land, and yet I see his Majesty keepeth Cæsar's rule, *Nil malo, quam eos esse similes sui, Et me met*, he leaveth them to be like themselves, and he remaineth like himself, and striveth to overcome evil with goodness. A strange thing! bloody opinions, bloody doctrines, bloody examples, and yet the government still unstained with blood: As for this Owen that is brought in question, tho' his person be, in his condition, contemptible; yet we see by miserable examples, that those wretches which are but the scum of the earth, have been able to stir earthquakes by murdering of Princes, and if it were in case of contagion, (as this is a contagion of the heart and soul) a rascal may bring a plague into the city, as well as a great man; so it is not the person but the matter, that is to be considered.'

(54) Ibid. p. 322.

[U] And

good graces, to whom Sir Francis Bacon was both a friend and counsellor. This was Mr George Villiers, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of Buckingham. His rise at Court was very swift and surprizing, to which the advice of his friend Bacon contributed not a little; and yet it must be allowed that this advice was such, as is not usually given in Courts, but of a strain equally free and friendly, calculated to make the person to whom it was addressed, both good and great, and so equally honourable for the giver and the receiver (x) [W]. But while this gentleman was rising, his predecessor Somerset was falling, in which Sir Francis Bacon also had a share, and a large one too, of which however we shall speak as briefly as possible, as having occasion to treat this matter much more at large, in several other articles (y). The occasion of this extraordinary event, was the unexpected discovery, of the deep concern that the Earl and Countess of Somerset had, in the barbarous fact of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, the first occasion of which discovery, as I find it no where clearly mentioned but in one of the speeches of Sir Francis Bacon, I shall take notice of here. Sir Thomas Overbury was poisoned in the beginning of the year 1613, chiefly by the means of one Weston, formerly an Apothecary's man, who had been put about him for this purpose. This Weston was afterwards promoted by Sir Gervaise Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was also privy to the murder; and this gentleman having in other respects a good character, being strongly recommended to a certain nobleman by a friend of his, the share he had in the ill usage of Sir Thomas Overbury was objected, and this having led the Lieutenant to protest, that he had persuaded Weston from the design he had of poisoning Sir Thomas, and had engaged him to let it fall; this again afforded such light, that by pursuing it steadily the whole matter was found out (z). There never was an affair of this kind made more noise in England than this, and the King shewed a very earnest desire of bringing all who were concerned in it to justice; so that the Earl and Countess of Somerset were immediately committed, and the rest of the offenders prosecuted with all imaginable severity. It does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon meddled at all with this affair at the beginning, for Richard Weston, who was tried on the nineteenth of October 1616, had the charge against

(x) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 845.

(y) See OVER-BURY (Sir THOMAS); CAR (ROBERT) Earl of Somerset; COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(z) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 350.

[W] And so equally honourable for the giver and receiver. It was immediately after this new favourite came to be distinguished, that Sir Francis Bacon entered into a strict and close friendship with him, which lasted with little, or no interruption, so long as they lived. Mr Villiers came well recommended to the King, for he was introduced by the Queen, persuaded by Archbishop Abbot, and other persons of the first quality (55). When he had received the honour of knighthood, and was made one of the bed-chamber, our author compiled, at his request, such a scheme of advice for his conduct, as perhaps was never before penned, and will hardly ever be amended (56). It is very large, and may be used very successfully, in the education of young men of quality, as it contains every thing necessary to be known or attended to, by a person in great favour, and admitted to great offices in the state. It was first printed in 4to in the year 1661, and again in the Cabala (57), and very correctly in our author's works (58). I shall select a paragraph or two at the beginning, to justify what is said in the text, and to prove that this piece was written, not in the stile of a flatterer, but of a friend. 'You know, says our author to Sir G. Villiers, I am no courtier, nor versed in state-affairs, my life hitherto hath rather been contemplative than active, I have rather studied books than men, I can but guess at the most, at those things in which you desired to be advised; nevertheless, to shew my obedience, tho' with the hazard of my discretion, I shall yield unto you. Sir, in the first place, I shall be bold to put you in mind of the present condition you are in, you are not only a courtier, but a bed-chamber man, and so in the eye and ear of your master, but you are also a favourite, the favourite of the time, and so are in his bosom also, the world hath so voted you, and hath so esteemed you, for Kings and great Princes, even the wisest of them, have had their friends, their favourites, their privades, in all ages, for they have their affections as well as other men. Of these they make several uses, sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; sometimes to ease their cares by imparting them, and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their people; for Kings cannot err, that must be discharged on the shoulders of their ministers, and they who are nearest to them must be content to bear the greatest load. Remember then what your true condition is, the King himself is above the reach of his people, but cannot be

above their censures; and you are his shadow, if either he commit an error and is loth to avow it, but excuseth it upon his ministers, of which you are first in the eye, or you commit the fault, or have willingly permitted it, and must suffer for it, and so perhaps you may be offered a sacrifice to appease the multitude. But truly, Sir, I do not believe or suspect you are chosen to this eminency, out of the last of those considerations; for you serve such a master, who by his wisdom and goodness, is as free from the malice or envy of his subjects, as I think I may truly say, ever any King was, who has sat upon his throne before him; but I am confident his Majesty has cast his eyes upon you, as finding you to be such as you should be, or hoping to make you to be such as he would have you to be; for this without flattery I may say, your outside promiseth as much as can be expected from a gentleman; but be it in the one respect or other, it belongeth to you to take care of yourself, and to know well what the name of a favourite signifies. If you be chosen upon the former respects, you have reason to take care of your actions and deportment, out of your gratitude for the King's sake; but if out of the latter, you ought to take the greater care for your own sake. You are as a new risen star, and the eyes of all men are upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor.' There is certainly great spirit and freedom in this Introduction, and it cannot be denied that the same spirit and freedom also runs through the whole piece. There might be somewhat of lightness and indiscretion in the King's choice of so young a favourite, but certainly, there was nothing strange, nothing that could give offence in the endeavours of Sir Francis Bacon, to make him become his place, to enable him, of a young courtier, to become a good statesman; and to turn the King's condescension to his own liking, to the benefit of his people. I have dwelt the longer upon this, because the application of Sir Francis Bacon to this rising star, has been made one of the principal objections against our author's conduct; whereas, whoever shall consider, what need Sir Francis Bacon had of the interest of Sir George Villiers; and, on the other hand, how necessary to Sir George Villiers, the counsels were of Sir Francis Bacon, will easily discern that this was, in it's beginning at least, a very equal friendship, and that the King's Attorney-General, did not run himself into a hasty and an indecent dependance, upon a boy just come into favour at Court.

[X] Were

(55) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 457.

(56) As this piece was originally calculated to make a young man who was already great, a Politician; so it may well be used, to render a man versed in politics, who would that way aspire to greatness.

(57) In the edition of 1691, p. 37.

(58) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 564.

(a) Sir Lawrence Hyde was at that time the Queen's Attorney, and had a large share in all prosecutions.

(b) Annals of King James and King Charles I, p. 13.

(c) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 333. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 324. History of Great Britain, p. 700.

(d) See Sir Francis Bacon's own Letters, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 616—626.

against him opened by the Queen's Attorney-General (a). This man at first refused to plead, and by that means endeavoured to obstruct the course of justice, but the famous Lord Coke directing all the evidence there was against him to be published in open court, he retracted his plea, and putting himself upon his trial, was found guilty, and received sentence of death, which was afterwards executed (b). But the Earl of Somerset, though a fallen Minister, had so many friends, that notwithstanding this clear proceeding, they endeavoured, by misrepresenting what had passed at Weston's trial, and by interrogating him at the gallows, to make the whole pass for nothing better, than an artificial contrivance to ruin that nobleman. This attempt of theirs brought Sir Francis Bacon into the business, for, as Attorney-General, he was commanded by the King to prosecute the persons, who had been most busy in this base undertaking, in the Star-Chamber. Accordingly he there brought a charge against Mr Lumfden, a courtier and a gentleman of good family in Scotland, Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Sir John Wentworth, upon which occasion he made a most excellent speech, which is not only preserved among his other works, but was also inserted by Mr Wilson in his History. In consequence of this prosecution, all the parties were most severely punished in that court (c) [X]. It was his wise and prudent conduct in this prosecution, that engaged his master King James, to entrust him chiefly in the management of the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, as appears by his own letters to the King upon this subject, in which it is evident, that this affair was now become, in some measure, a matter of State; and the King, who from the beginning had taken a great deal of pains, as his manner was, to magnify his zeal for, and skill in, doing justice, continued now to interest himself therein to such a degree, as drew very heavy imputations upon his character, and ought to be a warning to Princes, to leave matters of this nature to the free course of the laws, without any interposition whatever (d). After many examinations, and much unnecessary stir about

[X] *Were most severely punished in that court.* The design of this prosecution, was to vindicate the justice of the nation, and to prevent the obstructing of its course, which might have been the consequence, if the methods taken by these gentlemen, and indeed by many others, such as Mr Sackvil, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and the famous Sir Henry Vane, out of their too great affection for the Earl of Somerset, had prevailed, and established a notion, that Weston died innocently, or at least, that he had not accused the Earl. Sir Francis Bacon, in the opening of his charge (59), exposed very fully the great danger of poisoning, and why it was formerly accounted high-treason; because, says he, it is an offence that evidently tends, to the subversion and dissolution of human society, which he assigns as one reason, why the King had taken so much pains in this matter. He next observes, that Sir Thomas Overbury, at the time he was poisoned, was a prisoner of state in the Tower, and consequently, more immediately under the King's protection. He adds to these, a third, that by the means of these three gentlemen, the honour of the King was deeply injured, by the aspersions thrown upon his justice, for which no remedy could be had but here in the Star-Chamber. Having thus introduced the cause, he proceeded to the particular offences of the several persons at the bar. As to Mr Lumfden, he says, that in the time between Weston's standing mute, and his trial; he drew up a false and libellous relation, containing as many untruths as lines, and delivered it to Mr Henry Gibb of the King's bed-chamber, that he might put it into his Majesty's hands, with intent to slander the Chief Justice, of whom Sir Francis gives a great encomium upon this occasion. As to Sir John Wentworth, he charges, that at the gallows he asked Weston, *whether he poisoned Overbury or no?* And with his giving this reason for his question, that he desired to know it, that he might pray with him. For Sir John Hollis, he does not charge him with asking any questions, but for acting as a kind of Confessor, by desiring Weston to *discharge his conscience, and to satisfy the world;* to which he giving no answer, Sir John turned about his horse and said, *he was sorry for such a conclusion.* He farther charges him with another offence, prior in point of time, which was, that on the day the verdict was given against Weston, he said, *If he were of the jury, he would doubt what to do.* After having gone through these particulars, Sir Francis thus summed up his charge (60). 'Of the offence of these two gentlemen in general, your Lordship must give me leave to say, that it is an offence greater or more dangerous than is conceived, I know well, that as we have no Spanish Inquisitions, nor justice in a corner; so we have no gagging of men's mouths at their

deaths, but that they may speak freely at the last hour, but then it must come from the free motion of the party, not by temptation of questions. The questions that are to be asked, ought to tend to farther revealing of their own or others guiltiness. But to use a question in the nature of a false interrogatory, to falsify that which is *re judicata*, is intolerable, for that were to erect a court or commission of review at Tyburn, against the King's Bench at Westminster: And besides, it is a thing vain and idle, for if they answer according to the judgment past, it adds no credit, or if it be contrary, it derogates nothing, but yet it subjecteth the majesty of justice, to popular and vulgar talk and opinion. My Lords, these are great and dangerous offences, for if we do not maintain justice, justice will not maintain us.' All this was just and decent, what arose from the nature of the cause, and what was fit for a man in his office to say upon such an occasion. Sir John Hollis in his answer said, 'That Mr Attorney had so well applied his charge against him, that tho' he carried the seal of a good conscience, he would almost make him believe that he was guilty; but he hoped that their Lordships would take the bird by the body, and not by the feathers.' But the Chief Justice Coke dealt with them a little more rudely (61), telling Mr Lumfden, that he was the Earl of Somerset's pimp, and that he could prove him to be so under the Earl's own hand: As for Sir John Hollis, he said his crime was very great, for that he had questioned the truth of a fact after a verdict, which was of so sacred a nature, that the law could not allow a man to do it, tho' ever so much concerned in interest: And because in his defence Sir John had made use of this expression, *that if any thing were determined against him, he did humbly submit himself thereto.* The Chief Justice said, he thought, that by *determining*, he meant the court were to give their censures against him by conspiracy: For my own part, continued he, I talked with none other, nor I think did any of us, one speak with the other before we came together here. Peradventure he thinks, as some have thought, that all the carriage of this business is but a conspiracy against the Earl of Somerset (62). Upon the whole, the court gave the following sentence, viz. Mr Lumfden, was fined two thousand marks, imprisoned in the Tower for a whole year, and after, until he should at the King's-Bench bar, submit himself and confess his fault, and also produce his authors. Sir John Hollis was fined one thousand pounds, imprisoned in the Tower for the space of a year. Sir John Wentworth fined one thousand marks, imprisoned in the Tower for a year, and both were to make submission at the King's-Bench bar (63).

(61) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 337.

(62) Ibid. p. 338.

(63) Ibid. ubi supra.

(60) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 329.

[X] *Hic*

about it, Frances, Countess of Somerset was brought to her trial, on the twenty-fourth of May 1616, and there pleaded guilty, upon which occasion Sir Francis Bacon made a speech, in which the beforementioned circumstance, relating to the discovery of this whole affair was contained (e). The next day the Earl of Somerset was brought to his trial, and Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-General, opened the matter very fully, and with much perspicuity, and though the Earl defended himself with great art and skill, yet he was found guilty (f). It is true, that neither the Countess who confessed her guilt, nor the nobleman who was convicted upon evidence, suffered, though all who had been their instruments in this black and barbarous affair did; but the mercy extended to the former, was in regard to her family, the most noble in the kingdom, and the intercession of the Peers in her behalf; and the latter flowed from the King's tenderness towards a man, who had been once so high in his favour, and who is generally allowed to have been much less guilty than his wife. However, the sparing of them has been always accounted one of the greatest stains on King James's administration, and is a proof, that ill-timed mercy in a Prince, is often an act of severity to himself, and was more especially so in this case, because the King had taken so much pains to make the justice of that sentence appear, which afterwards he declined to execute (g). It must notwithstanding be allowed, that there is no kind of reason to believe, Sir Francis Bacon had any hand at all in procuring the Earl of Somerset's pardon, to whom as he had no obligations, so he conducted himself towards him in this matter, with a laudable indifference, shewing a warm, but decent diligence in the discharge of his duty, as Attorney-General, without any prejudice against either of the prisoners; so that in an affair which proved fatal to the Chief-Justice, he conducted himself with such wisdom and caution, as to deserve the approbation of the King his master, and the general applause of the whole nation (h). He was now trusted and employed by the King, not only in the business of his profession, but in so many affairs of another nature, and of superior consequence to the State, that he judged it would be for his own honour, and at the same time advantageous to the King's service, that he should be sworn of the Privy-Council, which, tho' unusual for a man in his station, was, by the interposition of his friend, Sir George Villiers, brought about, and he accordingly took his place at the Board, on the ninth of June 1616, at Greenwich, where the Court then was (i). His credit at this time was so great with the King, that his Majesty depended chiefly upon his integrity and abilities, in the regulation of an affair that very nearly concerned himself, and was of the highest consequence to the nation. There had grown a very high difference between the two Courts of Chancery and King's-Bench, as to the point of Jurisdiction, which seems to have arisen in a great measure from the warmth and haughtiness of Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Justice, who instead of endeavouring to bring matters to a fair hearing and amicable conclusion, did all he could to drive things to extremities, and to get the better of the Court of Chancery, by setting on foot some violent prosecutions at law. This, as might reasonably be expected, occasioned a very great noise, which was not a little heightened by a very unfortunate circumstance, viz. that the Chancellor was very dangerously ill, when the Chief Justice fell upon him in this manner (k). The King proceeded in this affair with great coolness and caution, and referred it to the examination of those, who he thought were most able and most willing to give him a right information, of which Sir Francis Bacon was one, and as far as at this day we can discern, his opinion went the farthest, towards settling the point [Y]. The conclusion of the matter was, that the King

(e) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 143. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 350.

(f) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 351. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 354. Sanderton's Hist. of King James, p. 419.

(g) See CAR (ROBERT) Earl of Somerset. EL VAYES (Sir GERVAS). MONSON (Sir THOMAS).

(h) See an Explanation of this in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(i) Camden's Annals of King James, July 9, 1616. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 38.

(k) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 609.

[Y] His opinion went the farthest in settling that point.] It may not be amiss to give a short account of the first rise of this controversy, which then occasioned so much clamour, and has been more than once revived since. It was in few words this, one Mr Courteney suing in Chancery to be relieved, against a judgment obtained at the Common-Law; an indictment for a *Præmunire*, grounded upon the statute 27 *Edw. III. cap. 1.* was preferred against him and his agents, in the King's-Bench at the end of Hillary term, 1615-6. Tho' the jury refused to find the bill yet thereupon sprung that contended question, *whether by virtue of the said statute, and that of the fourth year of Henry IV, cap. 3. the Chancery, after judgments given in the courts of Law, was prohibited from giving relief upon matters arising in equity, which the judges at law, could not determine or relieve* (64)? This affair, as has been observed in the text, making a great noise in the world, the King, as supreme Judge of the jurisdictions of his courts, used the utmost care to inform himself therein, and referred the same to Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Attorney and Solicitor; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at Law, and Mr Walter, the Prince's Attorney, all eminent men in their profession; who, upon a serious consideration of the statutes and the occasion of making them, and of the precedents since that time, did, in April 1616, present the King with their opinions and reasons, why they con-

ceived these statutes did not extend to the court of Chancery; consonant to which resolution, his Majesty, upon further advice, gave judgment in July following, and ordered the case, the certificate, and the transactions thereupon, to be enrolled in the same court (65). All the time this great business was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, besides the pains he took in his office, and as a Commissioner in right thereof, wrote from time to time to the King upon this subject, and at last, when the affair drew near to a conclusion, drew up a memorial for the King's conduct in this matter, as also in another of no less importance, with which, as we shall have an occasion to mention it in another place (66), we have not meddled here. This memorial, as the King followed it closely, so far as it concerns the present case, we shall insert here (67).
 ' That about the end of Hillary term last, there came to his Majesty's ears, only by common voice and report, not without great rumour and wonder, that there was somewhat done in the King's-Bench the last day of that term, whereby his Chancery should be pulled down and be brought in question for *Præmunire*, being the most heinous offence after treason, and felony, and misprison of treason, and that the time should be, when the Chancellor lay at the point of death.
 ' That his Majesty was so far from hearing of this by any complaint from his Chancellor (who then had given over worldly thoughts) that he wrote letters

(65) Chancery Reports, Vol. I. at the end, by way of Appendix.

(66) See the affair of Commendams, in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(67) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 632.

64) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, 4to, 1702. p. 33.

King in person pronounced a kind of judgment in the Star-Chamber, in favour of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, with some pretty sharp remarks on the conduct of his antagonist, who soon after lost his master's esteem, tho' he lived to recover and lose it again (l). Sir George Villiers was all this time rising in his Sovereign's favour by very swift degrees, in which perhaps he was not a little assisted by the good advice that was given him by his friend Sir Francis Bacon, who certainly took a great deal of pains to serve him, and therefore had the greatest right to expect, that in return he should render him all the good offices that were in his power, in which, as from their letters it very clearly appears, he was not at all backward, but, on the contrary, promoted his interest with great warmth and sincerity, agreeable to the character which is given of him by the Earl of Clarendon, than whom there are few who have shewn themselves better judges of men (m). But however it does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon relied entirely upon his assistance; but that, on the contrary, he addressed himself with much plainness and freedom to the King, representing very fairly and strongly, tho' with modesty and decency, the nature and length of his services, and the several reasons he had to expect, that the King, in case of a vacancy, should think of him for the custody of the Seals, as a matter equally honourable for himself, and advantageous to his Majesty's service. It is not easy to conceive, how applications for favour can be conducted with dignity, or how a man can set forth his merits and services, explaining at the same time his own fitness for any particular employment, and marking the inaptitude of others, without a mixture of meanness on the one hand, and of envy and injustice on the other. But the more difficult such a task appears, the more his excellency must shine, who was able to discharge it, and to discharge it with honour to himself, without wrong to others, and with duty and benefit to the King his master. Yet this, as the reader will plainly see, Sir Francis Bacon did, at a time when the death of the then Lord Chancellor was daily expected, and consequently, when he might aspire to that high dignity, without any breach of the friendship with which he had been honoured by that worthy person. It is true, the libellers of those times, or, which is the same thing in milder words, the writers of secret history, report matters otherwise (n), but for the honour of his memory, his letter written upon that occasion yet remains, to set the thing in it's true light (o) [Z]. But the Lord Chancellor recovering, his application

(l) Camden's Annals of King James, June 20, 1616. Sanderfon's Hist. of King James, p. 431. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 33.

(m) History of the Rebellion; Oxford 1732, fol. p. 4.

(n) Court and Character of King James, by Sir A.W. p. 127.

(o) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

' of comfort to him upon this accident, before he heard
' from him; and for his Attorney, his Majesty chal-
' lenged him for not advertizing him of that, of
' which it was proper for his Majesty to be informed
' from him.

' That his Majesty being sensible of this so great
' novelty and perturbation in his courts of justice,
' nevertheless used this method and moderation, that
' before he would examine this great affront and
' disgrace offered to his Chancery and Chancellor,
' he would first inform himself whether the Chancery or
' Chancellor were in fault, and whether the former
' precedents of Chancery did warrant the proceedings
' there, after judgment passed at Common Law (which
' was the thing in question) and thereupon his Ma-
' jesty called his learned Counsel to him, and com-
' manded them to examine the precedents of Chan-
' cery, and to certify what they found, which they
' did; and by their certificate it appeareth, that the
' precedents of that kind were many and precise in
' the point, and constant and in good times, and
' allowed many times by the Judges themselves.

' That after this, his Majesty received from the
' Lord Chancellor a case, whereby the question was
' clearly set down, and contained within the proper
' bounds of the present doubt; being, whether upon
' apparent matter of equity, which the Judges by
' the law, by their place, and oath, cannot meddle
' with or relieve, if a judgment be once pass at Com-
' mon Law, the subject shall perish, or the Chancery shall
' relieve him, and whether there be any statute of Prae-
' munire or other, to restrain this power in the Chan-
' cellor? Which case, upon the request of the Lord
' Chancellor, his Majesty likewise referred to his learned
' Counsel (and the Prince's Attorney, Mr Walter,
' was joined with them) who, upon great advice, and
' view of the original records themselves, certified,
' the Chancery was not restrained by any statute in
' that case.

' That his Majesty again required his learned Coun-
' sel to call up the Clerks of the King's-Bench to
' them, and to receive from them any precedents of
' indictments in the King's Bench against the Chan-
' cery, for proceeding in the like case; who produced
' only two precedents, being but indictments offered,
' or found, upon which there was no other proceeding;
' and the Clerks said, they had used diligence and
' could find no more.

' That his Majesty, after he had received this sa-
' tisfaction, that there was ground for that the

' Chancery had done, and that the Chancery was not in
' fault, he thought then it was time to question this
' misdemeanour and contempt, in scandalizing and
' dishonouring his justice in that High Court of Chan-
' cery, in so odious a manner, and commanded his
' Attorney-General, with the advice of the rest of his
' learned Counsel, to prosecute the offenders in the Star-
' Chamber, which is done, and some of them are
' fled, and others stand out and will not answer.

' That there resteth only one part more towards his
' Majesty's compleat information in this cause, which is,
' to examine that which was done in open court the said
' last day of Hillary term; and whether the Judges of the
' King's-Bench did commit any excess of authority, or
' did animate the offenders otherwise than according to
' their duty and place; which enquiry, because it
' concerneth the Judges of a court (to keep order and
' decorum) his Majesty thinketh not so convenient to
' use his learned Counsel therein, but will commit
' the same to some of the council table, and some of
' his learned Counsel to attend them.

' This declared, or what else his Majesty in his
' own high wisdom shall think good, it will be fit
' time to have the certificate of the learned Counsel
' openly read.'

[Z] His letter writ upon that occasion yet remains,
to set the thing in it's true light.] The scope of this
letter is fully shewn in the text, and so much thereof
as is necessary to give the reader a true notion of
Sir Francis Bacon's conduct in this particular, fol-
lows (68): ' I hope I may be acquitted of pre-
' sumption if I think of it, both because my father
' had the place, which is some civil inducement to
' my desire, (and I pray God your Majesty, may have
' twenty no worse years in your greatness, than Queen
' Elizabeth had in her model after my father's
' placing) and chiefly because the Chancellor's place
' after it went to the Law, was ever conferred upon
' some of the learned Counsel, and never upon a
' Judge; for Audeley was raised from a King's Ser-
' jeant, my father from Attorney of the Wards,
' Bromley from Solicitor, Puckering from Queen's
' Serjeant, Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having
' newly left the Attorney's place. Now I beseech
' your Majesty, let me put you the present case truly.
' If you take my Lord Coke this will follow, first,
' your Majesty shall put an over-ruling nature into an
' over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme;
' next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of si-
' nances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and

(68) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

eration did not at that time take effect; and therefore he betook himself to the duties of his office, and to such other employments as were imposed upon him by the King his master. Various indeed they were, and thereby speak the vast extent of his abilities in civil life; for besides settling the jurisdiction of Courts, and the nature of the King's prerogative, which were things some way incident to his office and profession (p): we find him frequently consulted in affairs of state and of the revenue, more particularly in a great dispute between the Merchant-Adventurers, or, as we find them commonly called, the *Old Company*, and another company of merchants, with one Alderman Cockaine at their head, who by promising great things to the King, and greater to the nation, had procured to themselves powers, which they were not able to manage so advantageously, as either they expected, or was expected from them (q). We find him likewise deeply engaged in Irish affairs (r), and acting in both, not as a busy and forward man, fond of thrusting himself into every thing, but as an active and diligent servant to his Prince, who thought nothing a burthen, nothing a hardship, which it was in his power to perform for the benefit of the State, or as an instance of his gratitude to so good and kind a master. He likewise shewed himself exceedingly careful and sollicitous, in whatever related to the preferments, honours, or fortunes of Sir George Villiers, to whom he professed an early friendship, and for whom however, if we may judge from his letters, he did nothing officiously, but rendered him such services only, as fell properly in the way of the Attorney-General: such as the preparing his warrants for patents, and for the grants of land, in which, if besides the bare duties of his function, he gave him some marks of particular friendship; it ought rather to be attributed to his affection for his person, and his regard for one who had shewn great willingness to serve him, than to a servile spirit and mean adulation of power, since he had never shewn any thing of that sort with respect to Somerset, who had enjoyed a much greater measure of power, than Sir George Villiers had hitherto done (s). The last act of Sir Francis Bacon as Attorney-General, was of the same nature with the first, by which I mean, his prosecuting Mr Markham in the Star-Chamber, for sending a challenge to Lord Darcy, wherein he gained great reputation (t). So that in the course of upwards of three years, in which he held the post of Attorney-General, which, as an able writer has observed, proves often a rock on which the greatest lawyers split; he behaved himself with such prudence and moderation, and went through so many difficult and perplexed affairs, with such evenness and integrity, that, for any thing appears, his conduct was never called in question, nor has malice itself dared to utter of him the least reproach (u). When this is considered, we need the less wonder at his so confidently expecting the high employment to which he was raised. It was a very natural elevation from the post he was then in, the good old Lord Chancellor desired to have him for his successor, and indeed there was no man of the profession so fit for it at that time as himself. The manner in which it was done was every way great and gracious, for the Lord Viscount Brackley, then Lord Chancellor, being worn out with age and infirmities, on the third of March 1617, at a visit which the King paid him, resigned the Seals into his Majesty's hands, whose tenderness at parting with so ancient and faithful a servant, made him shed tears (w). Upon the seventh of the same month, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir Francis Bacon, then in the fifty-fourth year of his age, with the title of Lord-Keeper, giving him at the same time these three cautions; first, That he should not seal any thing but after mature deliberation. Secondly, That he should give righteous judgments between parties. And lastly, That he should not extend the royal prerogative too far. These wise and grave admonitions were highly worthy of a good Prince, and happy had it been for the new Lord-Keeper, if they had been

(p) Ibid. p. 609; 611.

(q) See Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters; p. 39.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 646, 647.

(s) See the Annals of King James.

(t) Hobart's Reports, p. 120.

(u) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 19, in a note.

(w) Camden's Annals, March 3, 1617.

and lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle: If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a Judge at the upper end of your council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for tho' there should be emulation between them, yet as Legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best. He is no statesman but an economist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty (more than an outward form) will find little help in him for the business; If you take my Lord Cantorbury, I will say no more, but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions spiritual and temporal in that height, is fit but for a King. For myself I can only present your Majesty with *gloria in obsequio*, yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that place, your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth, but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your Majesty shall only be troubled with the true care of a King, which is, to think what you would have done in chief, and not how for the passages. I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the Lower House; I have interest in the gentry of England, and shall be able to do some good effect in rectifying that

body of parliament men which is *cardo rerum*; for let me tell your Majesty, that that part of the Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that same *regnum judiciale*, (which since my father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your Majesty, least, more than the acquitting of your conscience for justice, but it is the other parts of a moderator amongst your counsel, of an overseer over your judges, of a planter of fit justices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs, and these times most. I will add also, that I hope by my care the inventive part of your council will be strengthened, who now commonly do exercise rather their judgments than their inventions, and the inventive part cometh from projectors and private men, which cannot be so well, in which kind my Lord of Salisbury had a good method if his end had been upright. To conclude; if I were the man, I would be, I should hope, that as your Majesty hath of late won hearts by depressing, you should in this lose no hearts by advancing, for I see your people can better skill of *concretum* than *abstractum*, and that the waves of their affections flow rather after persons than things, so that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace.

(*) Sanderson's History of King James, p. 437. Camden's Annals, March 7, 1617. Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 705.

(y) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 666. Camden's Annals, May 28, 1617, Dugdale's Baro-nage of England, p. 415.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 660.

(b) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 1.

(c) Memorables in the reign of King James, p. 295.

(d) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 664.

(e) Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 212.

(f) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 665.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 666.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 667, 668.

been as constantly remembered, as they were graciously given and submissively received (*). He went afterwards to visit the late Lord Chancellor, as well to acquit himself of the debt of personal gratitude which he owed to that worthy person, as to acquaint him with his master's gracious intentions, which were to give him the title of an Earl, with a pension for life, which though he did not survive long enough to receive, yet they were made good to his son, who was created Earl of Bridgewater, by the first patent to which the new Lord-Keeper affixed the seal (y). Within eight days after Sir Francis Bacon was raised to this high honour, the King set out for Scotland, notwithstanding his favourite lately created Earl of Bucks, had opposed that journey as far as he durst. By this means the Lord-Keeper was placed at the head of the Council, and intrusted with the management of publick affairs in the King's absence, which if it proved an accession of honour, proved also a source of much envy and malice. He was succeeded as Attorney-General, by Sir Henry Yelverton, who was replaced as Solicitor-General, by Sir Thomas Coventry. How much soever Sir Francis Bacon might gain in dignity by this promotion, it seems very doubtful whether he gained any thing in point of profit, since he quitted three very gainful offices, First, that of Attorney-General, which, as he told the King himself, was worth to him six thousand pounds a year (z); next, that of Chancellor to the Prince, which he likewise mentions in one of his letters (a); and lastly, his post of Register of the Court of Star-Chamber. What the profits were of his new office is uncertain, but the fees granted him by patent were not large, being no more than five hundred forty-two pounds fifteen shillings a year, as Lord-Keeper, three hundred pounds a year for his attendance in the Star-Chamber, threescore pounds a year for wine, and sixteen pounds a year for wax (b). On the seventh of May following, which was the first day of the term, he went to Westminster in great state, and there took possession of his high office, being attended by many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction. Upon this occasion he did, what whether it was usual or not was certainly very decent and becoming, that is to say, he made a long and large speech, of the nature and duty of his office; of what might be expected from him in it, and of the manner in which he meant to discharge it; in the opening of this speech he took notice of the cautions given him by the King, which however he enlarged, and so made them the ground-work of his copious oration, which has been always esteemed one of the finest in our language, and which perhaps is no less for his honour, has been most esteemed by those, who from their learning in the profession understood it best (c). In this speech he laid down rules for his own conduct, for the conduct of the suitors to the Court, and the gentlemen at the bar. At this distance of time we cannot say what effect it had, but in all probability it must have raised his reputation very high, and himself tells us, that it reflected no small honour on the King (d). He very soon experienced the truth of that solid observation, That the highest seats are the most exposed; for within a little time after the King's setting out for Scotland, the Spanish match, was, by direction of his Majesty, brought upon the carpet, and his Lordship had too much wisdom and penetration, not to perceive the many and great difficulties, with which it was like to be attended, which he hinted to the King in a letter, wherein he very prudently and honestly advised his Majesty not to proceed therein, but with an united Council, expressing at the same time his just sense of the misfortunes that had already attended, in various instances, discordancy of opinions. As that business proceeded, his dislike increased; yet he did not declare himself openly against it, but contented himself with such insinuations, as he thought might have restrained and discountenanced it (e). In other affairs of no small consequence, he behaved as circumstances required, with the gravity of a great officer of State, or with the freedom of an accomplished gentlemen. Thus, in his set speech to the Judges before the summer circuit in 1617, and in his several speeches to such as were sworn before him into offices of high trust, he conducted himself with all imaginable gravity; but to qualify this, he soon after invited all the Judges to dinner, and when over in a friendly conversation satisfied them, that he had no intention to extend the power of the Court of Chancery beyond it's ordinary limits, to the prejudice of other courts, and therefore desired them, in case they were at any time dissatisfied with his proceedings, to acquaint him therewith, adding, that he made no doubt of their adjusting things to their mutual satisfaction (f); he recommended to them likewise, their bringing him reports of their several circuits, that according to his command they might be certified to his Majesty (g). In all other respects he was equally cautious and methodical, transmitting from time to time, clear and distinct accounts of whatever passed of any moment to the Earl of Buckingham, who wrote to him also in a very respectful stile, expressing not only his own admiration of his great parts and prudent conduct, but likewise the commendations given of them by the King (h), which makes it very improbable, that ever this favourite pretended to treat the Lord-Keeper in the manner which some pens have represented [AA]. But however

[AA] In the manner some pens have represented. There is perhaps no country in the world in which exalted fortune does not beget envy, but at the same time, I believe, it may be truly said that kind of envy rises no where higher, or manifests itself with more violence and bitterness than with us in England. The Lord Keeper Bacon felt this very severely, for no

sooner was he advanced to this high point of preferment in his profession, than all tongues were opened against him, that either from interest or inclination, wished to have seen some other person seated in that high post. He was very sensible of this, and sought by all possible means to guard against it, endeavouring always to conduct business *suavibus modis*.

however, it must be allowed, that not long after this, Sir Francis Bacon fell into some kind

as his own expression is, by the softest and gentlest methods, that to his utmost he might avoid giving provocations, which however had not altogether the force that might have been expected. For this there may be many reasons assigned, but I shall mention only a few; he was on bad terms with all Somerset's party, which was numerous and powerful; he was an opponent to the famous Sir Edward Coke, who had a great train of admirers and dependants; he was a constant friend to Buckingham, which drew upon him the ill will of such as hated that haughty favourite; and besides all this, he provoked many of that great man's dependants by stopping their grants at the Seal. However, very little evil was publicly divulged of him during his life-time, when it might afforded room for apology or defence, but has discovered itself in libels, penned indeed by such as lived in his days, but not such as were most likely to be well acquainted with him, or the points of which they so confidently wrote. Sir Anthony Weldon, in his Court and Character of King James asserts, 'That Buckingham, to vex the very soul of Lord Chancellor Egerton in the last agony, sent Bacon to him for the seals; and that the dying Chancellor hated that Bacon should be his successor, and that the old man's spirit could not brook this, but sent the seals by his own servant to the King, and shortly after yielded up his soul to his Maker (69).'

(69) Court and Character of King James I, p. 115.

But this account contains two egregious fallacies; for in the first place, though as we have seen in the text, Camden says, the Chancellor resigned to the King himself; other authors agree, that it was the King sent for the Seals, and not the Duke of Buckingham; and he sent for them, not by Sir Francis Bacon, but by Secretary Winwood, with this message, that himself would be his-under-keeper, and not dispose of them while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor; nor did any person remove the seal out of the King's sight till the Lord Egerton died, which happened soon after (70). In the next place, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, as Dr Tenison observes, was willing that the Attorney-General, Bacon, should be his successor, and ready to promote it, so far from conceiving any hatred against him either upon that or any other account. He had been a friend to Sir Francis Bacon even in the Queen's time, as appears from a letter of the latter to him, mentioned by Dr Tenison, and this favour of his continued to the last (71): For Sir Francis Bacon writes as follows in a letter to Sir George Villiers, dated the 15th of February 1615 (72): 'My Lord Chancellor told me himself yesterday in plain terms,

that if the King would ask his opinion, touching the person that he would commend to succeed him upon death or disability, he would name me for the fittest man. You may advise whether use may not be made of this offer.' And in a letter to King James dated January 29, 1614, he wrote as follows: 'It pleased the Lord Chancellor out of his antient and great love to me, (which many times in sickness appeared most) to admit me to a great deal of freedom of speech with him this afternoon, which during these three days he hath scarce done to any (73). Sir Anthony Weldon reproaches my Lord Bacon, as a very necessitous man, and one for that reason made Keeper by the Duke of Buckingham, to serve such turns as men of better fortunes would never condescend to. But this is a mere groundless and malicious insinuation; for he had enjoyed for a long time many profitable places, which preserved him from indigence, though, as Dr Tenison observes, his great mind did not permit him to swell his purse by them to any extraordinary height, and in the Queen's time when he was in meaner circumstances, he did not look upon himself as in that estate of necessity, which tempteth generous minds to vile things. But let us hear himself in the letter to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, quoted by Dr Tenison (74), 'My estate says he, I confess a truth to your Lordship, is weak and indebted and in need of comfort; for both my father (though I think I had greatest part in his love of all his children) in his wisdom served me as last comer, and myself in mine own industry, have rather referred and aspired to virtue than to gain, whereof yet I am not wise enough to repent me. But the while, whereas Solomon speaketh, that want cometh first as a wayfaring man, and after as an armed

(74) Baconiana, p. 251.

man, I must acknowledge myself to be in *primo gradu*, for it stealth upon me; but for the second, that it should not be refilled, I hope in God I am not in that case; for the preventing whereof as I do depend upon God's providence all in all, for in the same his providence, I set opened unto me three not unlikely expectations of help; the one, my practice; the other, some proceeding in the Queen's service; the third, the place I have in reversion, which as it now standeth unto me, is but like another man's ground buttalling upon my house, which may mend my prospect, but it doth not fill my barn.' However, it must be owned, that the Earl of Buckingham was very instrumental in the Lord Keeper's preferment, which he acknowledged in his letter, written the same day that the Seals were presented to him; and surely, says Mr Stephens (75), fewer lines did never contain a greater sense of gratitude, or expressed it in a more becoming manner, though by the original they seemed to have been hastily written, and may serve to confirm what had been told me, by one who lived in his latter times, that his first copies required no great labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments; it is as follows: 'It is both in care and business, that small ones float upon the tongue, and great ones sink down into the heart in silence; therefore I could speak little to your Lordship to day, neither had I fit time, but I must profess thus much, that in this day's work you are the truest and perfectest mirror and example of firm and generous friendship that ever was in court, and I shall count every day lost wherein I shall not either study your well doing in thought, or do your name honour in speech, or perform you service indeed.' In the same volume we have likewise his speech at the taking his place in Chancery, in performance of the charge of his Majesty had given him, when he received the Seals in 1617. Sir Anthony Weldon has upon this occasion introduced another scandalous story with regard to Sir Francis Bacon, and tells us (76), that this great favourite (Buckingham) sent a noble gentleman and of much worth to him with this message, 'That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to serve his master in the Keeper's place, but he also knew him of a base and ungrateful disposition, and an errant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruin any that had raised him in his adversity; yet for all this, he did so much study his master's service, knowing how fit an instrument he might be for him, that he had obtained the Seals for him, but with this assurance, should he ever requite him as he had done some others to whom he had been bound, he would cast him down as much below scorn, as he had now raised him high above any honour he could ever have expected. Bacon, continues that author, was at that time Attorney-General, who patiently hearing this message, replied, I am glad my noble Lord deals so friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choice of so discreet and noble a friend, that hath delivered his message in so plain language. But, says he, can my Lord know these abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the highest preferment my profession is capable of, I shall so much fail in my judgment and understanding as to lose these abilities, and by my miscarriage to so noble a patron, cast myself headlong from the top of that honour to the very bottom of contempt and scorn. Surely my Lord cannot think so meanly of me. The gentleman replied, I deliver nothing from myself, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordship, to which I neither add nor diminish; for had it been left to my discretion, surely, tho' I might have given you the substance, yet I should have appraised it in a more modest attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lord's to you, so will I as faithfully deliver yours to his Lordship. You must understand, continues Sir A. Weldon, the reason of this message was his ungratefulness to the Earl of Essex, which every one could remember, for the Earl saved him from starving, and he requited him so as his apology must witness; were there not a great fault there needed no apology, nor could any age, but a worthless and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy of such a place of honour. Very hard language this of a man so eminent and well known, and this from a person

(75) Introduction to Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 41.

(76) Court and Character of King James, p. 116, 117, &c.

kind of disgrace, both with the King and the favourite, and this about a family concern of Buckingham's, which, to say the truth, shews a most shameful weakness in that government, as it very plainly proves, that the private concerns of a particular person, were grown to be of as great consequence as matters of State (*l*): The case then, to state it in as few words as possible, was this, Sir Edward Coke had formerly rejected, with some marks of contempt and disdain, a marriage that had been proposed between Buckingham's elder brother, Sir John Villiers, and one of Sir Edward's daughters, by Lady Hatton, but now finding the power of this family so great, and being desirous of coming again into favour, he applied himself to Secretary Winwood, and with great professions of sorrow for having offended the King, and of not being able to live if he was not restored to his good graces; he offered to do any thing that was required from him, and particularly to consent to this marriage (*k*). As soon as the Lord-Keeper was informed of this, he wrote very freely and fully both to Buckingham, and to the King, against the marriage, which however, had not the desired effect, but, on the contrary, drew upon him the displeasure of the favourite and his master. It must likewise be acknowledged, as indeed it appears clearly by his letters, that the Lord-Keeper was chiefly moved to this opposition, from his apprehension of it's bringing Sir Edward Coke again into favour, and there is no denying that this was a great meanness in him, and very unbecoming a person of his great abilities, as well as one in his high station (*l*). But after all, this proves no more, than that even the greatest men have their weaknesses, and that the corruptions of Courts are capable of tainting the most noble minds. On the King's return from Scotland, which was in the beginning of the month of September 1617, the Lord-Keeper and some other members of the Council, were reprimanded for the concern they had in this affair; but it does not appear, that it went so far as to create a breach between his Lordship and the Earl of Buckingham; and indeed, considering all things, one can see no just ground why it should, since, in the course of the whole dispute, it very plainly appears, that it was not from any coldness or distaste that his Lordship had taken, but rather from the excess of his fidelity and affection to Buckingham, that he had interested himself so much in this affair; and therefore, when the Earl had maturely considered it, he, of his own accord, thought proper to mitigate his Majesty's displeasure against the Lord-Keeper, and very soon procured, that is, within a fortnight after the King's return, a thorough reconciliation, for which the Lord-Keeper wrote Buckingham a letter of thanks, conceived in the strongest terms possible (*m*). Towards the close of the month, the marriage which had raised all those disputes, was solemnized, in consequence of which, Sir Edward Coke was recalled to the Council table, yet it was not long that he continued in favour, for his great friend Secretary Winwood dying, things soon ran again into their old channel, and therefore the stories we meet with in some writers of those times, may well be accounted, rather instances of Court malice, than representations of any real facts (*n*) [BB]. This storm once over, the Lord-Keeper returned to his former province, of superintending the King's affairs in general, and

(*l*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his Works, p. 242-5.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 669.

(*l*) Stephens's Collections of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 216.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(*n*) See Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, p. 115. Aulic. Coquinar. p. 171. Saunderson's Hist. of King James I, p. 437.

of no character at all, or, which is worse, of a very bad one, as will be very fully shewn in another place, where we shall have occasion to enter more fully into the history and value of Sir Anthony Weldon's performance (77). At present it shall suffice that we observe, there is not the least degree of probability in the story which he relates, at the same time that he pretends not to the least shadow of evidence; so that we are to take a fact, which would scarce deserve credit, though supported by ever so good witnesses, without any witness at all, and this against the light of one's own reason, and of a multitude of facts which may be alledged to discredit it; for whereas this is made to have been a sudden promotion, in consequence of a bargain with Buckingham, we have seen that it was so far from being such a promotion, that it was long before in agitation with the King himself, upon whom it is evident enough Sir Francis Bacon chiefly depended. This story makes Buckingham even before he had acquired that title, an insolent and overbearing favourite, which is directly contrary to what all the historians of those times say, who commend him for his affability and generosity at the beginning, by which, as he rose in the King's favour, he grew likewise in esteem with his subjects, pursuing therein a conduct very different from that of his predecessor, Somerset, who really raised and disgraced, brought into credit or drove out of the court, without the least regard to decency, men of great merit or men of none, just as his interest required or his fancy dictated. It is not therefore at all probable, that the new favourite, who so well knew by what steps the old one became so very odious, should immediately pursue his path, more especially when he could not but very well know, that he was far enough from being absolutely master of the King's good graces, out of which he had very near thrown himself a very little

after this, by most imprudently discovering his aversion to the King's intended journey into Scotland.

[BB] *Instances of Court malice than representations of any real facts.*] We have in the former note given the reader a specimen of Sir A. Weldon's malice to Sir Francis Bacon, and of his small regard for truth; in this we are obliged again to quote him, and quote him for the very same reason. He was informed of the quarrel between the Lord Keeper and Buckingham, while the latter attended his Majesty in Scotland, and he could not but see, that, during his Majesty's absence, the Lord Keeper Bacon had the chief direction of affairs, which in some measure he lost, while this quarrel subsisted. Now let us hear the whole of this story in his own language: 'Now was Bacon, says he, invested in this office, and within ten days after the King goes to Scotland. Bacon instantly begins to believe himself King, lies in the King's lodgings, gives audience in the great banquetting-house, makes all other counsellors attend his motions with the same state, the King used to come out to give audience to ambassadors; when any other Counsellors sat with him about the King's affairs, would (if they sat near him) bid them know their distance, upon which, Winwood, then Secretary, rose, went away, and would never sit more, but instantly dispatched one to the King, to desire him to make haste back, for his seat was already usurped. At which, I remember, the King reading it to us, both the King and we were very merry; and if Buckingham had sent him any letter, would not vouchsafe opening it, or reading in publick, though it was said it required speedy dispatch, nor would vouchsafe him any answer. In this posture he lived until he heard the King was returning, and began to believe the play was almost at an end; he might perfonate

(77) See the article of YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

and more particularly the bringing the expence of the King's government, now called the Civil List, into such a compass, as that it might not exceed his ordinary revenue (o). We have many of the Lord-Keeper's letters on this and on other subjects of importance, both to the King himself and to Buckingham, in which there is nothing discovered of a supple cringing or low spirit, but quite the contrary, for he often stopped at the seal, patents and grants obtained by the interest of the favourite, and gives him his reasons in very free and clear terms, which most evidently shews, that he was not of such a servile temper, as his enemies have represented him (p); and though he must have been exceedingly occupied, by that prodigious variety of business which passed through his hands, yet, even at this time, we have a remarkable instance of his care and concern for the publick, expressed in the care he took to procure a patent, which was inrolled in Chancery, for constituting two Reporters in the courts of Westminster-Hall, with a fee of one hundred pounds *per annum* to each, which, how little fruit soever it may have brought forth, was certainly a thing well designed, and which might have proved highly advantageous, as well to the nation in general, as to the profession of the Law in particular (q). Towards the end of this year, which had been so fruitful of extraordinary events to his Lordship, he was in some little danger of losing his life. This fell out from the passion of an angry man, against whom he had made a decree in Chancery, *viz.* Gervase Lord Clifton, who publickly declared, that he was very sorry he had not stabbed the Lord-Keeper in his chair, at the time he pronounced the decree (r). He was for this offence committed close prisoner to the Tower of London, and the thing made the more noise, because, but the year before, one Sir John Tyndal, a Master in Chancery, had been actually shot by one Mr Bertram, a man of considerable fortune and very fair character, and this for making a report against him, that was perfectly agreeable to justice. There is several times mention made of this affair of Lord Clifton's, in the Lord-Keeper's letters, from which it is easy enough to discern, that though his Lordship professes, that he neither hated him for what was past, nor feared what might happen from him in time to come, yet he did not care that he should be enlarged suddenly, and without such notice taken of him, as the nature of his crime deserved (s). There is no certainty, though there may be a probability, that a prosecution was commenced against this angry Lord in the Star-Chamber, but however it was, to secure himself from the effects of those misfortunes drawn on by his own ill conduct, he laid violent hands upon himself the next year, which shews how great danger the Lord-Keeper was in, from the resentment of a person of such strong passions (t). In the very entrance of the succeeding year 1618, *viz.* on the fourth of January, Sir Francis Bacon had the title given him of Lord High Chancellor of England (u), which shews how effectually he had got over that coldness, which arose about the marriage beforementioned, and as to which it began already to appear, that he had formed a much better, or at least a truer, judgment, than those who had promoted it; and about the same time his friend the Earl of Buckingham was raised to the degree of a Marquis (w), by the same title, and if we may judge from their letters, their friendship at this time was as cordial as ever. Yet the Chancellor

(o) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 673.

(p) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 42, 43.

(q) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 27.

(r) Camden's Annals of King James.

(s) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 683.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 424.

(u) Pat. 15 Jac. 1. p. 4.

(w) Pat. 15 Jac. 1. p. 11.

personate a King's part no longer, and therefore did again re-invest himself with his old rags of baseness, which were so tattered and poor at the King's coming to Windsor; that he attended two days in Buckingham's anti-chamber, being not admitted to any better place, than the room where trencher scrapers and lacques attended, there sitting upon an old wooden chest (amongst such as for his baseness were only fit for his companions, although the honour of his place did merit far more respect) with his purse and seal lying by him on that chest, myself told a servant of my Lord of Buckingham's, it was a shame to see the purse and seal of so little value or esteem in his chamber, though the carrier without it merited nothing but scorn, being worst among the basest; he told me they had command it must be so. After two days he had admittance, at first entrance fell down flat on his face at the Duke's foot, kissing it, vowing never to rise till he had his pardon; then was he again reconciled, and since that time so very a slave to the Duke, and all that family, that he durst not deny the command of the meanest of the kindred, nor oppose any thing; by this you see, a base spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest mind, and surely, never so many parts, and so base an abject spirit, tenanted together in any one earthen cottage, as in this one man (78). The very manner in which this libel is delivered, sufficiently destroys it's credit, the facts contained therein are so unlikely and improbable, that there seems to be no occasion for refuting them; yet as they have been very unaccountably transcribed, as well attested truths by some writers, I think it may not be amiss, to shew how little appearance of truth there is in them. There are still remaining abun-

dance of Lord Bacon's letters to Buckingham, and many of his answers, not one of which bears any mark of meanness on the one side, or of haughtiness on the other, but rather, I think, quite the contrary (79). It is indeed true, that the author of this book attended King James in his journey to Scotland, as one of the Clerks of the Green-Cloth, but it is not very probable that the King should read the Secretary of State's letter in abuse of the Lord Keeper, either to, or in the presence of such a Clerk. It was this man's misfortune to be disgraced in this journey, and that for writing a libel on the people of Scotland, while they were endeavouring to outdo one another in caressing the King's English servants, for which he was turned out, as a man unfit to be in the King's family, but had a sum of money given him, and a small pension for life, which he gratefully returned by writing this book: This makes it improbable that he should be so intimate at Buckingham's, as he pretends to be on the King's return (80): He contradicts himself also in this account, for in another part of his book, he says, that Buckingham behaved modestly so long as his brother Purbeck was about him; and it appears plainly, that this brother of his, then Sir John Villiers, was in greater credit with him then, than at any time afterwards (81): Add to all this, the unlikeliness, that, after such treatment, the Lord Keeper should in three months time be made Lord Chancellor, by the interest of that very person, who, according to this account, had offered him such an insult as could not well be forgiven, or at least, forgot on either side, and that no other person except this obscure man, ever mentions any circumstance that agrees with, or affords the least credit to, this wild and improbable story.

(79) See these Letters from Mr Stephens's excellent Collection in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605, & seq.

(80) Aulicus Coquinarius, in the preface.

(81) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

(78) Court and Character of King James, p. 130-133.

Chancellor still continued to use the same freedom as formerly, with respect to grants and patents which came recommended by the favourite, several of which he stopped at the Seal, and on signifying his reasons to the Marquis of Buckingham, he was so far from repenting any thing in the Chancellor's conduct, or expressing himself with any softness upon such occasions, that, on the contrary, he thanked his Lordship by letter, telling him expressly, that he desired nothing should pass the Seal at his instance or request, but what was just and convenient (x). As the new year entered with an Act of Advancement, so the spring afforded frequent opportunities to the Chancellor, to ingratiate himself with his master by free and honourable counsels, which inclined his Majesty to confer still higher marks of his favour, and accordingly by letters patents dated at Wanstead the eleventh of July 1618, Sir Francis Bacon was created Baron of Verulam in the county of Hertford; and in the preamble to those letters it is recited, that his Majesty was moved thereto, by the grateful sense of the many and faithful services rendered him by this worthy person, as well in the Court of Chancery, as in the Privy-Council, and elsewhere; and the witnesses to the aforesaid letters, are Charles Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and others of the prime nobility (y). This new honour excited his Lordship to new services, and it appears from his own writings, that he was very attentive to every thing that might conduce, either to the immediate benefit of his Majesty, or to the general good of his subjects. He has indeed been censured for giving some opposition to the charity of Mr Alleyne the Player, but it is very evident, that his Lordship meant no more therein, than to prevent an extravagant increase of licences in Mortmain, agreeable to the sentiments he had expressed while Solicitor-General, on account of the foundation of Sutton's Hospital, and as at this distance of time, we have an opportunity of comparing his advice with the events that have followed, there seems but little room to take offence, either at his Lordship's opinions or proceedings (z) [CC]. The next affair of great moment, in which his Lordship had a particular concern, was the prosecution of the Dutch merchants, for transporting abroad vast quantities of gold and silver, in money, plate, and bullion, in which his Lordship proceeded with great caution, and due respect to justice. The first step taken in it, was the Attorney-General's applying to the Chancellor, on the nineteenth of October 1618, for writs of *Ne exeant Regnum*, against several of those merchants, on a suggestion of their offending in this matter; upon which he immediately wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, expressing an unwillingness to grant those writs in prejudice of the merchants, without being acquainted with evidence, and at the same time gave these salutary cautions; That his Majesty would

(x) See the Marquis of Buckingham's Letter to the Lord Chancellor, in Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 75.

(y) Sanderfon's Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 17, where there is a plain mistake of a year in the date.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 686.

[CC] Little room to take offence, either at his Lordship's opinions or proceedings.] This imputation of his having no great affection to charitable foundations, is a very high reflection on his memory, and, though in itself very groundless, has been maintained with great warmth by many well meaning people, from unreasonable prejudices, and for want of due information. When he was Solicitor-General, he opposed the erecting that hospital which is now called the Charter-house, pursuant to the will of Mr Sutton the founder, and this in two capacities; first, in that of his profession, for he was of counsel with Simon Baxter, nephew to Mr Sutton, who claimed his estate as heir at law, together with Mr Walter and Mr Yelverton, afterwards Attorney-General and a Judge. Secondly, as Solicitor-General, he advised the King, in case the heir at law failed in his suit, to improve this charity of Sutton's, which he thought was but crudely digested, and therefore he compares it to a sacrifice without salt. The defects he apprehended were, that by degrees this design might be corrupted, and such persons placed therein as poor, as the owner never intended; that the master would grow into a place of great profit, and be considered rather as a good preferment, than as the head and director of a charity, that the great revenue assigned by the founder, of near six thousand pounds a year, would in the end make a few people rich, instead of affording a comfortable maintenance to many. In his discourse upon this subject, as indeed in his discourses upon all subjects, there are many curious and uncommon remarks, which, to an unbiassed reader, will fully prove, that he opposed this charitable foundation, from no other principle than that of an extensive charity (82). Yet a certain writer has been pleased to assign three very unworthy motives for his behaviour on this occasion: The first is, *the comfortable expectation of a great share of the revenues* (83). But how could this be, since, as a Lawyer, he contended for the right of the heir at law, which would have vested Sutton's estate in him; and in his advice to King James, he recommends three things; first, the erecting a college

(82) See his advice to the King as to Sutton's Hospital in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 449.

(83) Account of the Charter-House by Samuel Herne, p. 107.

of controversy against the Papists; secondly, an hospital for converts to the Protestant religion; and thirdly, the maintaining itinerant preachers in such parts of the King's dominions as were infected with Popery. I should be glad to know in which of these he would have placed himself. The second motive to this opposition is said to be, *because he was not named by Sutton, as one of the trustees for the foundation* (84); which very reflection was suggested by Mr Laws, the executor, about the time of the trial. A reflection it is very justly called, for it could never be proved, and therefore cannot be answered; but one may have leave to suggest, that if he had really had a mind to have had a hand in the direction of this charity, he might very easily have succeeded, by employing his pen and his interest in the support of it. The last motive for his opposition is said to have been, *that he and Sir Edward Coke could never agree, and therefore no wonder if they differed in this affair*. I should be glad to know what can be inferred from this difference; was Sir Edward Coke a man always in the right, so that whoever differed from him must be necessarily in the wrong? Or can it be supposed, that Sir Francis Bacon, who was so wise a man, should act so unpopular a part, as to oppose this charity merely because Sir Edward Coke espoused it? The reasons himself assigned for his conduct very evidently prove the contrary, in as much as they have been judged very strong, and very well grounded by men of the best understandings in succeeding times. As to the case of Alleyne the Player, he meant not to hurt or to oppose his charity, but to restrain it from eight hundred pounds a year to five, to make way for a grant of three hundred pounds a year to the two universities, which he judged might be of greater use to the publick. The reader may inform himself farther upon this subject, by perusing the letter itself, with some remarks upon it already inserted in a foregoing article (85). Upon the whole, it may be justly affirmed, that if no other part of his conduct had been more liable to exception than this, few men's characters would have been more unpotted.

(84) Might not Sir Francis Bacon have retorted on Mr Laws, that his zeal arose from his being an executor?

(85) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 120.

would not grant to Sir Thomas Vavafor, or Sir John Brittain, the forfeitures accruing from this discovery, but rather reward them at discretion; and next, that his Majesty would grant a commission to his Lordship, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Coke, and the Lord Chief-Justice of England, for examining into, and conducting this affair to his Majesty's profit (a). These notices were both kindly received, and readily complied with, by his royal Master; and the consequences were, that the Attorney-General filed informations against one hundred and fourscore of these merchants, but at first proceeded to trial against twenty only, of the richest and most remarkable, who were convicted and fined to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Some time after, several more of these merchants were likewise brought to trial, and fined, the rest of the prosecutions being stayed at the instance of Buckingham, who was moved thereto by letters from the States-General, and the severity of the fines was afterwards mitigated to a third part, by the intercession of Sir Noel Caron, then Minister here from the republick of the United Provinces (b). While this business was depending, there fell out another affair, in which the Lord Chancellor had a pretty large concern, of which we should have been able to give a better account, if all the letters written by the Lord Verulam about this matter had been preserved. It was, in short, this, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord High-Treasurer, being removed from this high employment upon a suspicion of corruption, a commission was granted for enquiring into his conduct, and upon the report of these Commissioners, there was a prosecution commenced against him in the Star-Chamber (c). If we may credit the writers of those times, his Lordship was an honest, open-hearted man, but had a cunning, rapacious, and busy wife, who by the help of one Sir John Bingley, an under officer to his Lordship, had driven several scandalous bargains, which brought the Earl under this prosecution, carried on with a great deal of rigour, and brought to a hearing on the nineteenth of November, 1619 (d). In pronouncing the judgment of the Court, Sir Edward Coke led the way, and having shewn his learning, by running through the prosecutions against Treasurers in past times, for like offences, concluded for a fine of one hundred thousand pounds, the imprisonment of the Earl and Countess in the Tower, and a fine of five thousand pounds on Sir John Bingley, and commitment to the Fleet; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, concurred with him in this judgment, but the Lord Chief-Justice Hobart thought this rather a ransom than a fine, and therefore declared for thirty thousand pounds on the Earl, and two thousand on Sir John Bingley, with whom the rest of the Court concurred (e). The Earl and Countess were both for some time committed to the Tower, but by the interposition of the Marquis of Buckingham were set at liberty, and the fine reduced to seven thousand pounds, which was paid (f). It appears from the letters of the Lord Verulam that are still remaining, that he was very assiduous in this business, that he had a principal hand in detecting the frauds and corruptions practised in the Treasury, and that at the time of passing sentence, he approved the more moderate proceeding, and laboured to establish in the minds of the Court and of the audience, an high opinion of the King's tenderness and mercy (g), for which he received his Majesty's thanks, together with a full approbation of his conduct, by a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham (h). Such were the great transactions of these two years, for if we were to mention all the matters of importance which passed through his hands, and of which he has either left memorials in his letters, or that might be collected from records, it would swell this life into a volume, and therefore we touch only the most memorable accidents that we meet with in his memoirs, and that with a due regard to the times in which they happened, a circumstance wherein we have met with great difficulties, from the many false and imperfect dates which occur in the histories of that reign. While he was High Chancellor of England, he procured from the King the farm of the Alienation-Office, which was of considerable benefit, and proved a great part of his subsistence, after he lost his office; he likewise procured York-House for the place of his residence, for which he seems to have had an affection, as being the place of his birth, and where his father had lived, all the time he possessed the high office of Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (i). Here, in the beginning of the year 1620, he kept his birth-day with great splendor and magnificence, as appears by a short performance of the famous Poet Ben. Johnson upon that occasion, in which, though the verse be somewhat harsh, there is so much good sense, and such a vein of Poetry, as very well deserves the reader's notice (k) [DD]. One of the most remarkable transactions of this year, was the prosecution of the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, in which the city of London was also involved. The offence with which he was charged, being the exceeding

(a) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 46.

(b) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 22.

(c) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 625.

(d) Sanderfon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 437; 490. Court and Character of King James, p. 126. Dugdale's Baronsage, Vol. II. p. 280.

(e) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 22.

(f) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 43.

(g) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 696.

(h) Ibid. p. 696.

(i) See the note [DD]; in which the date of the year is fixed by that of the Chancellor's age.

(k) Johnson's Works, Lond. 1631, fol. Vol. II. p. 232.

[DD] Such a vein of Poetry as well deserves the reader's notice. This poem is amongst those which Ben Jonson, of immortal memory, filed his *Underwood*, in allusion to a former work of his, which he named his *Forest*. The reader will observe, that the form of the poem implies a very beautiful fiction, the poet starting, as it were, on his entering York-House, at the sight of the Genius of the place performing some mystery, which, penetrating from the gayety of his look, affords matter for the compliment (85).

LORD BACON'S BIRTH-DAY.

Haile happie GENIUS of this antient pile!
How comes it all things so about thee smile?
The fire, the wine, the men; and in the midst
Thou standst, as if some mystery thou didst!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whose returns, and many, all these pray:

S H

And

(85) Johnson's Works, Vol. II. p. 222.

(l) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 699.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 700.

(n) See YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

(o) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696, 702.

(p) Hobart's Reports, as quoted by Stephens.

(q) This Mr Wrenham found out, and egged on, such, as in the next session of Parliament petitioned against the Chancellor to the House of Commons.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 269.

ing his instructions in drawing a charter for this metropolis (l). This gentleman had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the Marquis of Buckingham, who, according to his nature, which inclined him to do much good to his friends, and much evil to those he esteemed his enemies, persecuted him with great fury, and it seems, from a letter of Verulam's, that this disposition of the Marquis had made some impression upon himself, since he advises the King not to accept the Attorney's submission, as a satisfaction, and yet to make use of it as evidence; but in the same letter he shews, that such violent methods were not suitable to his temper, since he concludes it, with recommending the Attorney to his Majesty's mercy (m). In consequence of this advice, an information was preferred in the Star-Chamber against the Attorney, and the Lord-Mayor of London, which ended in a heavy sentence and a severe imprisonment; but however he was afterwards restored to Buckingham's favour, by whose recommendation he was made a Judge of the Common-Pleas; but as this happened long after that Lord Verulam was removed from having any share in publick affairs, we shall take no farther notice of it here, but refer the reader to his article, in which he will find it fully set forth (n). The same cares, with respect to the King's business, and chiefly with regard to his revenue, still employed and took up a great part of his Lordship's time, in which he seems to have agreed better with Sir Edward Coke, than could have been well expected, and always represents him as labouring heartily and effectually in the King's service, which shews that he was very far from being of an unforgiving nature, and indeed his whole study seems at this time to have been directed, to keep all who were concerned in the King's affairs on good terms with each other (o). About this time however, an attempt was made to the prejudice of his Lordship, which might have given him some warning of his fall. For one Mr Wrenham, against whom he had made a decree, surmising he had wrong done him, presented a libellous petition to the King against him, the suggestions of which were thoroughly examined, from whence it clearly appeared, that the Chancellor had acted as became him, and that he had in truth been very much injured by this Wrenham (p). Happy had it been for his Lordship, had he been always as ready and able to defend himself. But tho' he was fully acquitted of all blame on account of this matter, yet the effects of it stuck close to him, and in the end proved his ruin, the industry of Wrenham producing those complaints, of which we shall hear enough hereafter (q). But in the midst of so much difficulty, under the weight of so great a load of business, and notwithstanding the diligence and attention shewn by him in the discharge of the several branches of his duty, he was so far from forgetting or neglecting his philosophick studies, that in the month of October 1620, he sent the King his master the ripest fruits of them, in the most perfect and most important work that ever fell from his pen, and which of all others he valued most, his *Novum Organum* (r) [EE]. This his Majesty received as graciously

as

And so doe I. This is the fixtieth yeare,
Since Bacon, and thy Lord was borne and here;
Sonne to the grave, wife Keeper of the Seale,
Fame and foundation of the English weale.
What then his father was, that since is hee,
Now with a title more to the degree.
England's High-Chancellor the destin'd heire,
In his soft cradle to his father's chair,
Whose even thred the Fates spinne round and full,
Out of their choycest and their whitest wooll.

'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be knowne
For 'twere a narrow gladnesse, kept thine owne.
Give me a deep-crown'd bowle, that I may sing,
In raising him, the wysdome of my King.

[EE] Which of all others he valued most, the *Novum Organum*.] In order to give the reader a just idea of the value and importance of this work, we will first describe the nature of it, and then mention the judgment passed thereon by some of the greatest ornaments of the republick of letters. The design of the *Novum Organum* was, to execute the second part of the Instauration, by advancing a more perfect method of using the rational faculty than men were before acquainted with, in order to raise and improve the understanding, as far as it's present imperfect state admits, and enable it to conquer and interpret the difficulties and obscurities of nature; with this view it undertakes the care and conduct of the understanding, and draws out and describes the apparatus and instruments of reasoning; whence it appears to endeavour at a new kind of Logick, tho' greatly superior to the common, which, through the abuses crept into it, appears fitter to corrupt than strengthen and improve the mind, for the scope and use of this new Logick, is not to discover arguments and probable reasons, but arts and works. It is divided into two

principal parts, viz. into a preparatory part, and one that is scientificall and instructive; the first part tends to prepare and purge the mind, and fit it to receive and use the instructions and instruments laid down in the second; the mind, like a mirror, requiring to be levelled and polished, or discharged of it's false imaginations and perverted notions, before it can be set to receive and reflect the light of truth and just information; and the levelling part is of four kinds, with respect to the four different sorts of idols or false notions, that possess the mind: These idols are either acquired or natural, and proceed either from the doctrines and sects of Philosophers, the perverted and corrupt laws and methods of demonstration, or else are innate and inherent in the very constitution of the mind itself. The first labour therefore is to discharge and free the mind from it's swarms of false theories, which occasion such violent conflicts and oppositions; the next point is to release it from the slavery of perverted demonstrations; and the last is to put a check upon this seducing power of the mind, and either to pluck up those innate idols by the root, or if that cannot be done, to point them out that they may be thoroughly known and watched, and so have the depravities which they occasion corrected: This levelling part therefore is performed by three kinds of consultations, viz. the consultation of philosophies, the consultation of demonstrations, and the consultation of the natural unassisted reason. When thus the mind is rendered equable and unbiassed, the work proceeds to set it in a proper situation, and as it were, with a benevolent aspect to the remaining instructions, whereby the business of preparing the mind is still further carried on, and the whole drift of this ensuing part, is only to possess mankind with a just opinion of the whole Instauration for a time, that they may wait with patience, the issue and event thereof, upon solid assurances of some considerable benefit and advantage from it, when it's scope shall come to be well understood; and thence it proceeds distinctly to obviate all the objections and false suspitions which

may

as he could wish, and wrote him a letter thereupon, which certainly does honour to both their

may be raised about it, through the prevailing notions and prejudices drawn from religious consideration, those of abstract speculation, natural prudence, distrust, levity, &c. thus endeavouring to pacify and allay every wind of opposition: to render this preparation still more compleat and perfect, the next thing is to raise the mind from the languor and torpidity it may contract from the apparent miraculous nature of the thing, and as this wrong disposition of the mind cannot be rectified without the discovery of causes; the work proceeds to mark out all the impediments, which have hitherto perversely retarded and blocked the way of true Philosophy, and thus makes it appear no wonder at all, that mankind should have been so long entangled and perplexed with errors. When the ways of removing these impediments are shewn, there follows a chain of arguments for establishing a solid foundation of hope, for the better success of genuine and serviceable Philosophy in future; for it is hereby demonstrated, that tho' the interpretation of nature intended by the Infaturation may indeed be difficult, yet much the greater parts of the difficulties attending it, are in the power of man to remove, as arising, not from the nature of the senses and things themselves, but only require that the mind be rectified, in order to their removal; and this first general part concludes, with an account of the excellence of the end in view. The preparatory part being thus dispatched, the work proceeds to the business of information, the perfecting of the understanding, and the delivery of the art of working with this new machine in the interpretation of nature: This is laid down in three several branches, with regard to the sense, the memory, and the reason, each whereof is assisted in its turn. This work he addressed to his Majesty, who, in his letter dated October 16, 1620 (86), tells him that he could not have made him a more acceptable present, and that for his part he could not express his thanks better, than by informing him of the resolution he had taken to read it through with care and attention, tho' he should steal some hours from his sleep, having otherwise as little spare time to read, as his Lordship had: to write it, with many other gracious expressions, which fully demonstrate how much the Chancellor was in the King's good graces, and how high an esteem he had for his parts and learning. The famous Sir Henry Wotton, to whom his Lordship sent three copies of this book, wrote him a large letter of praise in return, which, as we have no room for complements, we shall omit. He received the like tribute of commendation from such as were the most learned, or so affected to be thought, in this and in the neighbouring nations; yet after all, this performance was rather praised than read, and more generally applauded than understood. This produced a kind of latent censure, a sort of owl-like criticism that durst not abide day-light: Honest Ben. Johnson produced this to the world a little after our author's death, when he very generously, as well as judiciously, gave this character of the *Novum Organum* (87): 'That tho' by most superficial men, who cannot get beyond the title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated or understood, really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever and is a book,

Qui longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.
To latest times shall hand the author's name.

We need not wonder at this, when we consider the pains it cost the noble Verulam, for Dr Rawley assures us, that he had seen twelve copies revised, altered, and corrected year by year, before it was reduced into the form in which it was published (88). We must however allow that it is not absolutely perfect, as appears from what a most ingenious and judicious writer has delivered upon it, with that modesty, circumspection, and good sense, which is discernible in all his writings: The person I mean, is the late learned and excellent Mr Baker of St John's College in Cambridge, who allows, that my Lord Bacon, saw clearer into the defects of the art of reasoning than most men did, and being neither satisfied with the vulgar Logick, nor with the reformations

that were made; suitable to his vast and enterprising genius, attempted a Logick wholly new and plain, which is laid down in his *Novum Organum* (89). The way of syllogizing, says he, seemed to him very fallacious, and too dependent upon words to be much relied on, his search was after things, and therefore he brought in a new way of arguing from induction; and that grounded upon observation and experiments: But the same gentleman observes, that this plan, as laid by him, looks liker an universal art than a distinct Logick, and the design is too great, and the induction too large to be made by one man, or any society of men in one age, if at all practicable. For whatever opinion he might have of the conclusiveness of this way, one cross circumstance in an experiment would as easily overthrow his induction, as an ambiguous word would disorder a syllogism; and a man needs only make a trial in any part of natural history, as left us by my Lord Bacon, to see how conclusive his induction was like to have been. To say nothing, that notwithstanding his blaming the common logicks, as being too much spent in words, himself runs into the fault he condemns, for what else can we make of his *Idola Tribus, Idola Specus, Fori, Theatri*; or of his *instantiæ solitariae, migrantes, ostensiva, clandestina, constitutiva, &c.* but fine words put to express very common and ordinary things? After the way of free-thinking had been laid open by my Lord Bacon, it was soon after greedily followed; for the understanding affects freedom as well as the will, and men will pursue liberty though it ends in confusion. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what Mr Baker says, with regard to the consequences of Lord Verulam's Philosophy, and the manner in which it has been profecuted; but surely this ought not to be imputed to him, who, if I understand him at all, was of all philosophical writers the least addicted to free-thinking. Of this opinion is the famous Morhof (90), who bestows the highest praises on the work of which we are now speaking, making no scruple to declare, that he had found but very little in the books since written by Englishmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon, the extent of whose genius struck him with admiration, as it must do every man who takes the pains to understand him; because, tho' this new Logick of his be very difficult, and requires much study and application to master it, yet it leads to the knowledge of things and not of words. Mr Voltaire, in his Letters concerning the English nation (91), remarks, 'That the most singular and the best of all his pieces, is that which is most useless and least read, I mean, says my author, his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*, this is the scaffold with which the new Philosophy was raised, and when the edifice was built, part of it at least, the scaffold was no longer of service. The Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, but then he knew, and pointed out the several paths that led to it. He had despised in his younger years the thing called Philosophy in the universities, and did all that lay in his power to prevent those societies of men, instituted to improve human reason, from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors of vacuum, their substantial forms, and all those imperinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered venerable, but which had been made sacred by their being ridiculously blended with religion.' There cannot be any thing more honourable for the memory of this great person, than the testimony of the writer before mentioned, who, it is certain, has not shewn too great a readiness to praise or commend any body, and much less the English authors, whom, except Newton, he seems to applaud with reluctance. There is however one thing in his judgment of this work, which deserves to be particularly considered, and that is, his comparison of it to a scaffold, which it cannot be denied, is at once very just and very significant; but then it is not very easy to know, what this great Critick means by representing it as useless, and assigning that as a reason, why this treatise is now so little read or understood. The very contrary of this seems to be the fact: The new Philosophy stands like a vast magnificent palace, in some places half finished, in others the walls carried up to a moderate height,

(89) Reflections upon Learning; chap. v. p. 72.

(90) Polyhistor. II. 2. 1, 2, & seq.

(91) Letter xii.

(86) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(87) Jonson's Works, Vol. II. in his Discoveries, p. 102.

(88) See Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Resuscitation*.

(s) See the contents of this letter in note [EE].

(t) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 39.

(u) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 702.

(w) Ibid. p. 708.

(x) Ibid. p. 712.

(y) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII, p. 279.

(92) See Dr Shaw's Appendix to the *Novum Organum*, in his Abridgment of Lord Bacon's Works.

their memories (s). He received also the complements of many learned men on the same subject, and had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with the general reception of a work, which cost him so much time and pains. The King's affairs were by this time come to such a pass, that notwithstanding all the labour that his Council had bestowed in regulating his expences and revenues, a Parliament was not only expedient but necessary, and this in no man's judgment more than in that of the Chancellor, who was always desirous of governing according to the Constitution, and who valued himself particularly upon his abilities in managing such assemblies (t). When the calling a Parliament was resolved upon, he was directed to consult with the proper persons, about the means most likely to render that measure safe and salutary for the King and kingdom, and accordingly taking to his assistance the two Chief-Justices, Montague and Hobart, and Serjeant Crewe, they, after mature deliberation, agreed upon four points, which the Chancellor represented in a letter to his Majesty. The first was looking carefully into the grievances formerly complained of, and examining into such things of a like nature, as might probably afford room for new complaints. The second was, the settling a proclamation, explaining the causes which at that juncture moved his Majesty to call a Parliament, so as to quiet and conciliate the minds of the nation. The third related to the admonitions that might be fitly given, as to the choice of members. The fourth referred to commonwealth bills, as his Lordship called them, a phrase which I take to be equivalent to popular laws, as they are now styled (u). The King was extremely well pleased with this advice, for which the Marquis of Buckingham returned him his Majesty's thanks, and recommended to him the drawing of such a proclamation, which he accordingly performed, and sent it to his Majesty, after it had received the approbation of Sir Edward Coke, the two Chief-Justices, and Serjeant Crewe. We have it still extant in his Works, and it must be allowed, that never any thing of it's kind surpassed it; however it did not entirely please the King, who thought it too long, and that it told the people too much of what ought to be reserved for his Majesty's speech and his own, at the opening of the Parliament (w). It was therefore contracted, and only the substance of it retained, in the proclamation issued for calling the Parliament, on the sixth of November following. But after all it was found impossible to put things in order by that time, which made another proclamation necessary, which was referred to his Lordship to draw, and so happily he succeeded therein, that the King declared he thought a word could not be altered in it (x). By this proclamation the meeting of the Parliament was put off to the thirtieth of January following, and in the mean time, several steps were taken to please the people, in order to render this meeting between the King and his great Council, more agreeable to all parties. Amongst these, on the twenty-seventh of January, his Majesty by his letters patents of that date, raised Sir Francis Bacon, Knt. Baron of Verulam, to the dignity of a Viscount, by the style and title of Viscount St Albans in the county of Hertford. In the preamble to this patent the King sets forth, that as he thought nothing could adorn his government more, than raising of worthy persons to honour, or afford greater encouragement to virtue and publick spirit, he, after mature deliberation, had thought fit to advance his dearly beloved and faithful Counsellor, descended from an antient and honourable family, so much the more illustrious, by his succeeding his most worthy and prudent father in the office of Keeper of the Great-Seal, to which, through various offices of inferior dignity, from a just experience of his capacity and fidelity, he had by his Majesty been led, and reflecting finally on the acceptable and faithful services, which as well by his assiduity and integrity in the administration of justice, as by his care and prudence in the discharge of his duty as a Privy-Counsellor, and in the management of his revenue, without respect either to private advantage or vain breath of popularity, to a higher degree of nobility (y). At the same time this new dignity was granted to him and his heirs male, there was annexed to it a small pension out of the customs. The witnesses to this patent, were more illustrious in some respects than those to the former. For besides the Prince of Wales, there were the Viscount Maundevile, Lord High-Treasurer; the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy-Seal; the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High-Admiral; Marquis Hamilton, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Rutland, Montgomery, Leicester, March, Holdernes,

height, in some, just raised above the ground, in others, hardly marked out; what reason therefore for taking away the scaffold? Or rather, what reason to expect the work should ever be finished, at least thoroughly and regularly, if the scaffold be taken away? The truth of the matter is, that several who have wrought upon this noble structure since; have erected scaffolds for their own use, of their own contrivance, and when they have in some measure finished the part they were about, taken them away, and concealed from the eye of the publick their manner of working (92). Others again have attempted to raise scaffolds from the lights received from our author, and so far as they have copied them, have done this with great success. But Lord Verulam's was a more noble design, he knew that the life of one man, could not suffice for the finishing, even a small part

of this stately edifice, and therefore he spent so many years in constructing this scaffold, which might have served for perfecting and completing the whole work, if others had been as diligent in pursuing his plan, as he was studious and careful, in rendering it every way fit for the use which he designed. This is the true account, and the only true one, of the *Novum Organum*, and one may safely venture to assert, that if his design had been pursued with that steadiness which it deserved, the new Philosophy had been by this time, not only more perfect than it is, but more perfect than it is ever like to be, unless the learned at last discern their error in this respect, and are content to make use of the helps he has left them, which, the more they are considered, the more they are tried, will be found more adequate to the great design of their author, than well can be imagined.

Holderness, and many others. He was likewise solemnly invested in this new dignity, the Lord Crewe carrying the robe of state before him, which robe was held up by the Marquis of Buckingham, and the new Viscount gave the King solemn thanks for all the favours he had bestowed upon him, which he particularly recapitulated (z). On the thirtieth of January he opened the Parliament with a short speech, and made another larger at the receiving Sir Thomas Richardson, whom the Commons chose for their Speaker (a). The King had great hopes of this Parliament, from the general inclination shewn by the people, to enable his Majesty to assist his son-in-law, who was not only deprived of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he was elected, but also in great danger of utterly losing his hereditary dominions, whence his Majesty flattered himself, that knowing his necessities, they would immediately apply themselves to the means of relieving them, without digressing into any disagreeable enquiries after grievances. But in this he soon found himself mistaken, for, like a true House of Commons, they were resolved to express their loyalty to their Prince, by cheerfully voting a supply, and to testify their zeal for the service of their country, by examining diligently all the complaints that were laid before them (b). These in a few days became numerous enough, so that early in the month of February, many of the Agents of the Marquis of Buckingham and his family, who had been busy in obtaining patents, and very active in making a bad use of them, found themselves in the utmost danger of being brought to a severe account (c). Nor was it long, before the House saw cause to extend their enquiries further, and to appoint a Committee, for examining into the proceedings of the Courts of justice, which exceedingly alarmed the Ministers, and is thought to have given rise to those resolutions, which made way for the ruin of the Chancellor, which so soon followed his advancement in title. For upon the fifteenth of March 1620-1, Sir Robert Phillips reported, from the Committee appointed to enquire into the abuses in the courts of justice, that two charges of corruption had been brought against the Lord-Chancellor (*). The first was in the case of one Awbrey, who finding a suit he had in Chancery to go on very slowly, he was advised to quicken it, by giving the Lord-Chancellor one hundred pounds. The poor gentleman being in great distress, took up this money of an usurer, and when he had got it, he sent it by Sir George Hastings and Mr Jenkins, to the Lord-Chancellor, going with them when they carried it. They took the money in to the Lord-Chancellor, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn, and when they came out again, Sir George Hastings told Mr Awbrey, that his Lordship was thankful, and assured him of good success in his business, which however he had not (d). The other case was of one Mr Egerton, and it came out to be, that he had mortgaged his estate for four hundred pounds, which he sent by, Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young, who presented it to the Lord-Chancellor, telling him, that it was in gratitude for the assistance he had given this gentleman when he was Attorney-General. At first his Lordship refused it, saying it was too much, but at last he accepted it, as it was for favours past, and these gentlemen coming out to Mr Egerton, told him, that their Lord said he did not only enrich him, but laid a tie upon him, to assist him in all just and lawful business. Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young being examined, acknowledged the receiving and delivery of a purse, but pretended that they knew not what was in it, but it could not be made appear to the Committee, that Mr Egerton had at that time any cause depending, either in the Chancery or the Star-Chamber (e). Sir Robert Phillips in making the report, proceeded not only with caution and decency, but with visible reluctance and tenderness towards the Lord-Chancellor. The House ordered a farther enquiry by the Committee, and on the seventeenth of the same month, Sir Robert Phillips reported some stronger circumstances; Sir George Hastings, who was himself a member, becoming a witness, and testifying positively to both facts. Sir Edward Sackville, and Mr Finch, then Recorder of London, spoke in favour of the Chancellor, and endeavoured to extenuate the thing, though now it appeared plainly that there were causes depending in both cases, and that Dr Field, Bishop of Llandaff, was deeply concerned in the last mentioned business; Sir Edward Coke, his Lordship's old antagonist, pressed for the sending up of the complaint to the House of Lords, but without any heat or bitterness (f); after the debate, the House ordered, 'That the complaint of Awbrey and Egerton against the Lord-Chancellor and the Bishop for corruption, for the 100, and 400 pounds, and the recognizance, should be drawn up by Sir Robert Phillips, Sir Edward Coke, Mr Noy, and Sir Dudley Diggs, and that the same be related to the Lords without prejudice or opinion, at a conference, and that a message be sent to the Lords for this purpose, on Monday the nineteenth.' Accordingly, on that day the complaint was made to the House of Lords, in the manner prescribed by the Commons (g), and when it came to be debated, the Marquis of Buckingham presented a letter from the Lord-Chancellor, who was then sick, wherein he desired four things of their Lordships; First, that they would maintain him in their good opinion till his cause was heard. Secondly, that they would give him a convenient time, as well in regard of his ill state of health, as of the importance of the charge, to make his defence. Thirdly, that they would allow him to except against the credit of the witnesses against him, to cross-examine them, and to produce evidence in his own defence. And fourthly, that in case there came any more petitions of the like nature, that their Lordships would not take any prejudice at their number, considering they were against a Judge, that made

(z) Camden's Annals, Jan. 27. 1621.

(a) Wilson's History of Great Britain, p. 729.

(b) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 20.

(c) Hackett's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 49.

(*) See the Journals of the House of Commons of that date.

(d) State Tryals, Vol. 1. p. 371. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. 1. p. 21. Camden's Annals of King James I.

(e) See this affair fully explained in the note [GG].

(f) State Tryals, Vol. 1. p. 373. See also the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD). Annals of King James, p. 53.

(g) State Tryals, Vol. 1. p. 377. Bacon's Works, Vol. 11. p. 448. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 22.

(b) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685.

two thousand orders and decrees in a year (b). Upon which exhortatory letter, answer was sent on the twentieth of March unto the Lord-Chancellor, viz. 'That the Lords received his Lordship's letter, delivered unto them by the Lord-Admiral. They intended to proceed in his cause now before their Lordships, according to the right rules of justice, and they shall be glad if his Lordship shall clear his honour therein, to which end they pray his Lordship to provide for his just defence.' The very next day there came up fresh complaints from the House of Commons, which induced their Lordships to appoint a select Committee to take examinations, and to report the proofs in respect to these and other instances of corruption in the Lord-Chancellor, which Committee reported above twenty several facts, in which he had taken bribes to the amount of several thousands of pounds (z). It may be very easily conceived, that things were now grown too high to be got over, especially in such times, by any interposition from the court. However his Lordship applied to the Marquis of Buckingham, as appears by his letter of the twenty-fifth of March, to present another which was enclosed to the King, wherein he passionately laments his misfortunes, and with all possible submission intreats his Majesty's favour. In consequence of this letter he had an audience of the King, who received him, as appears by another letter of thanks, with great tenderness and compassion (k). To say the truth, there is the utmost reason to believe, that his master was very unfeignedly sorry for his calamity, since he tells us himself, that the King shed tears on the first news of it, and it very evidently appears from the circumstances before related, that he had every kind of assistance given him, and all the signs of friendship and protection afforded, that was either in the power of the Marquis of Buckingham, or even in the King his master, who actually procured a recess of Parliament, in hopes that some means might be found to soften things a little (l). But that method, though probably dictated by himself, had a quite contrary effect; for the more time there was allowed to enquire into and examine this matter, the plainer the facts appeared, and the higher the clamour rose against him. This it was, that very probably determined the Lord-Chancellor to depart from his first design, and instead of entering into a long and formal defence, to throw himself on the mercy of the House, by a humble submission which he drew up in writing, and prevailed upon the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I, to present to the House of Peers, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fourth of April, when this matter came again under their Lordship's consideration. There never was perhaps any piece of this kind, penned with more beauty of style or strength of expression, which shews that even in the depth of misery, he was able to command his thoughts and his pen too, so as to express himself with great force and freedom (m) [FF]. This submission of his being read, as also the report of the Lords

(z) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 381. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713. Sanderfon's Life of King James I, p. 500.

(k) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, 714, 715.

(l) Hackett's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 51.

(m) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 716. Sanderfon's Hist. of King James, p. 501. Wilfon's History of Great Britain, p. 159.

[FF] *Express himself with great force and freedom*] There is no great wonder in this sudden and dreadful fall of the Chancellor St Albans. He was attacked in a constitutional way, in consequence of a regular inquiry set on foot in the House of Commons, and conducted not only with calmness and justice, but with great decency and tenderness. It does not appear that this was either contrived or carried on by any particular person, or encouraged or supported by any faction, though there did not want warm spirits enough in the House, but they seem to have had other persons, and other things in their view, and to have been forced out of their way in taking notice of this; for as his Lordship truly observes, he was at the opening of this parliament in the greatest credit of any man with both houses, but at that time it seems no man's credit was too strong for justice, and of this he was so sensible, that he determined to try how far a moving and submissive letter might prevail in his favour, which he resolved to send, rather than venture upon a dangerous defence: This letter was dated the twenty-second of April, 1621. He desired first of their Lordships a benign interpretation of what he shall write, since words that came from wasted spirits and an oppressed mind, are more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, than in being circled in any reserved caution. He tells them then, that in the midst of a state of as great affliction, as he thinks a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) he shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things; the first is, that hereafter the greatness of a Judge or Magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection of guiltiness, which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world; the next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing that is in likeness of corruption, (though it were at a great distance) as from a serpent, which tendeth to the purging of the courts of justice, and the reducing them to their true honour and splendor; he observes, that he understood that some justification had been expected from him, and therefore he had chosen one only justification instead of all others, out of the justification of Job; for after the clear sub-

mission and confession which he should then make to their Lordships, he hoped he might say and justify with Job in these words, *I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my fault in my bosom*: That it rested therefore, that without fig leaves, he should ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally before the House, but enough to inform his conscience and memory, he found matters sufficient and full, both to move him to desert his defence, and to move their Lordships to condemn and censure him: That he would not trouble their Lordships by singling those particulars which he thought might fall off; *Quid te exempta juvat de millibus una?* nor prompt them to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, on the scruple touching the credit of the witnesses; neither would he present to their Lordships, how far a defence in diverse things might extenuate the offence, in respect of the time and manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but only leave those things to spring out of their own noble thoughts and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God should put it into their minds, and to submit himself wholly to their pity and grace; that having spoken to their Lordships as Judges, he should say a few words to them as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending his cause to their noble minds and magnanimous affections, that their Lordships were not simply Judges, but parliamentary Judges, and had a farther extent of arbitrary power than other courts, and if their Lordships were not tied by ordinary courses of courts, or precedents in points of strictness and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation; and yet if any thing which he should move might be contrary to their worthy ends of introducing a reformation, he should not seek it: That his humble desire was, that his Majesty would take the seal into his hands, which would be a great downfall, and might serve, he hoped, in itself for an expiation of his faults; therefore if mercy and mitigation were in their Lordships power, and did

Committees, containing the collections of his corruptions and the proofs, they sent a copy of the former but not of the latter, by Mr Baron Denham, and Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, to the Lord-Chancellor, with this message from their Lordships, *viz.* That they did not conceive his submission to be full enough, for three reasons; 1. His Lordship confesseth not any particular bribe or corruption. 2. Nor shews how his Lordship heard the charge thereof. 3. The confession, such as it is, is afterwards extenuated in the same submission, and therefore their Lordships have sent him a particular of the charge, and do expect his answer to the same with all convenient expedition. Unto which message the Lord-Chancellor answered, that he would return the Lords an answer with speed. And on the twenty-fifth of April, the Lords considered of the Lord-Chancellor's said answer, sent unto their message of the day before, and sent a second message unto his Lordship to this effect, by the said Mr Baron Denham, and Mr Attorney-General, *viz.* The Lords having received a doubtful answer unto the message their Lordships sent him yesterday, therefore they now send to him again, to know of his Lordship directly and presently, Whether his Lordship will make his confession, or stand upon his defence? Answer returned by the said messengers, *viz.* The Lord-Chancellor will make no manner of defence to the charge, but meaneth to acknowledge corruption, and to make a particular confession to every point, and after that an humble submission, but humbly craves liberty, that where the charge is more full than he finds the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in such particulars, the charge being brief, and containing not all circumstances. The Lords sent the same messengers back again to the Lord-Chancellor, to let him know, that their Lordships had granted him until Monday the thirtieth of April, by ten in the morning, to send such confession and submission, as his Lordship intended to make (2). Accordingly on that day, the Lord-Chancellor sent a very full and particular confession and submission to the House, in which he acknowledges most, but extenuates some, of the many instances of corruption with which he had been charged, and so once more threw himself entirely upon the mercy of his Peers (3) [G G]. The Lords having heard this paper read, the following members of

(2) State Tryals,
Vol. I. p. 383.
Bacon's Works,
Vol. IV. p. 551.

(3) State Tryals,
Vol. I. p. 383.

no ways cross their noble ends, why should he not hope of their favour and commiseration? 'Your Lordships, says he, will be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness. Your Lordships will remember, that there sat not these hundred years before a Prince in your house, and never such a Prince, whose Presence deserves to be made memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and justice: Your Lordships are either Nobles, (and compassion ever breathed in the veins of noble blood) or reverend Prelates, who are the servants of him, who would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smouldering flax; you all sit upon one high stage, and therefore, cannot but be more sensible of the changes of the world, and of the fall of any of high place; neither will your Lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*; and that the beginning of reformations, hath the contrary power of the pool of Bethesda, for that had strength to cure him only that was first cast in; and this hath commonly strength to hurt him only that is first cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no farther. Lastly, I assure myself, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body, and one that in this very session had some taste of your loving affections, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace, which now in the conclusion will more appear. And now therefore, my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, and the loss of the Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships will spare me further sentence, but recommend me to his Majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past.'

[G G] *Once more threw himself entirely on the mercy of the Peers.*] In almost all the accounts hitherto published of the Viscount of St Albans, there has been not only a veil drawn over these transactions, (which was needless and to no purpose) but great pains have been likewise taken to insinuate, that he was rather suspected than guilty, that he might be more properly said to be given up than convicted; and on the whole, that he ought to be considered as a court sacrifice, and not as a victim to publick justice. But let us consider whether this be right? An author who takes upon him to transmit the actions of great men to posterity, ought to be sure to have no servile compliance, no party-views in favour of a court. And why? Because this is inconsistent with that regard for

truth, which is necessary, and indeed, almost the one thing necessary for an Historian; but if this be so, ought not the same regard to be always paid to truth, or can there be any merit in sacrificing courts, kings, and nations, to any favourite character of a man, great in respect to parts, or high in reference to his station? surely there is not, and therefore it is more than time that the world should be undeceived in this matter: It would take up a great deal of time to go through the whole charge and defence, or rather apology; we will therefore take the first article of each, and leave it to the reader's judgment, after seeing what was said against him, and what he was able to say for himself, whether this great man was suspected only, or whether he was really guilty (93).

The Commons, at a conference with the Lords, which was reported by the Lord-Treasurer, then Viscount Mandeville, formerly Sir James Montague, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, stated their charge thus (94). 'The case of Edward Egerton is this: There being diverse suits between Edward Egerton and Sir Rowland Egerton in the Chancery, Edward Egerton presented his Lordship a little after he was Lord-Keeper, with a bason and ewer of the value of 50 pounds and upwards, and afterwards he delivered into Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young, 400 pounds in gold; Sir Richard Young presented it his Lordship, who took it and poised it, and said it was too much; and returned answer, that Mr Egerton had not only enriched him, but had laid a tie upon his Lordship to do him favour in all his just causes. The proofs for this are the testimony of Sir George Hastings, and the testimony of Merefil, a Scrivener, thus far, that he took up 700 pounds for Mr Egerton, Mr Egerton then telling him, that a great part of it was to be given to the Lord-Chancellor, and that Mr Egerton afterwards told him, that the 400 pounds in gold was given to the Lord-Chancellor. At this conference was farther declared somewhat relating to a Bishop, who was touched in this business upon the bye, whose function was much honoured, but his person touched herein. The business depending between the Egertons being ordered against Edward Egerton, he procured a new reference thereof from the King to the Lord-Chancellor, his Lordship demanded the parties to bound in 6000 marks to stand to his Lordship's award; they having entered into that bond, his Lordship awarded the matter against Edward Egerton for Sir Rowland Egerton; but Edward Egerton refusing to stand to the said award; a new bill was exhibited in the Chancery, and there-

(93) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685.
Sanderson's Life of King James, p. 501.

(94) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 380.
Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 450.

of that illustrious assembly, viz. the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Lord Wentworth, and Lord Cromwell, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, the Lord Chandois, and the Lord Hunfdon, were sent to him the said Lord-Chancellor, and shewed him the said confession, and told him, that the Lords do conceive it to be an ingenuous and full confession, and demanded of him, Whether it be his own hand that is subscribed to the same? and Whether he will stand to it or not? Unto which the said Lord-Chancellor answered, My Lords, It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed. The which answer being reported to the House, it was agreed by the House, to move his Majesty to sequester the Seal (p). And the Lords intreated the Prince's Highness, that he would be pleased to move the King, whereunto his Highness condescended, and the same Lords which went to take the acknowledgment of the Lord-Chancellor's hand, were appointed to attend the Prince to the King, with some other Lords added. And his Majesty did not only sequester the Seal, but awarded a new commission unto the Lord-Chief-Justice, to execute the place of Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, as Speaker in the Lords House. It was on the first of May, as appears by a very particular account of the whole transaction, drawn up by the King's order, and inrolled in Chancery, that his Lordship delivered up the Great-Seal with the greatest decency, as well as with the highest signs of gratitude to the King, for the many favours conferred

(p) State Trials,
Vol. I. p. 386.

upon his Lordship ordered, that this bond of 6000 marks, should be assigned unto Sir Rowland Egerton, and to put the same in suit in his Lordship's name: The Bishop of Llandaff, as a friend to Mr Edward Egerton, adviseth with Randolph Dampart, and Buttler, (which Buttler is now dead) that they would procure a stay of decree of that award, and procure a new hearing, upon which it was agreed, that the said 6000 marks should be given for this, and shared among them and certain noble persons: A recognizance of 10,000 marks was required from Mr Egerton to the Bishop for the performance hereof. The Bishop, his share of this 6000 marks was so great as no course of justice would allow, to prove this, they produce letters of the Bishop, naming the sum, and setting down a course how these 6000 marks might be raised; viz. the land in question to be decreed for Mr Egerton, and out of that money to be levied, and if this were not effected, then the Bishop, *in verbo sacerdotis*, promised to deliver up this recognizance to be cancelled. The new recognizance is sealed accordingly, and Randolph Dampart rides to court, and moved the Lord-Admiral for his Lordship's letter to the Lord Chancellor herein, but his Lordship denied to meddle in a cause depending in suit; then the said Randolph Dampart assayed to get the King's letter, but failed therein also; so that the good they intended to Mr Egerton was not effected, and yet the Bishop, tho' required, refused to deliver up the said recognizance, until Mr Egerton threatened to complain thereof unto the King.

The humble submission and confession of me the Lord-Chancellor.

Upon advised consideration of the charge depending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account, so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess, that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your Lordships; the particulars I confess and declare to be as followeth: To the first article of the charge, viz. In the cause between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, the Lord-Chancellor received three hundred pounds on the part of Sir Rowland Egerton, before he had decreed the cause. I do confess and declare, that upon a reference from his Majesty of all suits and controversies between Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, both parties submitted themselves to my award by recognizances reciprocal in 10,000 marks a piece; thereupon after diverse hearings, I made my award with the advice and consent of my Lord Hobart; the award was perfected and published to the parties, which was in February: Then some days after the three hundred pounds mentioned in the charge, were delivered unto me; afterwards Mr Edward Egerton flew off from the award: Then in Midsummer Term following, a suit was begun

in Chancery by Sir Rowland to have the award confirmed, and upon that suit was the decree made mentioned in the article. The second article in the charge, viz. in the same cause he received from Edward Egerton four hundred pounds; I confess and declare, that soon after my coming to the Seal, being a time when I was persecuted by many, the four hundred pounds mentioned in the said charge, was delivered unto me in a purse, and, as I now call to mind, by Mr Edward Egerton, but as far I can remember, it was expressed by them that brought it, to be for favours past, and not in respect of favours to come (95).

It is very evident from his own account of the matter that there was too much ground for this complaint, as indeed there was for most of the rest. The last article of the charge was, that he had given way to great exactions by his servants, both in respect to private seals and otherwise, for sealing of injunctions, to which he gave no other answer than this, *I confess it was a great fault of neglect in me, that I looked no better to my servants*. It is very remarkable, that this large and long confession, was scarce known to any of our Historians, who, when they speak of the Chancellor's submission, mean by it that paper, the substance of which is given in the former note: His Lordship concluded all with the following most humble and submissive prayer.

This declaration I have made to your Lordships with a sincere mind, humbly craving, that if there should be any mistake, your Lordships will impute it to want of memory, and not to any desire of mine to obscure truth, or palliate any thing; for I do now again confess, that in points charged upon me, though they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily sorry, and submit myself to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the court; for extenuation I will use none concerning the matters themselves, only it may please your Lordships, out of your nobleness, to cast your eyes of compassion upon my person and estate; I was never noted for an avaritious man, and the Apostle saith, That covetousness is the root of all evil. I hope also that your Lordships do the rather find me in the state of grace, for that in all these particulars, there are few or none that are not almost two years old, whereas those that have an habit of corruption, do commonly wax worse, so that it hath pleased God to prepare me by precedent degrees of amendment to my present penitency; and for my estate, it is so mean and poor, as my care is now chiefly to satisfy my debts; and so fearing I have troubled your Lordships too long, I shall conclude with an humble suit unto you, that if your Lordships proceed to sentence, your sentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious and mixed with mercy, and not only so, but that you would be noble intercessors for me to his Majesty, likewise for his grace and favour (96).

(95) State Trials,
Vol. I. p. 383.

(96) *Ibid.*, p. 383.
386.

conferred upon him, and of the utmost sorrow, for his own abuses of those acts of his Sovereign's kindness (q). This being reported to the Peers the next day, they resolved to proceed immediately to sentence, and thereupon sent the Gentleman-Usher, and Serjeant at Arms attending the House, to summon his Lordship before them, from which however he excused himself on account of sickness, professing that otherwise he would willingly have attended them. The Lords resolved to proceed notwithstanding, and sent a message to the Commons to that purpose (r). Accordingly, on the third of May 1621, the Commons being come to the bar of their Lordship's House, their Speaker, Sir Thomas Richardson, delivered himself in the following manner. 'The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons House of Parliament, having made complaints unto your Lordships, of many exorbitant offences of bribery and corruption committed by the Lord-Chancellor, understand that your Lordships are ready to give judgment upon him for the same; wherefore I, their Speaker, in their name, do humbly demand and pray judgment against him the said Lord-Chancellor, as the nature of his offence and demerits do require.' The Lord-Chief-Justice answered, 'Mr Speaker, Upon complaint of the Commons against the Viscount St Alban's, Lord-Chancellor, this high court hath thereby, and by his own confession, found him guilty of the crimes and corruptions complained of by the Commons, and of sundry other crimes and corruptions of the like nature. And therefore this high Court having first summoned him to attend, and having his excuse of not attending by reason of infirmity and sickness, which he protested was not feigned, or else he would most willingly have attended, doth nevertheless think fit to proceed to judgment, and therefore this high court doth adjudge, That the Lord Viscount St Alban's, Lord-Chancellor of England, shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds, that he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, that he shall for ever be incapable of any office or employment in the state or commonwealth, that he shall never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court (s).' Such was the issue of this great affair, and such the sentence passed upon this noble person, whereby he had scarce any thing left him of his honours except the bare titles, and even these he is said to have saved by the tenderness of the Bishops. It appears however, that this was entirely owing to a strict and steady pursuit of justice, though there want not some who have refined upon this matter, and attributed the severity of this sentence to the evil arts of a great Minister, the weakness of the King, and too great submission in the Viscount St Alban's, in support of which, the opinions of some considerable persons may be cited, as well as some passages from his own writings (t) [HH]. After a short confinement in the

(q) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 296.

(r) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 387.

(s) *Ibid.* See also the Proceedings of the House of Lords, in Bacon's Works.

(t) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 44. Tower

[HH] *The opinions of some considerable persons may be cited, as well as some passages from his own writings.* It must be allowed, that, considering the extraordinary length into which this life has already run, one ought to be tender of entering far into any controverted points; but when I reflect on the importance of setting this matter in it's true light, and remember, that hitherto nothing has had a place in these memoirs which did not deserve it, I cannot refrain from stating fairly to the reader, and from the best authorities, what has been offered in his excuse. Such as have written critically, or rather politically, of the occurrences of this reign, have endeavoured to represent Buckingham, as the great object of the people's hatred, and of the parliament's ill will, one whom at any rate they meant to destroy, and to get at whom they were constrained to fall upon the Lord Chancellor, who might have delivered himself by a prudent and circumspect defence, if he had not devoted himself entirely to the King's commands, and consequently would insinuate, that he was restrained from this course, and abandoned by King James to the fury of the House of Commons, in order to obtain his own ends, and more particularly to screen and secure his favourite. The project is far from being ill laid, considering the temper of the times, the power of the Minister, and the maxims of King James's government; we may add to this, that the Lord Viscount St Alban's himself insinuates in some of his letters, that he fell a sacrifice; that at the beginning of his troubles, as we have seen in the text, he at first denied things, and after more charges were brought in, desired that the Lords would not be prejudiced against him by the increase of complaints, but consider, that he had sat in a court, where a multitude of decrees and orders were made in a year, and that it was after all this he made his submission and that particular confession, which has been taken notice of in the preceding note: Yet perhaps this story had never gained so much credit, if it had been picked up and pieced together only from casual expressions and phrases of ambiguous meaning. But the truth is, that we have a long and formal detail of

this matter, from one who might certainly be presumed to know a great deal of it: viz. Mr Bushel, who was his Lordship's servant at that time, and who having ruined himself by engaging in the working of mines, upon pretence of following his Lord's philosophical theory on that subject, endeavoured, while a prisoner in the Fleet, to apologize for his own conduct, by publishing a speech, which he asserts his master intended to have made to that parliament in which he was undone, upon this subject, and for procuring the establishment of a Royal Academy of Sciences, on the plan delivered in a work of his, entitled, his New Atlantis, which speech of his, tho' it may contain some thoughts of Lord Bacon's, is allowed by the learned Dr Tenison to be in a great measure fictitious, and not only unworthy of that noble person, but such as it was impossible for him to have drawn. It is at the close of this speech, and in order to account for it's not being spoke, that Mr Bushel mentions his master's fall, which, he says, intervened before it could be spoken, and thereupon undertakes to give us all the circumstances of that extraordinary event from his own knowledge, which, if it could be depended upon, must be admitted to be a thing extremely worthy our notice; but I at present produce it with a view to gratify the inclination of the ingenious reader, of seeing whatever has been advanced on this subject on either side. In this light too, Mr Bushel's account is a matter of some consequence, since it is the fullest and most circumstantial that has been hitherto given. Having, as I said, mentioned his Lord's design of proposing several projects to the Parliament for the publick service, he then proceeds thus (97). 'Before this could be accomplished to his own content, there arose such complaints against his Lordship, and the then favourite at court, that for some days put the King to this Quere, whether he should permit the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his council, to sink in his service, whereupon his Lordship was sent for by the King, who, after some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to his House of Peers, and that (upon his princely

(97) Bushel's Abridgment of Bacon's Philosophical Theory, in Mineral Productions, Appendix, p. 5.

Tower he was discharged, and in a little time he applied himself to the King and Marquis

word) he would then restore him again, if they, (in their honours) should not be sensible of his merits: Now though my Lord saw his approaching ruin, and told his Majesty there was little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were to give fire, if he did not plead for himself; yet such was his obedience to him from whom he had his being, that he resolved his Majesty's will should be his only law, and so took leave of him with these words, Those that will strike at your Chancellor, (it is much to be feared) will strike at your crown, and wished, that as he was then the first, so he might be the last of sacrificers. Soon after, (according to his Majesty's commands) he wrote a submissive letter to the House, and sent me to my Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loth, at my return, to acquaint him with, for alas! his Sovereign's favour was not in so high a measure, but he, (like the phoenix) must be sacrificed in flames of his own raising, and so perished (like Icarus) in that his lofty design. The great revenue of his office being lost, and his titles of honour faved but by the Bishops votes, whereto he replied, that *he was only bound to thank his Clergy*; the thunder of which fatal sentence did much perplex my troubled thoughts as well as others, to see that famous Lord, who procured his Majesty to call this Parliament, must be the first subject of their revengeful wrath, and that so unparalleled a master should be thus brought upon the publick stage, for the foolish miscarriage of his own servants, whereof (with grief of heart) I confess myself to be one. Yet shortly after, the King dissolved the Parliament, but never restored that matchless Lord to his place, which made him then to wish, the many years he had spent in state policy and Law study, had been solely devoted to true Philosophy; for, (said he) the one, at the best, doth but comprehend man's frailty, in it's greatest splendour; but the other, the mysterious knowledge of all things, created in the six days work.' Mr Stephens in his introduction, having observed, that the last article in the charge against his Lordship was, *that he had given way to great exactions by his servants*, and that he confessed, *it was a great neglect in him that he looked to them no better*, tells us, that he mentions this the rather, because those writers who excuse the master, lay the greatest blame upon his servants, and there is no doubt but that some of them were very guilty, and that their Lord had that opinion of them, which it is reported his Lordship in the time of his troubles signified, in passing through a room where many of his retainers rising up to salute him, he said, *Sit you down, my masters, your rise hath been my fall* (98). We are told likewise, by *Rushworth* in the first volume of his Historical Collections: 'That he treasured up nothing for himself, or family, but was over indulgent to his servants; and connived at their takings, and their ways betrayed him to that error; they were profuse and expensive, and had at their command whatever he was master of. The gifts taken were for the most part for interlocutory orders, his decrees were generally made with so much equity, that, though gifts rendered him suspected for injustice, yet never any decree made by him was reversed as unjust, as it has been observed by some who were well skilled in our laws. To this we may add, what he alleges by way of excuse, that great part of the gifts, &c. were made as presents, in cases where no suits were depending, or a good while before they were begun, or after they were ended (99). Upon this occasion, says Mr Stephens, who can forbear to observe and lament the weakness and infirmity of human nature? To see a man so far exalted above the common level of his fellow creatures, to sink so far below it; to see a man, who, like Seneca, gave admirable rules for the conduct of life, and condemning the avaritious pursuit after riches, and what is unlike Seneca, condemning them in his own person and yet be defiled thereby. To see a man applauding Sir George Villiers, whilst very young, for despising money where it crossed reason of state or virtue, to take money in his mature age, in opposition to both, and to his own destruction! Above all, to see a great master of Reason and Philosophy, who had been a credit and ornament to

the Reformed Religion, to abate the lustre of his example, by submitting to a temptation which many of the Heathen Philosophers had the power to resist. But as his Lordship had the misfortune to be made a memorial for the greatest and the wisest *to take heed lest they fall*; so hath he the good fortune, (which he observes attended three famous writers fallen under the like circumstances) to have the remembrance of this calamity looked on by posterity as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works. The same gentleman also tells us, that the Marquis of Buckingham, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Lionel Cranfield, soon after the accusing of the Chancellor, says, That he hoped that God, who had given that great Lord many other gifts, had also preserved him from being guilty of such crimes; yet that he likewise hoped that the House of Commons would wave their application to the Lords, and go their direct way to the King, who both could and would do them justice (100). Dr Heylyn likewise in his life of Archbishop Laud (101), and Mr Elsing, in a MS. discourse concerning Parliaments, considered the giving up of this great Minister to the Parliament, as a false step made by the King, and a leading card to others soon after: Yet the Committee seemed to be of another opinion, when they told the Peers, that they followed antient precedents, which shewed that greater persons had been accused for the like crimes in Parliament, intimating that they not only went in the way, but also trod in the high road of justice (102). Such writers therefore as reflect on the King's conduct in this particular, seem to have a view to that sort of Machiavellian policy, which admits of no constraint from the laws either of God or man, which, to say no more of it, is a policy to be abhorred by a free people; and the truth is, that King James did not suffer either in fame or in peace, by giving up St Albans to the justice of a Parliament, but by screening others from it; and whoever reads our history with discretion will see, that not giving up ministers to legal prosecutions has done ten times more mischief to the crown, than suffering them to fall under sentences rather too severe; which however, generally speaking, the crown has power to correct or mitigate, and that usually with the approbation of the people. But as his Lordship must have known himself best, and was abundantly inclined, as well as every way capable, to say what might best excuse him, let us hear him to Dr Andrews Bishop of Winchester (103), setting forth the thoughts that kept him in best humour with himself: He observes in that letter, that amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamities in others, and as it favours of vanity to make ourselves highly in our own conceit, so on the other side it is a good sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved; that in this consolation he had not been wanting to himself, and as a Christian, he had tasted through God's great goodness of higher remedies: Having therefore, through the variety of his reading set before him many examples both of antient and latter times, his thoughts, he confessed, had chiefly staid upon three particulars, as the most eminent and the most resembling, all three persons that had held chief place of authority in their countries, all three ruined not by war, or by any other disaster, but by justice and sentence, as delinquents and criminals, all three famous writers, inasmuch as the remembrances of their calamity, is now to posterity but a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of their acts and works, and all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of rising again, since they were every one of them restored with great glory, but to their further ruin and destruction ending in a violent death: These men were Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, persons that he durst not claim affinity with, except the similitude had contracted it; that when he cast his eyes on these examples, he was carried on farther to observe how they bore their fortunes, and principally how they employ'd their times, being banished and disabled for publick business, to the end that he might learn by them, and that they might be as well his counsellors as his comforters.

(100) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 55.

(101) Part the first, p. 64.

(102) Journal of the House of Commons.

(103) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 534.

(98) Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 54.

(99) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 26.

Marquis of Buckingham, for access to his Majesty, which he obtained, and because his sentence restrained him from coming within the verge of the Court, the King thought fit to dispense therewith for some time, that his Lordship might have the better opportunity to take care of his health, and to pursue the proper measures of putting his debts into some course of payment (u). The Parliament being prorogued in some heat, his Majesty was pleased to consult his Lordship, as to the properest methods of reforming the courts of justice, and taking away other grievances which that Parliament had enquired into, and he thereupon drew up a memorial, which is still extant in his works (w). On the thirteenth of September, the King signed a licence for him to remain for six weeks at Sir John Vaughan's house at Parson's-Green, or at London, as his occasions should require. On the twentieth of the same month, his Majesty signed a warrant to Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, for the assignment of his fine to such persons as he should name, in order to make him the more easy as to his debts. On the twelfth of October the King signed a warrant for his pardon, (his parliamentary sentence excepted) which however met with some stay at the Seal, then in the custody of the Lord-Keeper Williams (x). His licence being expired, he would willingly have had it renewed, which however he could not obtain; and therefore was obliged to retire to his seat at Gorbambury, at which time probably that accident happened, which has been mentioned

(u) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 24.

(w) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 719.

(x) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 25. See also his Lordship's Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 723.

Whereupon he happened to note how differently their fortunes wrought upon them, especially in that point at which he most aimed, which was the employing of their times and pens. 'In Cicero, says he, I saw that during his banishment (which was almost two years) he was so softened and dejected, as he wrote nothing but a few womanish epistles, and yet in mine opinion, he had the least reason of the three to be discouraged, for that although it was judged, and judged by the highest kind of judgment in form of statute or law, that he should be banished, and his whole estate confiscated and seized, and his houses pulled down, and that it should be highly penal for any man to propound a repeal, yet his case even then had no great blot of ignominy, for it was thought but a tempest of popularity which overthrew him. Demosthenes contrariwise, though his cause was foul, being condemned for bribery, and not simple bribery, but bribery in the nature of treason and disloyalty, yet nevertheless took so little knowledge of his fortune, as during his banishment he did much busy himself and intermeddle with matters of state, and took upon him to counsel the state (as if he had been still at the helm) by Letters, as appears by some epistles of his which are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions and crimes, and banished into a solitary island, kept a mean, and though his pen did not freeze, yet he abstained from intruding into matters of business, but spent his time in writing books of excellent use for all ages, though he might have made better choice sometimes of his dedications. These examples confirmed me much in a resolution, (whereunto I was otherwise inclined) to spend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it is that God hath given me, not as heretofore, to particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity, which will not break.' These thoughts seem to have dwelt much upon his Lordship's mind, since he repeated them very nearly in the same words to the King, in a letter to him while under his misfortunes (104). But to sum up the whole matter fairly, and to do justice to truth, let it be at whose expence it will. Bushel was a very strange man, and has told so many improbable stories of his master, and so many silly ones of himself, that what he says deserves no credit, farther than as it agrees with other evidence (105). The Chancellor himself never pretended to be absolutely innocent, but only that he was less guilty, than from the charge brought against him might be thought. His Lordship seems to have had a very particular notion of bribery, he thought it must be connected with injustice, and therefore if his decrees were upright, he persuaded himself that he was not guilty of that offence, notwithstanding he had taken money, or presents of great value, and this distinction runs through all his writings on this subject; so that he was willing to own corruption, though he did not think it amounted, strictly speaking, to the taking bribes (106). This accounts for what Mr Rufhworth says, and for the reflections made thereupon by Mr Stephens: As to his being made a sacri-

fice by the King, he meant no more by it than this, that his Majesty had it in his power to save him by dissolving the parliament, but he did not think that his Majesty did him any injustice, otherwise he would not have said, as he did when he resigned the seals, *Rex dedit, culpa absulit*, that is, *the King gave, and my own faults have taken away*, with many other expressions to the same purpose (107). The most candid and the best informed of our historians, state this matter so as to account the King of any severity, Camden writes thus (108): 'The Chancellor being convicted of bribery pretends, as if being weary of honour, he would resign his place, being much loaded with calumnies.' Wilson, speaking of his submission, says, 'His great spirit was brought low, and this humiliation might have raised him again, if his offences had not been so weighty as to keep him down (109).' He had said before, 'His crimes were bribery and extortion, which were proved and aggravated against him with so many circumstances, that they fell very foully upon him (110).' He says afterwards, which shews that he was not prejudiced against the man (111), 'He was a fit jewel to have beautified and adorned a flourishing kingdom, if his flaws had not disgraced the lustre that should have set him off.' Bishop Hacket, in his life of the Lord Keeper Williams, has given a large, true, and candid account of this matter: We learn from him, that the King, in the beginning of the Parliament, had said before all the members, *Spare none where you find just cause to punish*. This encouraged the Parliament to attack such as were concerned in monopolies and impositions, and together with these vermin, says my author, the Lord-Chancellor was questioned without pity to his excellent parts. The consequence of this was, that such as were afraid of being brought to justice, endeavoured to frighten Buckingham and prejudice the King against the Parliament, insinuating, that he had better take as much or more by his prerogative, than to wait for a small exhibition of money from them, which would cause the ruin of his most loyal and faithful servants (112). But Dean Williams having prepared an antidote to this poison, the Parliament was suffered to sit and to go on as it had begun; 'Yet, continues our Prelate, they were prorogued at Easter from the 27th of March to the 18th of April, the Marquis having his eye therein upon the Lord-Chancellor, to try if time could mitigate the displeasure, which in both houses was strong against him: But the leisure of three weeks multiplied a pile of new suggestions, and nothing was prefiged more certain than his downfall (113).' Thus in a larger, than a note might seem to allow, but in as narrow a compass as it was possible for me bring it, I have given the reader the best testimonies, on both sides, and with great pains have set that in a true light, which others have laboured to obscure: As to such faults in this great man as are imputed only in libels, I do not think them worthy of preserving, but as I believe them begot by malice, shall leave them to perish in oblivion.

(107) Life of Sir Simmonds's d'Ewes, written by himself MS. p. 58.

(108) Annals of King James, March — 1621.

(109) Life and Reign of King James, p. 735.

(110) Ibid. p. 734.

(111) Ibid. p. 736.

(112) Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 49.

(113) Ibid. p. 51.

(104) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 722.

(105) Tenison's Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 97.

(106) See his Letter to the King, printed in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 736; where he says, that there was as much difference between his corruption and Sir John Bennet's, as between black and ash-colour.

as a proof, that his spirits did not sink with his fortunes. The Prince coming to London, saw at a distance a coach followed by a considerable number of people on horseback, and upon enquiry, was told it was the Lord St Albans attended by his friends, on which his Highness said with a smile, *Well! do what we can, this man scorns to go out like a snuff* (y). He had indeed very little reason to complain of the Court, since his misfortunes rose entirely from himself, and he met with nothing under them, that could heighten or increase his sense of them. The King was gracious to him, not only as far as his circumstances would then give him leave, but to a degree that offended many; the Prince willingly undertook whatever he desired for his service, and Buckingham seems to have been as hearty, and more respectful in his friendship to him after, than before his fall; these circumstances may be collected from their respective writings, and those of Lord Bacon to them (z). Publick histories may contain misinformations, secret histories are frequently full of wilful mistakes, but facts from private letters can never mislead us. There was indeed some misunderstanding between Viscount St Albans and the Marquis of Buckingham, but it is very plain, that though offence was taken by the former, it was never meant him by the latter. The case was this; after his Lordship's fall, the Marquis of Buckingham had a mind to York-House, and made some overtures to his Lordship for his term in it, which he took ill, and expostulated upon it very freely, which was so far from provoking the Marquis, that he answered him not only with great decency, but also with all the marks of concern, that could be expected from their long friendship (a). It is also evident, that his kindness towards him was not confined to bare expressions, for very soon after this, he procured for him the discharge of that part of his sentence which afflicted him most, *viz.* his being restrained from coming within the verge of the Court, which he called an imprisonment, nor was he wanting in any thing else, that could well be expected from him. These favours had so far settled the mind, and raised the spirits of Lord St Albans, that he soon applied himself again to his studies with equal diligence and vigour, so that in the spring of the succeeding year, he published his *History of King HENRY VII*, which he dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales, a work, which though not absolutely free from faults, is certainly as well performed as any thing of that kind in our language (b). It is true, that after this, his troubles bore very hard upon him, as appears clearly from a very long, very humble, and very passionate letter written to the King upon that subject, which is without date, but this was owing chiefly to his own circumstances, which would not allow him to settle things to his wish, and in some measure also to the King's, which would as little permit him to relieve his Lordship in proportion to his wants, or to the kindness which he still retained for him. Yet however uneasy his condition might be, he was, or might have been, far enough from necessity, since he had a pension from the crown of twelve hundred pounds a year, and retained his grant from the Alienation-Office, worth six hundred pounds a year more, besides his own estate, which was worth seven hundred pounds *per annum*, all which taken together, might certainly have preserved him from indigence (c). He was however greatly in debt, which seems to have been the heaviest part of his load, and towards the satisfaction of this, we are told, he paid eight thousand pounds after his fall. And yet at his death, he died in debt upwards of twenty-two thousand pounds (d). So that at the time of his writing this letter, he might well be supposed to owe thirty thousand, a sufficient cause of uneasiness to himself, and therefore may be justly esteemed that misery which touched him so deeply. His Lordship also lived at a great expence even after his fall, notwithstanding what some writers, who, as they lived in or near his time, ought to have known better, have reported to the contrary; these things therefore taken together, might very well weigh him down, and keep him low, so as to occasion continual applications to his Majesty, and to his friends at Court (e), which though it might seem to be attended with great disturbance and distraction of mind, yet of such a singular construction was his Lordship's temper, and so thoroughly were all passions wrought to obedience, that though he was very well able to express his sollicitude about matters that concerned his interest, discovered his resentments with becoming freedom, and willingly paid a just tribute of thankfulness for the benefits he received, he suffered none of these to hurry his thoughts to the prejudice of his studies, which he always regarded as the principal occupation of his life (f). We have an instance of this, which will always do honour to his memory, reported by Dr Rawley, whose fidelity is unquestionable; one day his Lordship was dictating to that Doctor, some of his experiments in his *Sylva*. The same day he had sent a friend to Court, to receive for him a final answer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred, and he was desirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed one way or other from the suspense of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly, that he must thenceforth despair of that grant, how much soever his fortunes needed it. *Be it so*, said his Lordship, and then he dismissed his friend very cheerfully, with thankful acknowledgments for his service. His friend being gone, he came straightway to Dr Rawley, and said thus to him, *Well, Sir, your business won't go on, let us go on with this in our power*; and then he dictated to him afresh for some hours, without the least hesitancy of speech, or discernible interruption of thought (g). The departure of his friend, the Marquis of Bucks, into Spain, in the beginning of the year

(y) *Aulicus Coquin*, p. 174.

(z) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, & seq.

(a) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 723, 724.

(b) This is contained in the third Volume of his Lordship's Works, p. 396.

(c) See these particulars verified in his own will, at the end of the third Volume of his Works.

(d) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 57. and the computation of his debts, at the end of the second Volume of Bacon's Works.

(e) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 721, & seq.

(f) See his Lordship's Letter to King James about the Chancellor's place, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 617.

(g) Account of his Writings by Tension, p. 45, 46.

year 1623, was a great prejudice to his affairs, and taught him, by experience, that no body about the Court, had so warm and so sincere an inclination to promote his requests, which, together with his former difficulties, brought down his hopes to such a degree of humility, that, upon the death of Mr Murray, he solicited the King to succeed him, as Provost of Eaton-college, to which this answer was given, That the King could not value his Lordship so little, or conceive he limited his desires so low, in which however he should have been gratified, if his Majesty had not been engaged for Sir William Beecher, his agent in France (b). While the Marquis of Buckingham was abroad with the Prince of Wales, he was created Duke; and at his return, saw himself in such plenitude of power, as never any subject had enjoyed in this kingdom, being at once the favourite both of the possessor and heir of the crown, and, which was no less singular, in as great credit with the people. The Viscount of St Albans presented his Grace at his return, with *The Advancement of Learning*, translated into Latin, and so much augmented and enriched, that it might with equal justice have passed for a new performance, which his noble patron not only kindly received, but continued likewise to do him very many, and those very important, services, more especially in procuring him considerable sums of money, and from time to time fresh marks of royal favour (i). In acknowledgment for these, he dedicated to him a Latin translation of his *Essays*, which he also augmented and polished to the highest degree of perfection (k). A new Parliament having been called, in which the House of Commons shewed great zeal for his Majesty's service, his Lordship turned his pen to a new subject, and composed a treatise, intitled, *Considerations of a War with Spain* (l), which he presented to the Prince of Wales, and afterwards to the Queen of Bohemia. He likewise drew up *Heads of a Speech* (m), for his friend Sir Edward Sackville, upon the same subject, and these services were so well received, that upon an application to the King for a full pardon, he easily obtained it. In the warrant directed for this purpose to the Attorney-General, his Majesty took notice of his Lordship's having already satisfied justice by his sufferings, and that himself being always inclined to temper justice with mercy, and likewise calling to remembrance his former good services, and how well and profitably he had spent his time since his troubles, he was graciously pleased to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remained upon him, of incapacity and disablement, and to remit to him all penalties whatsoever, inflicted by that sentence (n). This was one of the last acts of his government; for he died very soon after, and, in consequence of this pardon, his Lordship was summoned to the second Parliament in the succeeding reign, though his infirmities would not allow him to sit therein. He received also some comfort, from the great respect shewn him by foreigners of distinction, particularly by the Marquis D'Effiat, the French Ambassador, who caused his *Essays* to be translated into his own language, and, upon his first visit, compared his Lordship to the *Angels*, of whom he had heard and read much, but had never seen them; to which the Viscount St Alban's very modestly and wisely replied, *That if the charity of others compared him to an Angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man* (o). This nobleman contracted so close a friendship with him, that they corresponded constantly ever after, and his Excellency esteemed it a particular honour, to be stiled in those letters his son; he likewise desired and obtained his picture, which he carried into France. These honours did not hinder the Viscount St Albans from thinking of, and preparing for, his end; which he forefaw was drawing on, though he was so happy as to escape the great plague, in the spring of the year 1625. Having sufficiently established the fame of his learning and abilities, by his writings published by himself, he committed by his Will several of his Latin and Philosophical compositions, to the care of Sir William Boswel, his Majesty's agent in Holland, where they were afterwards published by Gruter. His Orations and Letters he commended to Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the duchy, and the Bishop of Lincoln (who had been his successor in the Court of Chancery, and acknowledged the honour of that trust) the letters to be preserved but not to be divulged, as touching too much on persons and matters of State (p). By this judicious care of his, most of his papers were preserved, and the greatest part of them at different times have been printed and published, collected into volumes, and stand immortal monuments, not to his own honour only, but to that of his age and country, nay, and even of human nature also, if the testimony of the best judges may be allowed; for as his merit deserved, so it has received the universal praise of all true friends to knowledge (q) [II]. The severe winter which followed the infectious

summer

[II] So it has received the universal praise of all true friends to knowledge.] If one should attempt to collect and digest into order the various characters bestowed, and the ample commendations afforded the Viscount of St Albans by first rate writers only, it would demand a volume; and alas! I have scarce a page to spare; but let me make the best use of this little room I can; and as Dr Rawley, who was his Lordship's amanuensis, rejected many of the Cambridge verses on his Lord's death, because he knew that great man considered rather *weight* than *number*; so let the order and the choice of those names I mention on this occasion, atone for my mentioning a few

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only out of a multitude, and that *multitude* too compared with the herd of mankind, deserving to be stiled *the few*. I will begin with his contemporaries, such as knew him best, and knew him with all his failings; who yet could not but admire the splendor of his parts, and of those great qualities which rendered him so truly the glory of his age and nation. Sir Walter Raleigh (114), that true judge of men and things; of ages past and present; discoursing of the great men of his time, said, 'That the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good penman; that Lord Henry Howard was an excellent penman, but no good speaker; Sir Francis Bacon, alike eminent in both.' The judicious

(b) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 26.

(i) See the Duke's Letters, in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 733. 734, 735, &c.

(k) It is from this Latin translation we have his *Essays* in English, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 290.

(l) See this excellent piece in his Lordship's Works, Vol. III. p. 513.

(m) See likewise these heads of a speech, in the Appendix to the first Volume of Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 12.

(n) Cabala, p. 249, edit. 1691.

(o) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 29.

(p) See that letter printed in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 737.

(q) See the proof of this in note [II].

(114) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9.

summer of 1625, brought him very low, but the spring reviving his spirits, he made a little

judicious and penetrating Ben Jonson thought, that English eloquence ascended till the time of the Viscount Albans, and from thence went backward and declined; he, who was not too apt to praise, was profuse in his praises of Bacon, clofing them with these admirable reflections (115):

(115) Jonson's Works, Vol. II. in his Discoveries, p. 102.

‘ My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his works one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages: In his adversity, I ever prayed that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want, neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest.’ Archbishop Williams, to whose care the Viscount St Albans committed his Orations and Epistles, expressed his sense of that confidence reposed in him in these words (116):

(116) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 738.

‘ Your Lordship doth most worthily therefore, in preserving these two pieces amongst the rest of those matchless monuments you shall leave behind you; considering, that as one age hath not bred your experience, so is it not fit it should be confined to one age, and not imparted to the times to come; for my part therein, I do embrace the honour with all thankfulness, and the trust imposed upon me with all religion and devotion.’ The famous Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving from him the *Novum Organum*, wrote to him thus in return (117):

(117) Sir Henry Wotton's Remains, p. 298.

‘ Your Lordship hath done a great and everlasting benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herself in her utmost extent of latitude, who never before had so noble nor so true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to stile your Lordship) never so inward a Secretary of her cabinet.’ But one of the noblest, and perhaps the most noble testimony in honour of his great abilities, was the letter written to him not long after his fall by the University of Oxford, on their receiving from him his book *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, the first paragraph only of which shall be here transcribed (118):

‘ Right honourable, and what in nobility is almost a miracle; most learned Viscount! Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the University could have received nothing more acceptable than the Sciences; and those sciences which she formerly sent forth poor, of low stature unpolished, she hath received elegant, tall, and by the supplies of your wit (by which alone they could have been advanced) most rich in dowry. She esteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a return with usury made of that by a stranger, (if so near a relation may be called a stranger) which she bestows as a patrimony upon her children, and she readily acknowledgeth, that though the Muses are born in Oxford, they grow elsewhere; grown they are and under your pen, who like some mighty Hercules in learning, have, by your own hand, further advanced those pillars in the learned world, which, by the rest of that world, were supposed immoveable.’ Neither were the best judges in the succeeding age less sensible of, or less inclined to celebrate, his worth. Thus, for instance, the famous Mr Francis Osborn, whose talent lay not much in commending, and who in many places of his works shews he was under no prepossession in favour of our author, allows him to have been the most universal genius he had ever seen, or was ever like to see had he lived ever so long. He tells us, that he was so excellent, so agreeable a speaker, that all who heard him were uneasy if he was interrupted, and sorry when he concluded; but what he thought, and very justly too, most remarkable, was his understanding all subjects to the bottom, for which he endeavours to account in the following manner (119):

(119) Miscellaneous Works of Francis Osborn, Esq; edit. 1722, Vol. I. p. 157, 158.

‘ Now this general knowledge he had in all things husbanded by his wit, and dignified by so majestic a carriage he was known to own, struck such an awful reverence in those he questioned, that they durst not conceal the most intricate part of their mysteries from him, for fear of appearing ignorant or saucy: All which rendered him no less necessary than admirable at the Council-table, where, in reference to impositions, monopolies, &c. the meanest manu-

factures were an usual argument, and, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of Middlesex, that was born and bred a Citizen; yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other studies, as is not hard to be imagined, of a quick apprehension, in which he was admirable.’ Dr Peter Heylyn, who was thought in his time a great judge of men, things, and books, represents the Viscount St Albans as a man of a strong brain, and capable of the highest performances, more especially of framing a body of perfect Philosophy (120):

(120) Life of Archbishop Laud, p. i. p. 64.

‘ Pity it was, said he, he was not entertained with some liberal salary, abstracted from all affairs both of court and judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of means and helps for the going on in his design, which, had it been, he might have given us such a body of Natural Philosophy, and made it so subservient to the publick good, that neither Aristotle, nor Theophrastus amongst the Antients, nor Paracelsus, or the rest of our later Chymists, would have been considerable.’ Our famous Poet, Abraham Cowley, has justly celebrated the mighty discoveries of the great Lord Bacon, and in a poem too long to be inserted here, done him all the justice that might be expected from one vast genius to another (121):

(121) See his Pin-darick on the Royal Society.

‘ Bishop Sprat, the most elegant writer in our language, bestows on him the highest praises when he says, that his books contained the best arguments in the defence of Experimental Philosophy, and the best directions for promoting it. To say the truth, his character is so clear, so curious, and so remarkably worthy of the great man it celebrates, that I cannot help setting down a part of it, though it should oblige me to be shorter in other citations (122):

‘ Thus then he speaks, ‘ But methinks, in this one man I do at once find enough occasion to admire the strength of human wit, and to bewail the weakness of a mortal condition; for is it not wonderful, that he who had run through all the degrees of that profession, which usually takes up men’s whole time, who had studied, and practised, and governed the Common-Law, who had always lived in the crowd, and borne the greatest burden of civil business, should yet find leisure enough for these retired studies, to excel all those men who separate themselves for this very purpose? He was a man of strong, clear, and powerful imaginations, his genius was searching and imitable, and of this I need give no other proof than his stile itself, which as, for the most part, it describes men’s minds as well as pictures do their bodies, so it did his above all men living, the course of it vigorous and majestic; the wit, bold and familiar; the comparisons, fetched out of the way, and yet the most easy; in all, expressing a soul equally skilled in men and nature.’

(122) In his Lordship's Hist. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1734, 4to, p. 35, 36.

The incomparable Mr Boyle * speaks often of our author in his works, and always with honour; he stiles him sometimes an *illustrious*, at others, an *admirable* and *excellent* Philosopher; and, which is a higher commendation than any phrase could have expressed, he often imitates him, and professes a desire of treading in his paths. Dr Power, one of the most active and judicious among the first members of the Royal Society, in a learned treatise of his†, places at the head of his chapters, the Latin text from the Lord Verulam’s work, to shew, that all the honour he claimed was to have profecuted his views. Bishop Nicholson, speaking of the authors who have written concerning the reign of Henry VII, gives this character of his Lordship’s performance on that subject (123):

(*) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 196, 453. III. p. 154. V. p. 243, 41, 51.

‘ But this good work was most effectually undertaken and completed by the incomparable Sir Francis Bacon, who has bravely surmounted all those difficulties, and passed over those rocks and shallows, against which he took such pains to caution other less experienced historians; he has perfectly put himself into King Henry’s own garb and livery, giving as sprightly a view of the secrets of his Council, as if himself had been Prefident in it: No trivial passages, such as are below the notice of a statesman, are mixed with his sage remarks; nor is any thing of weight or moment, shubbed over with that careless haste and indifference, which is too common in other writers: No allowances are given to the author’s own conjecture or invention, where a little pains and consideration

(†) Experimental Philosophy, in three books, Lond. 1694, 4to.

(123) English Historical Library, edit. 1756, fol. p. 84, 85.

little excursion into the country, in order to try some experiments in Natural Philosophy,

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will serve to set the matter in it's proper and true light: No impertinent digressions, nor fanciful comments distract his readers; but the whole is written in such a grave and uniform stile, as becomes both the subject and the artificer. I shall add to these authorities but two more from the learned of our own nation, but they are two such as might alone have secured immortality to any author they had commended. The first of these was Mr Addison, who in one of the Tatlers, in which he vindicates the Christian religion, by shewing that the wisest and ablest men in all ages have professed themselves believers, speaks of our author thus (124), 'I shall in this paper only instance Sir Francis Bacon, a man, who, for the greatness of his genius and compass of knowledge, did honour to his age and country, I could almost say to human nature itself; he possessed at once all those extraordinary talents, which were divided amongst the greatest authors of antiquity; he had the sound, distinct, comprehensive knowledge of Aristotle, with all the beautiful lights, graces, and embellishments of Cicero, one does not know which to admire most in his writings, the strength of reason, force of stile, or brightness of imagination. This author has remarked in several parts of his works, that a thorough insight into Philosophy makes a good believer, and that a maturing in it naturally produces such a race of despicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of the present age, whom, (I must confess) I have always accused to myself, not so much for their want of faith, as their want of learning. I was infinitely pleased to find among the works of this extraordinary man, a prayer of his own composing, which, for the elevation of thought and greatness of expression, seems rather the devotion of an angel than of a man: His principal fault seems to have been the excess of that virtue which covers a multitude of faults: This betrayed him to so great an indulgence towards his servants, who made a corrupt use of it, that it stripped him of all those riches and honours, which a long series of merits had heaped upon him.' The second is that short character of his writings, given us by the pen of the most noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, who asserts (125), *That all his works are for expression as well as thought, the glory of our nation and of all latter ages.* This respect paid to his extraordinary merit by his countrymen, did not either commence more early, or extend to greater distance, or rise to a higher degree at home than abroad. The famous Condé de Gondamar, so long Ambassador here from his Catholic Majesty, wrote him a very handsome letter upon his misfortune, in which he assures him of the King his master's interposition, if he judged it any way convenient for the restoring his condition (126). So well was his character known in Spain and so much regarded, though his conduct had been always opposite to that of the Spanish faction in the court of King James. Dr Rawley tells us, he had seen a letter to the then Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, from Italy, wherein it was said, that my Lord Bacon was more and more known, and his books more and more delighted in; so that those men who had more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, esteemed him one of the most capable spirits of that age (127). The elegant Mr Voiture gives this character of the Latin works he had seen of the Viscount St Albans (128): 'I find every thing perfectly fine that you have sent me of Bacon, but do you not think that Horace, who said

Visum Britannos hospitibus feros,

would be much astonished to hear a barbarian talk in this manner, and to see that there is not perhaps at this day a Roman, who speaks so good Latin as this Englishman? And would not Juvenal say with greater reason than ever,

'Nunc totus Grajas nostrasque habet orbis Athenas?'

The learned Grotius in a private letter to a friend of his (129), highly commends his Lordship's life of Henry VII, as a work written with admirable judgment; and in this opinion the no less learned

Conringius fully agrees. But the character of his writings in general, afforded by so exquisite a judge of all the numerous subjects on which they were written, I mean the celebrated Baron Puffendorf, does still greater honour to his memory (129), 'The late most wise Chancellor of England, says he, was the chief writer of our age, and who carried as it were the standard that we might press forward, and make greater discoveries in Philosophick matters, than any of which hitherto our schools had rung. So that if in our time any great improvements have been made in Philosophy, there has been not a little owing to that great man.' The accurate and judicious Francis Buddeus, (that I may mention some of the authors of our own time) applauds the Viscount St Albans extremely (130): He styles him a new light in Philosophy, one who first united speculation and practice, and opened a passage to those mighty discoveries that have been made since his time; he indicates also the several parts of his great Body of Science, which have been commented on and explained by the learned Philosophers of Germany; and thereby shews, that the memory of this admirable man, expanded more fragrantly abroad for many years than here in his native country, where foreign approbation too frequently teaches us to revere the names of those, who in their lives wanted common respect, tho' this was not, strictly speaking, the case of our author; and yet, as himself foresaw, in some sort it was; for tho' there never wanted some amongst the most learned in this island who understood and applauded his writings, yet undoubtedly it was their being translated into Latin that procured both them and their author the praise they deserved. The last authority I shall cite on this subject shall be Mr Voltaire (131), who very justly styles him, the father of Experimental Philosophy, and enters into abundance of very judicious reflections on his discoveries and writings, owning at the same time, that what surprized him most was, to find the Doctrine of Attraction, which is looked upon as the foundation of another Philosophy, expressly set down in Lord Bacon's, in words not to be controverted or mistaken. I shall not take upon me to decide how far this may be just or not, but leave it to the search and decision of the learned and ingenious reader; only give me leave to say, I have always suspected the *Novum Organum* has been so little commended by the Moderns for two reasons; first, that it requires a deep head and a strong attention to become fully master of it, and so has been thoroughly understood by few; secondly, that those few who have fully penetrated it, used it to raise structures of their own, and not to finish Bacon's palace of wisdom. It was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and selfish in his composition; he gave away without concern whatever he possessed, and believing other men of the same mould, he received with as little consideration; nay even as to fame he had the like notion, he was desirous to enjoy it, but in the same way, not from his knowledge, but from his free and liberal communication of that knowledge; so that it may be truly and without flattery said, his worst qualities were the excesses of the most exalted virtues.

To the memory of such a man, of what importance is it, if James Horwell (132) has set down some vulgar tales mixed with many mistakes? If the foreign dictator in our history, *Rapin* (133), has treated him harshly on the credit of *Weldon*, and other libellers, who knew no way of escaping oblivion, but by assassinating great names, condemning thereby their own to immortal infamy? Or if POPE, forgetting at once the distance and resemblance of their characters, suffers his petulant muse to say,

If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,

The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind (134).

His glory cannot be blasted by such envious flashes as these; his failings hurt only his contemporaries, and were expiated by his sufferings; but his virtue and knowledge, and, above all, his zeal for mankind, will be felt while there are men; and consequently, while they have gratitude, the name of Bacon, Verulam, or St Albans, can never be mentioned but with admiration!

[K K] To

(124) Tatler, No. 267, in Addison's Works, Vol. II. p. 401.

(125) D. Buckingham's Works, Vol. I. p. 264.

(126) See this Letter in Stephens's Collection, p. 517; where from a note it appears, that Count Gondamar really said his Lordship service.

(127) Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Re-suscitatio*, p. 14.

(128) Ouvres de Voiture, edit. 1650, p. 753.

(129) Epist. ad Gulielm. Maurenum, Jul. 26. 1629.

(129) Specimen. Controversiæ, cap. i. sect. 5.

(130) Compendium Historiæ Philosophicæ, cap. vi. sect. 13. p. 409, & seq.

(131) Letter xii. on the English Nation.

(132) Howell's Letters, p. 158, 159.

(133) History of England, under the years 1616 and 1621.

(134) Essay on Man, epist. iv. ver. 277, 278.

(r) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Resuscitatio*, p. 16, 17.

(s) An excellent plate of this monument, etched by the masterly hand of *W. Hol-lar*, was prefixed to Rawley's *Resuscitatio*; and stands also before the third Volume of Bacon's Works by way of frontispiece.

(t) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 36.

in which journey he was taken so ill, that he was obliged to stay at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, about a week, and there he expired, on the ninth of April 1626, being Easter-day (r), and was privately buried in the chapel of St Michael's church, within the precincts of Old Verulam. In the chancel of which church, his faithful friend, and indefatigable servant in his troubles, Sir Thomas Meautys, caused a neat monument of white marble to be erected, with his Lordship's effigies sitting in a contemplative posture, with an inscription written by Sir Henry Wotton (s), every way worthy of that excellent writer, and of that admirable man to whose honour it is dedicated [KK]. The most eminent scholars of the university of Cambridge shewed their concern for his death, and the just sense they had of the honour resulting to that noble seminary of learning, from his receiving his education there, by composing verses in several languages on that occasion, which were afterwards printed (t). The same justice, posterity has also rendered to his memory, inasmuch that it may be truly said, his own prophecy has been fulfilled, and that after flying through foreign countries for a time, his reputation stands now fixed at home, where all admire the strength and beauty of his genius, and, in favour of it's efforts, would willingly forget, a man so endowed was not altogether exempt from failings.

(135) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 465.

FRANCISCUS BACON,
Baro de Verulam, Sancti Albani Vicecomes;
Seu Notioribus Titulis,
Scientiarum Lumen, Facundia Lex,
Sic Sedebat.

Qui postquam Omnia Naturalis Sapientia,
Et Civilis Arcana Evolvisset,
Naturæ Decretum Explevit,
Composita Solvantur;
Anno Domini, M.DC.XXVI.
Ætatis LXVI.

Tanti Viri
Mem.

THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Superstitis Cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.

FRANCIS BACON,
Baron of Verulam, Viscount St Albans;
Or by more conspicuous titles,
Of Sciences the Light, of Eloquence the Law,
Sat Thus.

Who after all Natural Wisdom,
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled,
Let Compounds be dissolved;
In the Year of our Lord, M.DC.XXVI.
Of his Age, LXVI.

Of such a Man,
That the Memory might remain,
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Living his Attendant,
Dead his Admirer,
Placed this Monument. E

BACON (ANTHONY) elder brother to the Chancellor, and eldest son to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, by his second wife Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, a woman equally distinguished by her learning and her piety, and, as such, highly commended by the writers of those times (a) [A]. At this distance, we have not been able to fix the exact time of this gentleman's birth, but it appears from a variety of circumstances, that he was several years older than his brother Francis. He received an excellent education at home,

(a) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 464.

[A] And, as such, highly commended by the writers of those times.] It was no unusual thing in those days for ladies to apply themselves to the same studies, with the same strictness, and, consequently, with the same success, that the other sex did. The Lady Jane Grey was excellently learned in Greek; and Queen Elizabeth translated several pieces both from that language and from the Latin: The most remarkable instance however, of the spirit of learning which prevailed in that age, was in the family to which this lady belonged (1), for all the four daughters of Sir Anthony Cook were perfectly skilled in the learned languages, and this his second daughter Anne, wife to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, made both a florid and exact translation of Bishop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England from Latin into English, which was esteemed so useful in it's nature, as well as so correct in it's manner, that in the year 1564 it was published for common use by the special order of Archbishop Parker, with some additions of his own at the end (2). There have been many ladies remarkable for their learning and their writings, but very few whose works, like the Lady Bacon's, were published by authority and commended to publick reading; it was this

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 386.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II, p. 469.

that stirred the gall of Father Parsons, commonly called Parsons the Jesuit, who has reflected bitterly upon this lady (3) for her performance, without reflecting that his ill language redounded more to her reputation than all the praises of her friends, as a late ingenious writer has very judiciously observed (4). It was to the great abilities and tender care of so accomplished a parent, that her two sons, Anthony and Francis, owed the early part of their education, and without doing any injustice to the genius of either of these great men we may safely affirm, that they were not a little indebted for the reputation they acquired, to the pains taken with them by this excellent woman in their tender years, when the mind is most susceptible of learning, and thereby rendered more capable of retaining the principles of science, than when they are infilled in an age farther advanced. It was in gratitude to her memory, and from a just sense of the advantages received from her in this way, that her son, the Viscount St Albans, directed by his Will, that his body should be laid near her's in the church of St Michael within the precincts of Old Verulam (5).

(3) A Relation of a Conference before Henry IV, of France, &c. p. 197.

(4) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(5) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p.

[B] Supported 464.

home, and giving evident signs of pregnant parts, his father, the Lord-Keeper, though it fit to send him early abroad, to improve his abilities by visiting foreign countries, in which he spent some years with great profit to himself, though his father did not live to see the fruits of his great improvements (b). But before his departure, the good old Lord-Keeper, thought proper to convey to him his manour of Gorhambury in Hertfordshire, which he had purchased from Mr Rowlet. In the course of his travels, Mr Anthony Bacon was resident for some time at Venice, and having visited other parts of Italy, received the news of his father's death at Geneva, which very probably hastened him home. While he remained in the city last mentioned, he entered into a very close friendship with the famous Beza, who, by his persuasion, wrote to the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, and presented to the library of Cambridge, a very antient copy of the Pentateuch in six languages, which was esteemed a great curiosity, and it is from his letter dated in December 1581, that we are able to fix the time of Mr Bacon's return from his travels (c). Whether he went abroad again or not, seems a little uncertain, but if he did, there is good reason to believe, that it was but for a very short time, since we find, that as soon as his brother began to be taken notice of by the Earl of Essex, he made it his business to draw Mr Anthony Bacon to that nobleman's service (d). The two brothers were alike prodigies for parts, but of very different kinds, for whereas the younger spoke eloquently and wrote admirably, the elder was reserved in conversation, had a deep reach in Politicks, and was the best versed in foreign affairs of any man of his time. Mr Francis Bacon did not affect to hide his talents, but gave early proofs of them to the world, both by speaking and writing. Mr Anthony Bacon distinguished himself neither way, but remained contented with the reputation he acquired among the circle of his private acquaintance, and the interest he had with some persons of the first quality, who knew how to value as well as to employ his great abilities. We have seen in the former article, that Mr Francis Bacon with all his knowledge wanted œconomy, and that to a very high degree, a point in which his brother Anthony chiefly excelled; for though he had a very fair estate of his own, yet he knew how to set a just price on his labours, and did not think it reasonable to waste his time in the service of others, without receiving a proper recompence (e). He had the misfortune to be very lame, so that he was able to stir little abroad, and indeed could not so much as move about his room, for which reason the Earl of Essex, who relied much upon his advice, and made use of him in all his affairs, and even in those of the greatest secrecy, thought proper to take him into his house, and to make him a handsome allowance for his services (f). It was by his advice, that the Earl entered into a very early and close correspondence with the King of Scotland, presumptive heir to the crown of England, which he carried on, chiefly by the means of Mr Anthony Bacon, who managed it with such dexterity and address, that though the Cecils always suspected, and left no means untried to discover it, yet they were never able to come at any proofs of it. It was his having this great and dangerous secret in his hands, that enabled him to advance his fortune very considerably, of which notwithstanding the secrecy that must naturally have attended such transactions, there are still some testimonies remaining, supported by undeniable authority (g) [B]. We are not however to suppose, that though this gentleman took so much care of his own affairs, and though he was very nearly related

(b) Lloyd's Statute
Worthies, p. 471a

(c) Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. III. p. 76.

(d) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 430.

(e) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13.

(f) See this fully explained in note [B].

(g) Wotton's Résumés, p. 12.

[B] Supported by undeniable authority.] Amongst other curious pieces of history penned by the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton, one of the most judicious as well as ingenious writers of his age, there is one intitled, *A Parallel between Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in the times of their favour*, which containing for the most part facts, that lay within the compass of the author's immediate knowledge, has been always, and very deservedly, in the most general esteem: It is from this treatise, than which certainly better authority cannot be had, that the circumstances hinted at in the text have been taken, and that the reader may view them in a just and natural light, they are here presented to him in Sir Henry's own words (6):

'The Earl of Essex had accommodated Master Anthony Bacon in a partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment: This was a gentleman of impotent feet but a nimble head, and through his hand run all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount St Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away, which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signs of apparent discontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party and stood himself in much umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to

my Lord of Essex (with whom he was commonly prima admissio[n]is by his bedside in the morning) and tells him, that unless that gentleman was satisfied with a round sum all would be vented; this took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were very low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him Essex house, which the good old Lady Walsingham did afterward disengage out of her own store, with two thousand five hundred pounds, and before he had distilled fifteen hundred pounds at another time by the same skill. So as we rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at four thousand pounds in present money, besides at least one thousand pounds of annual pension, to a private and bed-ridden gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business? It may not be amiss to add here, what seems to relate to the same subject, from another piece which bears the title of *The Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex*: The author of which, speaking of the peculiar advantages and felicities attending the last of these noblemen, says (7); 'In his friendships he was so fortunate, that though he contracted with antient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trusts, or had ever his secrets derived unhandfully to any ears that they were not intended to, and this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate.'

(7) Ibid. p. 47.

related to those who brought about that noble Earl's ruin, he was in any degree accessory thereto, either by discovering his secrets, or deserting his service; on the contrary, we are assured by a writer of great knowledge and fidelity, that Mr Bacon remained ever true to his noble patron, and indeed the thing speaks itself, for when his enemies accomplished their designs, they were not able to give any thing against him in evidence, in reference to his correspondence with King James, which if they had ever had it in their power, they would most certainly have done (b). The correspondence between this great favourite and the ingenious Mr Bacon, though very probably it began in convenience, very soon grew up into a stricter and more close friendship, than, the distance of their circumstances considered, could have been well expected; which may perhaps be justly attributed to the likeness of their tempers. For the Earl was naturally studious and contemplative, with a little leaning towards melancholy, and his usual recreations were musick, poetry, and walking, in all which, except the last, he found Mr Bacon an agreeable companion. There was another use which very probably my Lord Effex made of him, which was to examine such as were commended to him for preferment, not in a saucy supercilious manner, as one who had an entire dominion over his patron's inclinations, but in a gentle and almost imperceptible method, that there might be none about his Lordship from whom he might not expect a return of credit, in proportion to that degree of favour he bestowed. At least thus much is certain, that his recommendations had always great weight with the Earl of Effex, who made use of his power and influence, not in the gratification of the common passions of the mind, or enriching himself or his family, or to satisfy the cravings of such, as by complying with his weaknesses had gained an ascendancy over him; but in a way becoming a great man, in relieving and supporting men of merit, and thereby attaching them to his interests, which induced him to receive whoever was introduced to him in this light, not as a new dependant, but as a real acquisition (i). In this way (as himself (k) very gratefully remembers) Richard Boyle, afterwards the Great Earl of Cork in Ireland, was by Mr Anthony Bacon brought to the notice of the Earl of Effex, a little before his last unfortunate voyage to that island, by whom he was very kindly received, and employed in several things relating to the suing out his patents, 'till Mr Boyle's enemies procured him (on very false pretences) to be seized and imprisoned, in which condition he lay when the Earl went over to Ireland, and which accident, however unexpected or unrelished when it happened, very probably preserved him from being involved in the Earl's misfortunes, and most certainly proved the source of all his future felicity, in which it is some honour to Mr Bacon, that he was so far instrumental. But in regard to those measures and counsels which were so fatal to his great friend, neither records, or history, private memoirs, or the libellous remembrances of those times, which have descended in a competent proportion to manifest any man's character to ours, say so much as a syllable of this gentleman's interfering. The truth of the matter is, that this Lord had two sets of Counsellors, one who set him upon rash and violent methods, which proved his undoing; and the other, those who thought to raise their own fortunes by supporting the Earl's, and who constantly laboured to keep him within the bounds of moderation, in hopes of restoring him by degrees to the Queen's favour. At the head of the former was his Secretary Cuffe, a man of parts, but of a fierce and violent temper; and the chiefs of the other, were the two Bacons (l). We have an instance of their sincere endeavours to save, and to restore that unfortunate nobleman, even after his rash exploit in returning from Ireland, and a little before his much rasher exploit, which cost him his head. They agreed together, but with his Lordship's consent, that Mr Francis Bacon should pen a letter of advice, in the name of, and as if written by, Mr Anthony Bacon, to the Earl, and an answer in the Earl's name to him, which Mr Francis Bacon undertook to shew the Queen, and which were extremely well calculated to do him service, as appears from the letters themselves, which are still extant (m) [C]. It is certain that

(b) Disparity between the Earl of Effex, and the Duke of Bucks, (supposed to be written by the Earl of Clarendon) p. 5.

(i) See the article of DEVE-REUX, (ROBERT) Earl of Effex.

(k) See his own Memoirs preferred in the Life of Robert Boyle, Esq; prefixed to the first Volume of his Works, p. 2.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(m) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 437, 546.

[C] From the letters themselves, which are still extant.] These letters have caused a great deal of noise, and some very gross mistakes have been made about them. The Earl at his trial provoked at hearing Mr Francis Bacon plead against him, delivered himself thus, directing his discourse to the Lord-High-Steward (8). 'May it please your Lordship, I must produce Mr Bacon for a witness, for when the course of private persecution was in hand and most assailed me, then Mr Bacon was the man that proffered me means to the Queen, and drew a letter in my name, and in his brother Sir Nicholas Bacon's name, (apparently mistaken for Mr Anthony Bacon) which letter he purposed to shew the Queen, and Gosnal was the man that brought them unto me, wherein I did see Mr Bacon's hand pleaded as orderly, and appointed them out that were my enemies, as directly as might be; which letters I know Mr Secretary Cecil hath seen, and by them it will appear what conceit he held of me, and no otherwise than he here coloureth and pleadeth the contrary.' To which Mr Francis Bacon gave this answer (9): 'My Lord, I spent more hours to make you a good subject, than upon any man in the world besides; but since

'you have stirred up this point, my Lord, I dare warrant you this letter will not blush, for I did but perform the part of an honest man, and ever laboured to have done you good if it might have been, and to no other end, for what I intended for your good was wished from the heart without touch of any man's honour.' There was nothing more passed at this trial concerning this matter but in the apology written by Mr Francis Bacon: The point is stated as in the text, and we are assured that these letters were written at the time the Earl of Effex was confined to his own house (10). The first of them in the name of Mr Anthony Bacon, is by way of advice to his Lordship, on the then untoward situation of his affairs, in which he very artfully sets forth, that tho' some affected to give out, he had no farther room for hope left at Court, but might very well consider himself as a man doomed to pass the remainder of his years in privacy, and in the enjoyment of his particular fortune, without any farther thought of the publick; yet in his, the writer's conception, there was no reason that his Lordship should give into such notions, or suffer himself to fall into absolute despair, so as to frame his mind to such a spirit

(8) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(9) *ibid.*

(10) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 439.

that while things were in this situation, and before the Earl was hurried into his last unadvised action, the Bacons had in some measure softened the Queen, who frequently spoke to Mr Francis Bacon of the Earl of Essex, with an air of concern (*n*). Once when he was speaking to her Majesty on this subject, she took occasion to ask him, How the man had succeeded, who had undertaken to cure his brother Anthony of the gout? He answered, 'That at first the medicine he gave him did him good, but after a little while it lost it's efficacy, and at last he thought it did him harm.' The Queen replied to this in the following terms, 'I will tell you, Bacon, the error of it; the manner of these Physicians, and especially these Empericks, is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the first is proper to draw out the ill humour, but after, they have not the discretion to change their medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they should rather intend to cure and corroborate the part.' Mr Bacon immediately applied this, 'How wisely and aptly, Madam, said he, do you speak and discern of physick ministered to the body, and consider not that there is the like occasion of physick ministered to the mind? as now in the case of my Lord Essex; your princely word ever was, that you intended to reform his mind, and not to ruin his fortune; you cannot but think you have drawn the humours sufficiently, and therefore it is more than time, for fear of mortifying, that you minister strength and comfort unto him, for these same gradations, are fitter to corrupt than to correct any great mind.' But however Mr Francis Bacon might afterwards cool, if he did cool, in his affections to that noble person, most certain it is, that Mr Anthony Bacon loved him beyond the the grave, as appears by a paper directed to him, which fully vindicates his Lordship's character, and shews that he was influenced by publick spirit, and not by the desire of revenging his private quarrel on his enemies (*o*). This paper which is still preserved, remains an incontestible proof of Mr Anthony Bacon's having openly espoused his Lord's cause, even after it had brought him to the block, and on that account doubly deserves notice [*D*]. In all probability the death of the Earl of Essex affected him very

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV, p. 438, 439.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 960.

deeply,

a spirit of retirement, as this fancy, if he should receive it, would lead him to. The first reason he assigns, is the temper of the Queen, that it was steady and constant, so that whoever she once liked she never absolutely disliked; and having pressed this point very strongly, he then proceeds to another argument, and so forward in these words: 'If I can spell, and scholar like put together, the parts of her Majesty's proceedings now against your Lordship, I cannot but make this construction, that her Majesty, in her royal intention, never intended to call your Lordship's doings into publick question, but only to have used a cloud without a shower, in censuring them by some temporary restraint only of liberty, and debarring you from her presence. For first, the handling the cause in the Star-Chamber, your not being called, was enforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, (wherein the Queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your Lordship's appearance) and after, when the means which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits turned to kindle them, (because it was said, your Lordship was condemned unheard, and your Lordship's sister wrote that piquant letter) than her Majesty saw plainly, that these winds of rumours could not be commanded down without the handling of the cause, by making you a party, and admitting your defence, and to this purpose I do assure your Lordship, that my brother, Francis Bacon, who is too wise (I think) to be abused, and too honest to abuse, tho' he be more reserved in all particulars than is needful, yet, in generality, he hath ever constantly, and with asseveration affirmed to me, that both those days, that of the Star-Chamber, and that at my Lord-Keeper's, were won from the Queen merely upon necessity and point of honour against her own inclination. Thirdly, in the last proceeding, I note three points which are directly significant, that her Majesty did expressly forbear any point, which was irreparable, or might make your Lordship in any degree incapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indelible of disgrace upon you, for the spared the publick place of the Star-Chamber which spared ignominy, she limited the charge precisely not to touch upon any pretence of disloyalty, and no record remaineth to memory of the charge or sentence. Fourthly, the very distinction which was made in the sentence of sequestration from the places of service in state, and leaving to your Lordship the place of Master of the Horse, doth to my understanding *indicative* point at this, that her Majesty meant to use your Lordship's attendance in court, while the exercises of

' the other places stood suspended. Fifthly, I have heard, and your Lordship knoweth better than I, that now since you were in your own custody, her Majesty, in *verbo regio*, and by his mouth to whom she committed her royal grants and decrees, hath assured your Lordship she will forbid and not suffer your ruin.—I know your Lordship may justly interpret, that this which I persuade may have some reference to my particular fortune, but I may truly say, *te stante* (not *virebo*, for I am withered in myself, but) *manebo* or *tenebo*, and that I shall in some sort be able to hold out: But though your Lordship's years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your eclipse for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune, and were it not that I desire and hope to see my brother established by her Majesty's favour, (as I think him well worthy for what he hath done and suffered) it were time I did take that course from which I dislodge your Lordship; but now in the mean time I cannot chuse but perform those honest duties unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bounden (11). The answer to this written in the Earl's name, but by the same pen which drew the former, is full of duty and affection to the Queen, but with some free and sharp touches on his enemies, which perhaps were thrown in to give it more the air of his Lordship's writing; the conclusion of it as it relates particularly to the two brothers, it is requisite the reader should see in the words of the letter itself (12). 'But for her first love and for her last protection, and for all her great benefits, I can but pray for her Majesty, and my endeavours are now to make my prayers for her Majesty and myself better heard; for, thanks be to God, they that can make her Majesty believe that I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that I counterfeit with him; and they which can let me from coming near unto her, cannot let me from drawing near unto him, as I hope I do daily: For your brother, I hold him to be an honest gentleman, and wish him all good, much the rather for your sake; yourself I know hath suffered more for me and with me, than any friend I have; yet I cannot but lament freely, as you see I do, and advise you not to do that which I do, which is, to despair; you know letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make sure of this, and yet I could not (as having no other pledge of my love) but communicate freely with you, for the ease of my heart and your's.'

(11) Ibid. p. 548.

(12) Ibid. p. 549.

[*D*] And on that account doubly deserves notice.] This letter was directed to Mr A. Bacon, and dated from the writer's chamber in London, May the

30th,

deeply, since his own followed within less than a year. He was, as appears by various passages in his brother's writings, a person perfectly well skilled in polite learning, and in all the arts requisite to the conduct of human life. How near soever he was related to the Cecils, and, how great soever his interest might be with the Lord-Treasurer, it does not by any means appear, that he had any intercourse with that family in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but dedicated all his time, except what was employed in the service of his patron, to his studies. It was owing to this reserved life of his, that his father's fine seat fell to decay, and that the water which had been laid to it from springs at a considerable distance, was cut off in such a manner, that it could not afterwards be recovered, but at so great an expence, that the Lord Viscount St Albans chose rather to build a little neat house near the great pond; saying merrily (p), that *Since the water could not be brought to his house, he would bring his house to the water.* The friendship between these two brothers was not only warm and sincere, but constant and lasting, as appears by Francis Bacon's dedicating the first work he published to his brother Anthony, and celebrating his memory in many of those pieces which he published after his decease (q). There is good reason to believe, that this gentleman also wrote several things, though none of them have come down to our times, or at least none under his name, but as we shall shew in another place, it is more than probable, that some of those sonnets and other little pieces of poetry, that are generally ascribed to his patron the Earl of Essex, were, either in the whole or in part, of his composition, and were owned by the Earl, not from any affectation of learning which he did not possess, for his abilities were not of a nature to need any such assistance, or his spirit of that sort to seek or desire it, but for political reasons, he adopted what his occasions required, and what, if he had had leisure, he could have performed with equal elegance and beauty (r). It does not appear whether Mr Anthony Bacon was interred at Verulam or not, but if he had, one might reasonably suppose, some monument would have been erected there to his memory, considering not only the obligations, but the affection of his brother towards him; and yet it is not impossible that the circumstance of time might prevent his erecting such a testimony of respect to his memory, as not allowing room for celebrating his attachment to the Earl of Essex, his fidelity in which must have made a principal part of the character afforded him therein. He left behind him, besides the manour of Gorhambury, which descended to his brother Francis, a considerable personal estate, which he likewise bequeathed to him, and which it is believed he laid out in the purchase of the manour of Kingsbery (s), both of which, at the decease of the Viscount St Albans, came to Sir Thomas Meautys, and passed from his heirs to the family of Grimston, to whom they still belong [E]. As he laid the foundation of his brother the Chancellor's fortunes in one sense, so he was very useful to them in another likewise, I mean that of favour; since the first marks which Sir Francis Bacon received of King James's kindness and good will, are in the very grant expressed, to be in consideration of the many good services rendered him before his accession to the throne of England, by his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, as well as by himself (t). Such are the few scattered memoirs we have been able to collect of this great man, which at the same time that they are very curious in themselves, render them likewise a very useful Supplement to the foregoing articles.

(p) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 273.

(q) See his Dedication to the first edit. of his Essays, and likewise the Dedication to the second edition, the former being to this brother, the latter to his brother-in-law, Sir John Constable.

(r) See the article of DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Essex.

(s) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 463.

(t) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 597.

30th, 1601. In it the writer tells him, that after the Earl of Essex was condemned, one Mr Ashton, a Preacher, was sent to him by the Lords, with intent to get out of him what he could. This man talked to him in a very high and faucy strain, imputing to him such base and black designs, that at length, the Earl, who professed that he feared such imputations on his memory, more than he did a thousand deaths, found himself obliged, in defence of all that was now left him, his good name, to speak more clearly to the point, than perhaps he ever intended: Thus, being extremely urged, says the letter writer, 'He made confession, according to the premises, namely, that he meant to have established the King of Scots his title in succession, and that in this intention he had many of the worthiest persons of the land in consent with him, which also he had an earnest purpose to have revealed at his death, as Ashton and others have confessed; but that he was so mightily dissuaded and commanded to the contrary, as a thing that might tend to the great danger of her Majesty's person: Now how little his honour is herein touched, and what small reason, he had then, of all times, to dissemble, your wife and religious heart may easily judge. Thus having, according to my wonted plainness, given you a true

'satisfaction in your desire, I must humbly recommend you to the protection of God, wishing much more health and comfort to you, than either your weak body hath of late enjoyed, or these times do afford (13).'

[E] *And passed from his heirs to the family of Grimston, to whom they still belong.*] Sir Thomas Meautys who lived many years with the Viscount St Albans, and who upon his sentence in the House of Lords, made over his estate to him, was likewise his heir, and he marrying Anne, daughter to Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford in the county of Suffolk, Knight of the Bath, left the manour of Gorhambury to her for her life, and she afterwards marrying Sir Harbottle Grimston, he procured from Hercules Meautys, for a valuable consideration, an assignment of his right to the reversion of this estate, which would have descended to him as nephew and heir of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Meautys (14). This Sir Harbottle Grimston, Knight and Baronet, was the direct ancestor of the Viscounts Grimston of the kingdom of Ireland, the present owners of this manour and seat (15), of which having so largely discoursed in the foregoing articles, it seemed requisite for the reader's satisfaction to add these few lines here.

(13) Camd. Anal. edit. T. Hearne, p. 960, 961.

(14) Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 465.

(15) See the Irish Compendium, under the title of Viscount Grimston.

E

BACONTHORP (a), or BACONDORP (b), or simply BACON (c) (JOHN), surnamed the *Resolute Doctor*, and one of the learnedest men of his times, was born, towards the end of the XIIIth century, at Baconthorp, an obscure village in Norfolk, from which he took his name. In his youth, he was a Monk in the convent of Blackney (d), a small town in Norfolk, about five miles from Walsingham. After some years dedicated to learning and piety, he removed to Oxford, and from thence to Paris; where he was honoured with the degrees in Divinity and Laws, and acquired a great reputation for learning, being esteemed the head of the *Averroists* [A], or followers of the Philosopher Averroës (e). Upon his return into England, he was unanimously chosen the twelfth Provincial of the English Carmelites, in a general assembly of that order held at London, in the year 1329. Four years after, he was invited by letters to Rome; where, in several disputations on the subject of marriage, he gave no little offence, by carrying the Papal authority too high in the case of divorces: but he thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion [B], and was held in great esteem at Rome, and other parts of Italy. This learned Doctor wrote several pieces, mentioned below [C]. He was small of stature [D], but of a great and lofty genius, as

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 374. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(b) Pits, de illust. Angl. Script. an. 1346.

(c) Trithemius and others call him so. Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. Wicklev. an. 1329.

(d) Called in Latin Nigeria.

(e) Baleus, ubi supra.

is

[A] He was esteemed the head of the Averroists.] Averroës, the author of this sect, was an Arabian Philosopher, of Corduba, who flourished in the XIIth century. He was extremely attached to Aristotle, whose works he commented on with such ability, that he was styled, by way of eminence, *The Commentator*. He was professor in the university of Morocco, and distinguished himself by his great skill in the theoretical part of Physick. He taught that there is an intelligence, which, without multiplication of itself, animates all the individuals of the human species, in respect to their exercising the functions of a rational soul. As to religion, he had really none at all: for, according to him, Christianity was absurd, Judaism the religion of Children, and Mahometism (which he outwardly professed) the religion of Swine (1). 'Averroës of Corduba (says another writer) was instructed by his father in the laws and religion of his country. He was extremely fat, though he used to eat but once a day. He passed whole nights in the study of Philosophy; and when he found himself tired, he diverted himself with reading some book of poetry or history. He was never seen to play, or to seek after any amusement. The errors, of which he was accused, drew on him a sentence, whereby he was despoiled of his goods, and obliged to recant. After his condemnation, he went to Fez, and afterwards returned to Corduba; where he stayed, till, at the earnest request of the people, he was recalled to Morocco, and continued there till his death, which happened in 1206 (2).' It was with respect to the philosophical, not the religious, opinions of Averroës, that our Baconthorp was said to be the head or chief of his followers: for he understood the writings of Aristotle, and maintained his doctrines, in a manner agreeable to the explications or comments of this Philosopher. Hence his Panegyrist Baptista Mantuanus:

Nemo magis mentem cognovit Averrois, illum
Si sequeris, fies alter Aristoteles (3).

[B] He thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion.] Bale assures us, that Baconthorp not only recanted his former doctrine, but took the other side of the question, proving, by the strongest arguments fetched from reason and Scripture, that, in degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the divine law, the Pope has no dispensing power. *Sed erroris a Dei verbo admonitus, vitium agnovit, detestabat noxam, ac palinodiam modestissime cecinit, solidissimis scripturis et rationibus probans, in gradibus consanguinitatis divina lege prohibitis, Papam dispensare non posse* (4). It is remarkable, that Pits says not one word of Baconthorp's giving offence, and afterwards changing his opinion, but only tells us in general, that he was sent for to Rome upon some important questions relating to marriage, and that he was as much esteemed in Italy, as he had been in France. *Romam vocatus est super gravissimis de matrimonio dubiis. Tum cepit fama boninis apud Italos, uti prius apud Gallos magis magisque indies clarescere* (5).

[C] He wrote several pieces.] Among those, which have seen the light, the most remarkable are

the following: I. *Commentaria, seu Quaestiones super quatuor libros Sententiarum*. i. e. *Commentaries, or Questions on the four books of Sentences*. This book was published at Milan in 1510 and 1611; at Cremona by John Chrysothom Marafce in 1618, in two volumes; twice at Paris, and once at Venice. II. *Compendium Legis Christi, et Quodlibeta*. i. e. *An Abridgment of the Law of Christ, and Quodlibets*. Venice, 1527. The *Quodlibeta* were published, together with the *Commentaries on the Sentences*, at Cremona in 1618 (6). Dr Cave mentions another piece, which he is not sure was ever published. It is intitled, *Tractatus Duo de Regula Ordinis Carmelitani, et Compendium historiarum et juris pro defensione ejusdem ordinis*. i. e. *Two Treatises concerning the Rule of the Order of the Carmelites, and an historical and juridical Compendium in defence of the said Order*. Leland, Bale, and Pits, give us, as usual, a very long catalogue of our author's works never yet published; among which the most worthy of notice are these: I. *Commentaries on all the books of the Bible, and on St Austin's Book De Civitate Dei*. II. *Several Treatises against the Jews*. III. *A Treatise against Pope John concerning the Vision of the Blessed*. And IV. *Discourses on various Subjects*.

[D] He was small of stature.] This circumstance is pleasantly aggravated by Pits and Fuller. 'Erat quidem, ut alter Zachæus, statura pusillus, sed ingenio magnus, ut mirum sit in tam exili corpore tante habitasse virtutes, et naturam in tantulo homuncione tam sublime collocasse ingenium. Tam ingentia scriptis volumina, ut corpus non tulisset quod ingenium protulerat. Nam si moles librorum ejus, composita farcina, auctoris humeris imposita fuisset, homulum sine dubio comprimere suffecisset' (7). He was, like another Zachæus, a very dwarf in stature, but of so great a genius, that it is surprising such exalted virtues should dwell in so small a body, and that nature should have placed so sublime a wit, in such an epitome of a man. He wrote such large volumes, that his body could not have sustained the product of his mind. For if the weight of his books, bundled together, had been laid upon their author's shoulders, the little man must undoubtedly have sunk under it.' In like manner Fuller makes himself merry with little Baconthorp. One remarkable, says he, first for the dwarfishness of his stature:

Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libellus,

His pen-knife, pen, ink-born, one sheet of paper, and any of his books, would amount to his full height. As for all the books of his own making, put together, their burden were more than his body could bear. Secondly, for his high spirit in his low body. Indeed, his soul had but a small diocese to visit, and therefore might the better attend the effectual informing thereof. I have heard it delivered by a learned Doctor in Physic (at the Anatomy Lecture in London) who a little before had been present at the emboweling and embalming of Duke Hamilton and the Lord Capel, that the heart of the former was the largest, the latter the least he had ever beheld, inferring hence, that contracted spirits act with the greatest vigorousness (8).

(6) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sac. Wicklev. an. 1329.

(7) Pits, ubi supra.

(8) Worthies of England, Norfolk, p. 255.

(1) See M. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Crit. Art. AVERROES.

(2) Journal des Savans, 1 July, 1697, p. 475. dit. of Holland.

(3) See the whole passage cited in remark [E], marg. not. (9).

(4) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. c. i.

(5) Pits, de illust. El. Scriptor. 1346.

(f) Leland, Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

is sufficiently testified by writers of other nations [E], as well as our own [F]; John Baconthorp died at London [G], in the nineteenth year of Edward III, A. D. 1346 (f).

(g) Apud Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 374.

[E] *The greatness of his genius is acknowledged by writers of other nations.* Baptista Mantuanus celebrates him in the following lines (9).

Quis liber in lucem nuper qui venit ab umbris?
Hic est Carmeli gloria magna Bacon.
Nemo magis mentem cognovit Averrois, istum
Si sequeris, fies alter Aristoteles.
Iste tenebrofi damnat vestigia Scoti,
Et per sacra novis it documenta viis.
Hunc habeat, quibus est sapientia grata; redundat
Istius in sacris fontibus omne Sophos.

Paulus Panfa, a celebrated Orator of Italy, has immortalized the memory of Baconthorp in the following eulogium. 'Si Dei optimi maximi penetralia adire suadeat animus, nemo accuratius essentiam ejus mandavit literis. Si rerum causas, si naturæ effectus, si cæli varios motus, ac elementorum contrarias qualitates discere exoptet quisquam, hic se officinam offert. Christianæ religionis arma Vulcaniis munitiora contra Judæos, solus hic Resolutus Doctor ministranda tradidit: Messias adventum dilucidat, Antichristi aperit venturas fallacias, Mahumeti sectam profermit, scripturæ nodos solvit, et ænigmata cuncta serenat (10).—If your inclination leads you to search into the nature of Almighty God, no one has written more accurately upon his essence. If you would enquire into the causes of things, the effects of nature, the various motions of the heavens, and the contrary qualities of the elements, here you are presented with a magazine. This one Resolute Doctor has furnished the Christian religion with the strongest arms against the Jews: he clears up the coming of the Messiah, detects the future fallacies of Antichrist, overthrows the sect of Mahomet, and explains all the difficult parts of the Scriptures.' The same author celebrates Baconthorp both as a Philosopher and a Divine in the following distich:

Noscere vis rerum causas, ipsumque tonantem,
Et Sophiæ omne genus? sume Baconis opus (11).

(11) Apud Leland, ubi supra.

I shall conclude these foreign testimonies with certain barbarous verses, written by Laurence Burell of Dijon, in the person of Baconthorp himself. They relate chiefly to our author's works, and their publication after his death. If the reader has a mind to skip over them as too long, or for any other reason, with all my heart; he has my free leave.

Anglia me genuit, Joannem quisque vocabat,
Et de Bacone nomine notus eram.
Cum cuperem sacros è fonte haurire liquores,
Parisos petii plena stuenta lares.
Illic quod studium potuit, quod cura laborque,
Præteritum ingenio nil volui esse meo.
Nam non sacra fuit tantum mihi pagina curæ,
Pontificum Canones sed placere mihi.
Quatuor exposui vulgata volumina Petri,
Sed magis in quarto mens mea fixa fuit.
Scripsi et Ephæmerides, quæ vos Quodlibeta vocatis,
Tum vetus atque novum clarius esse dedi.
Ethica nec nostris sine scriptis lentus omisi,
In Metaphysicis stat labor ipse meus.
Inque animæ libros scripsi: tum multa notavi,
Augustine, tua rursum in urbe Dei.
Nec quæ de trino simul uno scripta dedisti,
Sum passus scriptis illa carere meis.

Anselmum exposui, dum scripto querit ille,
Cur Deus è Sancta Virgine factus homo?
Et dum describit quo pacto è Virgine verbum
Assumpsit carnem, sedulus exposui.
Pauperiem Christi scripsi, et quis jure tenere
Has possit fluxas pastor ovilis opes.
Historiam breviter tetigi; quæ candidus ordo
Nostræ, ab excelsa fit genetrice Dei.
Tum mea Judæi fenserunt vulnera cæci,
Tum scripsi ut virgo concipat atque parit.
Scripsi alios multos, quos non te, candidè lector,
Pœniteat studii, si semel ipse legas.
Et tandem in prima terra post facta quievi,
Dulcius est patrium quod tegit ossa solum.
Post jacui tandem per tempora longa sepultus;
Omnia sic tempus innovat atque fagat.
Franciscus Medicus, sed religionis alumnus,
Vivere me rursus et mea scripta dedit.
Nam mea formari per multa volumina fecit,
Causa fuit doctum quod legor ore virum.
Debeo multa viro, tum debeo multa legenti,
Multa et tu debes, dogmata quicquid amas (12).

(12) Apud Baleum, ibid.

[F] ——— *As well as our own.* His virtues, according to Leland, were in themselves so illustrious, that they stand in no need of borrowed colours. *Virtutes hominis tam per se illustres erant, ut pigmentis aliunde adscitis jam per se non egeant (13).* Bale assures us, he was the learnedest Monk of the Mendicant order that England ever produced; and that in all his writings, he abhorred sophistry, as heresy, blasphemy, and the bane of the Christian faith. But this historian thinks, he would have performed much greater things, and been the completest writer that ever was, had it not been for the darkness of the age he lived in, under the tyranny of Antichrist; that is, in other words, if he had not been a Papist; however, in the midst of that darkness, he saw many things of which he durst not declare his opinion. The Bishop of Ossory adds, that he had found some sentences in Baconthorp's works more weighty, than in all the other writers of his time; and that he had made a collection of them, as so many instances of the author's piety, but fears he had lost them in Ireland. *Talis ille erat in omni bonarum artium genere, qualem nec ante nec post habebat Anglia, ex omni Mendicantium Monachorum cumulo. — In omnibus scriptis sopsificen, ut hæresim, blasphemiam, ac perniciosissimam fidei pestem aspernabatur. — Si non fuisset hic scriptor ejus ætatis caligine impeditus, sub Antichristi tyrannide, multa et magna præstitisset, nec eo fuisset quicquam absolutius. Multa certe in ipsis tenebris vidit, quæ pronunciarè non audebat. Porro inveni sententias aliquot graviores apud illum, quam apud omnes ejus temporis scriptores: et eas, ut fragmenta quedam pietatis ejus, collegi; quæ tamen apud Hybernos periisse timeo (14).* Pits praises him almost in the very words of Paulus Panfa (15). *Nemo doctius confundebat Judæos, nemo nervosior consutabat Turcos, vel quoscunque infideles; nemo feliciter expugnabat Hæreticos; nemo solidius Christi veritatem dilucidabat; nemo manifestius Antichristi falsitatem et imposturas detegebat, suisque coloribus depingebat; nemo subtilius difficile nodos solvebat; nemo clarius obscura sacræ Scripture loca explanabat, et sensus reconditos et arcana mysteria dilucidius aperiebat (16).*

(13) Leland, ubi supra.

(14) Baleus, ubi supra.

(15) See the preceding remark, marg. not. (10).

(16) Pits, ubi supra.

(17) Leland, ubi supra.

(18) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 256.

[G] *He died at London.* It is added, that he was buried in the convent of the Carmelites there; but Leland tells us, he had in vain endeavoured to discover his monument. *Tumulus à me Londini sollicite quæsitus at non inventus (17).* Some pretend, he was buried at Blackney, and others assign Norwich as the place of his interment (18).

(a) T. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, Lond. 1655, p. 37. Magna Britannia, by T. Cox, Lond. 1717, 4to, Vol. I. p. 245.

BADEW (RICHARD DE) the first and original founder of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, was descended from a knightly family seated at Great Badew, or Badow, near Chelmsford in the county of Essex (a). From this place of their residence they took their surname; and here, probably, Richard de Badew was born. In 1326, he was

Chancellor

Chancellor of the university of Cambridge (*b*): and having purchased two tenements in Miln-street of Nigel Thornton a Physician [*A*], he laid there, in the year above-mentioned, the foundation of a building, to which was given the name of Univerſity-Hall. In it he placed a Principal, who was to take care of the pensioners that came to live there at their own expence (*c*), or, as others ſay, at the charges of the univerſity (*d*); for as yet it was not endowed. It continued in this condition for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and then by an accidental fire was burnt down (*e*). Richard de Badew being unable to rebuild it, it lay for a few years in ruins. But one of the late pensioners having a great intereſt with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert de Clare Earl of Glouceſter, and third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford [*B*], he prevailed upon her to undertake what de Badew was not able to perform (*f*). Whereupon this charitable lady, after the reſignation of Walter Thaxtead the Principal, and with the conſent of Richard de Badew, new-built that hall, and endowed it, in the year 1347, with revenues for one Maſter, ten fellows, and ten ſcholars (*g*). At the ſame time ſhe named it Clare-Hall, from her own family-ſurname (*b*). When ſhe founded it, King Edward III, gave licence of mortmain to the Maſter and Scholars, to take lands and tenements, to the value of forty pounds a year (*i*). The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors [*C*], ſo that at preſent it contains one Maſter, eighteen fellows, and ſixty-three ſcholars (*k*). Some conclude (*l*) from the two following verſes of Chaucer (*m*) that it was formerly called Sollere or Scholler-hall,

And namely there was a great college,
Men clepen (*n*) it the Sollere-hall of Cambrege.

[*A*] Having purchased two tenements in Miln-ſtreet, &c.] Stow ſays (1), that it was founded by the Chancellor, R. Badew, and Maſters of the univerſity of Cambridge, upon a ground whereon ſtood two houſes, belonging of old time to the ſaid Chancellor and univerſity, in Miln-ſtreet.

[*B*] Third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare, the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford.] Namely of that name and family. She was married, three times,
1. To John de Burgh, ſon and heir to the Earl of Ulſter (2), by whom ſhe had William de Burgh laſt Earl of Ulſter. 2. To Theobald of Verdon. and
3. To Sir Roger Damary, or Tamari (3). She had formerly been a benefactreſs to Univerſity-Hall, hav-

ing beſtowed upon it the perpetual patronage of Littington, and been otherwiſe very bountiful to that foundation (4).

[*C*] The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors.] The chief of them have been, John Thaxton, Editha Green, William Ducket, William Worleigh, William Marhal, Ralph Scrivener, Thomas Cave, Thomas Stoyle, or Stoite, Edmund Natureſs, Edward Leedes, Robert Scot, Thomas Cecil Earl of Exeter, and his lady Dorothy, who gave 108 pounds a year in rent, William Butler, John Freeman, George Ruggle, Sir Robert Heath, Thomas Binge, Humphrey Hide, Robert Johnſon, Eraſmus Farrar, William Briden, Thomas Croply, &c (5).

BAINBRIDGE (JOHN), an eminent Phyſician and Aſtronomer of the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Robert Bainbridge by Anne his wife, daughter of Richard Everard, of Shenton in Leiceſterſhire, and born, in the year 1582, at Aſhby de la Zouch, in the ſame county. He was educated at the grammar-ſchool in that town, and from thence removed to Emanuel College in Cambridge, under the tuition of his kinfman Dr Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. He took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and ſtudied Phyſic in that univerſity; after which he retired to his own country, where he taught a grammar-ſchool for ſome years, and praſticed Phyſic (*a*). He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, eſpecially Aſtronomy, of which he had been extremely fond from his earlieſt years. By the advice of his friends, he removed to London, where he was admitted a Fellow of the college of Phyſicians (*b*). His *Description of the Comet* in 1618 brought him acquainted with Sir Henry Savile, who, without any application or recommendation in favour of Dr Bainbridge, appointed him his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in the year 1619; whereupon he removed thither, and was entered a maſter-commoner of Merton College; of which ſociety he continued a member ſome years. In 1631, he was appointed by the Maſter and Fellows of Merton, Junior-Reader of Linacre's lecture, and in 1635 Superior Reader of the ſame lecture (*c*). Having reſolved to publiſh correct editions of the antient Aſtronomers, agreeably to the ſtatutes of the founder of that profeſſorſhip, in order to acquaint himſelf with the diſcoveries of the Arabian Aſtronomers, he began to ſtudy the Arabic language, being then about forty years of age (*d*). Some time before his death, he removed to an houſe over againſt Merton College church, and died there November the 3d, 1643, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His body was conveyed to the publick ſchools, where it reſted ſome time; and, an oration having been ſpoken in praiſe of the deceaſed by Mr William Strode, the univerſity Orator, it was carried from thence, attended by a great number of members of the univerſity, to Merton College, and there depoſited near the high altar (*e*). An epitaph, ſaid to be written by his ſucceſſor Mr Greaves [*A*], was inſcribed on his monument.

[*A*] His epitaph — ſaid to be written by Mr Greaves.] It is as follows: *Si ſcire cupias, viator, quis et quantum hic jacet, alibi quæras oportet; dicere ſatis inequo. Britannia tota viri famam non capit.*

Ne cætera tamen ignores, in rem tuam pauca hæc accipe. JOANNES BAINBRIDIUS, vir famæ integer, rimæ, et doctrinæ incomparabilis; Medicinæ profeſſor et Matheſeos, morborum tam felix expugnator novorum, quam

(*a*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.
(*f*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.
(*g*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.
(*b*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.
(*i*) Stow, ubi ſupra.
(*k*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.
(*l*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.
(*m*) In the Reve's Tale.

(*n*) i. e. call.
(4) Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, ubi ſupra.

(5) Ibid. and Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Wood, *Atene Oxoniensis*, Vol. II. col. 34. and Th. Smith *Commentariolus de vita et ſtudiis Joannis Bainbridgii*, p. 3. published in his *Vite quorundam eruditiff. et illuſtriſſ. virorum*, London, 1708, 4to.

(*b*) Th. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Th. Smith, ib. p. 10, 11.

(*e*) Wood, ib. & Smith, ib. p. 12.

monument. We shall give an account of Dr Bainbridge's works in the remark [B], and shall set down an odd story concerning him from Dr Walter Pope [C].

B A K E R

quam sagax indagator siderum; Quem primum Astronomiae professorem, et dignum collegam, in mathematicis praesturis, quas magnifice exereat, prudens hominum et librorum aestimator, elegit Savilius; Quem Cantabrigiae educatum Academia Oxoniensis fovit ut suum, defunctum publicè flevit, ut par utriusque ornamentum; Qui Scaligerum feliciter correxit, quam Scaliger tempora; In non levem literarum iacturam, immaturus obiit MDCXLIII. Abi jam; cetera quære vel ab exteris.

In English;

'If, passenger, you would know who, and how great a man lies here, you must enquire elsewhere; I cannot sufficiently inform you; all Britain is too little for his fame. But that you may not be ignorant of the rest, take the following account for your benefit. JOHN BAINBRIDGE, a person of the most unblemished character, and unequalled learning, Professor of Physic and Mathematics, as successful in removing new diseases, as sagacious in his observations on the stars; whom Sir Henry Savile, that excellent judge of men and books, appointed his first Professor of Astronomy, and his worthy colleague in the mathematical lectures he had so nobly founded; who, having been educated at Cambridge, was cherished by the university of Oxford as her own son, and honoured by her with a public oration and funeral, as equally an ornament of both; who corrected Scaliger with more success than Scaliger had corrected Chronology; died too early for the interest of learning, in the year 1643. Go now and learn the rest even from foreigners.'

(1) Comment. de vit. et. stud. J. E. p. 13. apud Vit. quorund. erudit. et illustr. viror. Lond. 1708, 4to.

Dr Smith, who gives us this epitaph (1), tells us, he is not certain it was written by Mr Greaves, though many assert it was; and that he had transcribed the following epitaph from a manuscript of that gentleman's. *Quod superest clarissimi viri D. Joannis Bainbridge, in Academia Oxoniensi publici Astronomiae Professoris, sub hoc marmore clauditur. Quod vero amavimus, quod suspeximus, quod maesti desideramus, frustra hic quaeras: illud caelo, cui vivas animo cogitationeque incubuit, receptum est. Obiit A. D. 1643. 10c. XLIII. 1xbris III. aetatis suæ LXII. hora sexta matutina.*

In English.

'Under this marble is deposited, what remains of the celebrated Dr John Bainbridge, public Professor of Astronomy at Oxford: but it is in vain to look for, in this place, what we loved, what we admired, and what we now lament the loss of; that part of him is raised to Heaven, on which, while he lived, his mind and thoughts were earnestly intent. He died the third of November 1643, aged sixty-two, at six o'clock in the morning.'

[B] His works.] 1. *An Astronomical Description of the late Comet from the 18th of November 1618, to the 16th of December following*, London 1619 in 4to (2). This piece was only a specimen of a larger work, which the author intended to publish in Latin under the title of *Cometographia*, i. e. 'the doctrine of Comets.' He seems indeed to have given a little too much into the vulgar notion of comets being presages of some impending calamity; with which persuasion he has subjoined in this treatise, certain *Moral Prognostics* (3). 2. *Procli Sphaera and Ptolemaei de Hypothesibus Planetarum liber singularis*; to which he added Ptolemy's *Canon regnorum*: both collated with manuscripts, put into Latin, and published by our author with figures: Printed in 1620 in 4to. 3. *Canicularia*; being a treatise concerning the Dog-star and the Canicular Days; published at Oxford in 1648 by Mr Greaves, together with a demonstration of the Heliacal rising of Sirius or the Dog-star for the parallel of Lower Egypt (4). Dr Bainbridge wrote this treatise at the request of Archbishop Usher, but left it imperfect, being prevented either by the troubles, which followed upon the breaking out of the civil war, or by death; so that

(2) Wood, *Atbenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. II. col. 34.

(3) Th. Smith, *Comment. ubi supra*, p. 5.

(4) Wood, *ubi supra*,

he was not able to finish his demonstration of the Heliacal rising of the Dog-star, which, as Mr Greaves says, was the only pillar of that discourse (5). These are all our author's writings that have been published: but these were several dissertations of his prepared for the press, the year after his death, with the approbation of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though the edition of them was never completed. The titles of them are as follows, 1. *Antiprognofticon*, in quo *μαντικῆς astrologicae, caelestium domorum, et triplicitatum commentis, magnique Saturni et Jovis* (cujusmodi anno 1623 et 1643 contigerunt, et viceversa fere quoque deinceps anno, ratis naturæ legibus, recurrent) *conjunctioibus innixæ, vanità breviter detegitur: i. e. 'Antiprognoftics, in which is briefly*

'detected the vanity of Astrological predictions, grounded upon the idle conceits of celestial houses and triplicities, and the grand conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter, such as happened in the years 1623 and 1643, and will recur once in almost every twenty years hereafter, agreeably to the stated laws of nature.' 2. *De Meridianorum sive Longitudinum differentis inveniondis Dissertatio: i. e. 'A Dissertation concerning the Meridians or Longitudes.'* 3. *De Stella Veneris Diatriba: i. e. 'A Dissertation concerning the Planet Venus.'* To these pieces was added, the oration spoken at his funeral by the University Orator, Mr William Strode. They fell into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith, who promised to publish them, if the avarice of the Booksellers, as he terms it, would give him leave (6). Besides these, a specimen of *Celestial Observations*, made by Dr Bainbridge at Oxford, may be seen in Ismael Bullialdus's *Astronomia Philolaica* (7), published at Paris in 1645. But the pieces hitherto mentioned are very inconsiderable in comparison of those other tracts of our author's, which never were published, but left by his will to Archbishop Usher; among whose manuscripts they are preserved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin. Among others, are the following: 1. *A Theory of the Sun*. 2. *A Theory of the Moon*. 3. *A Discourse concerning the Quantity of the Year*. 4. *Two volumes of Astronomical Observations*; and 5. *Nine or ten volumes of Miscellaneous Papers relating to the Mathematics* (8). Dr Bainbridge undertook likewise, a *Description of the British Monarchy*, distinguished into three columns, in order to shew the advantages of the union of England and Scotland under one Monarch; as appears from his dedication of the *Description of the Comet* in 1618 to King James I; but this treatise was either suppressed by him, or is lost (9).

[C] *An odd story concerning Dr Bainbridge related by Dr Walter Pope.*] That writer, in his *Life of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury* (10), speaking of the Doctor, says, 'This was the same Dr Bambridge (*), who was afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, a learned and good Mathematician; yet there goes a story of him, which was in many scholars mouths, when I was first admitted there, that he put upon the school-gate an *Affiche*, or written paper, as the custom is, giving notice, at what time, and upon what subject, the Professor will read, which ended in these words, *lecturus de polis et axis*, under which was written by an unknown hand as follows;

'Doctor Bambridge
'Came from Cambridge,
'To read *de polis et axis*:
'Let him go back again,
'Like a dunce as he came,
'And learn a new Syntaxis.

Dr Smith takes notice of this story, and tells us, the Doctor's reputation had suffered, upon the most trifling account, from the false and malicious calumny of some persons, who charged him with an offence against Syntax in one of his lectures; which absurd and ridiculous story he should have omitted, as unworthy of any reply, had not a certain eminent buffoon inserted that stupid epigram in a late book of his

(5) Smith, *ubi supra*, p. 14.

(6) Id. *ibid.*

(7) Lib. xii. f. 467.

(8) Smith, *ib.* p. 15.

(9) Id. *ib.* p. 16.

(10) Ch. iii.

(* Erroneously for Bainbridge.

his. *In vindicias illius fame, quam licet in re le-
wicula, læsti mendacissima quorundam obtreccatio, quasi
in prælectione habita contra Grammaticæ Syntaxeos
regulas ex ignorantia semel peccasset; quam utpote
scomma absurdum ridiculamque, et quod serid refutetur
prorsus indignum, penitus omissem, nisi insignis quidam
Sannio in nupero libello epigramma illud infectum,
rythmis Anglicanis olim conscribillatum, ad captandum
puerorum plausum, irrisorium planè in modum inseru-*

isset (11). But by Dr Smith's leave, he had no good
reason for being so very angry with this epigram;
which does not, as he pretends, charge Dr Bain-
bridge with committing an error in Syntax in one
of his lectures, but only in the *Affiche* or written
paper; and it is nothing more than a pleasant banter
upon the mistake of *axis* for *axibus*, which might
happen through haste and inadvertency.

(11) Smith, ibi
p. 16.

BAKER (Sir RICHARD) a writer in the XVIIth century, and noted chiefly
for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England [A], was born at
Sissingherst in Kent (a), about the year 1568 (b). His mother was Catherine, daughter
of Sir Reynold Scot of Scots-hall in Kent, Knight: and his father, John Baker of
London, Gentleman, a younger son of Sir John Baker, of Sissingherst abovementioned,
Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy-Council to King Hen-
ry VIII (c). Our author was entered a Commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in 1584,
and matriculated in Michaelmas-term the same year, being in the sixteenth year of his
age (d). After he had spent in this place about three years, in the study of Logic and
Philosophy [B], he went to one of the Inns of Court, and completed his education by
travelling into foreign parts; nothing being omitted by his parents to render him an
accomplished gentleman. In 1594, after the celebration of a solemn Act, he was, with
other persons of quality, created Master of Arts at Oxford (e); and in May 1603 [C],
he received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds (f). At that
time he lived at Highgate near London, and was esteemed a most compleat and learned
person (g). In 1620 he was High-Sheriff of Oxfordshire, being possessed of the manour
of Middle-Aston, and other estates in that county; and was also a Justice of Peace for
the same (h). He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Manwaring of Ightfield
in Shropshire, Knight; which marriage caused him a great deal of trouble, and involved
him into inextricable difficulties. For, engaging unwisely for the payment of some of
that

(e) Ibid. & Fassi,
Vol. I. col. 149.

(f) See his Chron-
icle, in the be-
ginning of the
reign of King
James I.

(g) Wood, ubi
supra, col. 72.

(h) Ibid.

[A] Noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle
of the Kings of England. The whole title of it was
as follows, 'A Chronicle of the Kings of England,
' from the time of the Romans Government unto the
' death of King James. Containing all Passages of
' State and Church, with all other Observations pro-
' per for a Chronicle. Faithfully collected out of
' Authors ancient and modern; and digested into a
' new method. By Sir Richard Baker, Knight.'
The first edition of it was published at London in
1641, fol. the second in 1653, and the third in 1658.
To this third edition was added, 'The reign of King
' Charles the First, with 'A Continuation from his
' death to 1658.' By Edward Phillips, sometimes a
student of Magdalen-Hall, Oxon, and nephew to the
celebrated poet J. Milton. The fourth edition came
out in 1665, having a continuation of the Chronicle
to the coronation of King Charles the Second: in
' which were many material Affairs of State never
' before published; and likewise the most remarkable
' Occurrences relating to his Majesties Restauration,
' by the prudent conduct of General Monck, Duke
' of Albemarle, and Captain-General of all his Ma-
' jesties Armies: as they were extracted out of his
' Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Mem-
' orials of those employed in the most important and
' secret Transactions of that Time.' The account of
the Restauration was said to be mostly done by Sir
Thomas Clarges, whose sister the Duke of Albemarle
had married, and put into the hands of Edward Phil-
lips, who attributing more to the Duke's glory than
was true, got his ill-will (1). This Chronicle was in
great vogue for several years, being a common piece of
furniture in almost every country Esquire's hall. And just-
ly indeed, if what the author of it said in it's commenda-
tion was true, 'That it was collected with so great care
' and diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles should
' be lost, this only would be sufficient to inform pos-
' terity of all passages memorable or worthy to be
' known (2).' But all persons have not entertained
the same favourable opinion of that performance.
One says (3), 'that it being reduced to method, and
' not according to time, purposely to please gentlemen
' and novices, many chief things to be observed
' therein, as name, time, &c. are egregiously false,
' and consequently breed a great deal of confusion in
' the pruser, especially if he be curious or critical.'
Another (5) allows, that 'the author was a person
' of those accomplishments, in wit and language, that
' his Chronicle has been the best read and liked of
' any hitherto published; and that his method is new,

and seems to please the rabble; but, adds he, learned
' men will be of another opinion.' The greatest ad-
versary to that book, was Thomas Blount, Esq (6);
who in 1672, published at Oxford in 12mo, 'Ani-
' maderfions upon Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle,
' and it's Continuation. Wherein many Errors are
' discovered, and some Truths advanced.' In the
preface, he expresses his wonder, to see that Chron-
icle twice printed by itself, and three times with a
Continuation (7), and no person should impugn it,
being stuffed with so many contradictions and repeti-
tions, so many mistimings and mistakings, as of other
things of moment, so especially of the pedigrees,
names, and place of our ancient Nobility, Bishops,
Baronets, Gentry, &c. In the same preface, he calls
the Continuator 'a person of incompetent parts for
' so great an undertaking; and observes, that many
' passages are omitted in the reign of King James,
' which was the time Sir Richard lived in, and had
' been fit for the Continuator to have supplied; who
' instead thereof, has swelled the Continuation into
' such a bulk of indigested matter, as is not at all
' suitable to the rest of the History.' Notwithstanding
these Animadversions, that Chronicle was reprinted
since that time, and sold as well as ever, though no
notice was taken of the animadversions, but all the old
faults remained uncorrected, as Mr Nicolson com-
plained (8). In 1730, a new edition of this Chronicle
was printed at London, fol. with E. Phillips's Con-
tinuation; and a 'second Continuation, containing
' the Reigns of King Charles II from his Restauration,
' King James II, King William and Queen Mary II,
' Queen Anne, and King George I; by an impartial
' Hand.' Many mistakes are said to be corrected
in Sir Richard Baker's part; and E. Phillips's Con-
tinuation is contracted, many publick pieces, lists of
names, &c. being either omitted, or the substance of
them only given in this edition. But, after all, it is
a very mean and jejune performance; and no wife to
be relied on.

(6) See the article
BLOUNT
(THOMAS).

(7) For there was
a fifth edition
published in 1672,
and several since

(8) Hist. Library,
ubi supra, p. 197.

[B] After he had spent in Hart-Hall about three
years in the study of Logic and Philosophy, &c.
He had there for his chamber-fellow the eminent
Henry Wotton, Esq; who was knighted afterwards,
and employed in several embassies (9).

(9) Wood, Athen.
Vol. I. col. 623.

[C] In May 1603 he received the honour of knight-
hood. A. Wood says (10), it was May 17; which
seems to be a mistake, for King James staid no longer
at Theobalds than May the 7th, when he removed
to London (11).

(10) Athen. Vol.
II. col. 72.

(11) See Cam-
den's Ann. of
King James I, in
Compl. History,
Vol. II. —
and Stow's An-
nals, edit. 1633,
fol. p. 822.

(a) Wood, Ath.
Oxon. edit. 1721,
Vol. II. col. 71.
Fuller, by mis-
take, says, that
he was a native
of Oxfordshire,
Worthies of Eng-
land, &c. in Ox-
fordshire, p. 338,
edit. 1662, fol.

(b) For in 1584,
when he was ad-
mitted in Oxford,
he was in the 16th
year of his age.
Wood, ibid. col.
72.

(c) Wood, ibid.
col. 71.

(d) Ibid.

(1) Wood, Ath.
Vol. II. col. 72.
3.

(2) Preface to his
Chronicle.

(3) Wood, ubi
pra, col. 72.

(4) Mr Nicolson,
his Historical
Library, Part I.
196.

- (i) *Ibid.* col. 74. that family's debts (*i*), he was thereby reduced to poverty; and forced to betake himself for shelter to the Fleet-prison, where he composed several books [*D*]; and so reaped, in his old age, the benefit of his learning, when his considerable estate, through suretyship, was very much impaired (*k*). At length, after a life full of troubles and cares, he died very poor in the Fleet-prison in London, February the 18th, 1644-5, and was buried the next day about the middle of the south isle of St Bride's church in Fleet-street (*l*). 'He was a person tall and comely, of a good disposition and admirable discourse, religious, and well read in various faculties, especially in Divinity and History (*m*).' By his wife Margaret abovementioned, he had issue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, Anne, Margaret, &c [*E*].

(8) *Hist. of the Worthies of England*, by T. Fuller, D. D. in *Oxfordsh.* p. 339.

(i) Wood, *Athen. ubi supra*, col. 74.

(m) *Ibid.* col. 72.

[*D*] *Where he composed several books*] Namely, I. *Cato Variiegatus*, or Cato's Moral Distichs varied; in verse. Lond. 1636. II. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the Lord's Prayer*. Lond. 1637, 4to. The fourth edition of it was published in 1640, 4to. A copy of this book being sent to Sir Henry Wotton, formerly his chamber-fellow, before it went to the press, he returned this testimony of it. 'I much admire the very character of your stile, which seemeth unto me to have not a little of the African idea of St Austin's age, full of sweet raptures, and of researching conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equal facility.' III. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the three last Psalms of David*. Lond. 1639. IV. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the fiftieth Psalm*. Lond. 1639. V. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the seven penitential Psalms*, which are, the 6. 32. 38. 51. 102. 130. 143. Lond. 1639, 4to. VI. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the first Psalm*. Lond. 1640, 4to. VII. *Meditations and Disquisitions on the seven consolatory Psalms of David*, namely, the 23. 27. 30. 34. 84. 103. and 116. Lond. 1640, 4to. VIII. *Meditations and Prayers upon the seven days of the week*. Lond. 1640. 16to. which is supposed to be the same with his

'Motive of Prayer on the seven days of the week.' IX. *Apology for Laymens writing in Divinity*. Lond. 1641. 12mo. X. *Short Meditations on the fall of Lucifer* — printed with the Apology. XI. *A Soliloquy of the Soul, or a Pillar of Thoughts, &c.* Lond. 1641. 12mo. XII. *Theatrum redivivum: or the Theatre vindicated*, in answer to Mr Prynne's *Histrio-matrix*, &c. Lond. 1662. 8vo. XIII. *Theatrum triumphans: or a Discourse of plays*, Lond. 1670. 8vo. XIV. He translated from Italian into English, the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi's 'Discourses on Tacitus,' being 53 in number. Lond. 1642. fol. And from French into English, the three first parts of the 'Letters of Monsieur Balzac.' Printed at London 1638, 8vo. and again in 1654, 4to. with additions; and also in 8vo. The fourth and last part seems to have been done by another hand; the preface to it being subscribed F. B. Sir Richard wrote also his own life, and left it in manuscript; but it was destroyed by one Smith, who married one of his daughters (12).

[*E*] *He had issue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, &c.*] His family being left in very moderate circumstances, one of his daughters married — Bury, a Seedman at the Frying-pan in Newgate-street, London; and another, to one Smith of Pater-noster-row (13).

(12) Wood, *Athen. Vol. II.* col. 72.

(13) *Ibid.* col. 73. note (1) and col. 74.

BAKER (THOMAS) an eminent Mathematician in the XVIIth century, was the son of James Baker of Ilton in Somersetshire, Steward to the family of the Strangways of Dorsetshire (*a*). He was born at Ilton about the year 1625 (*b*), and entered in Magdalen-Hall Oxon. in the beginning of the year 1640. On the 27th of April 1645 he was elected scholar of Wadham-College; and did some little service to King Charles I within the garrison of Oxford. He was admitted Bachelor of Arts April 10, 1647, but left the university without completing that degree by determination. Afterwards he became Vicar of Bishop's-Nymmet in Devonshire, where he lived many years in a most retired and studious condition. What he chiefly applied himself to, was the study of the Mathematics, in which he made a very great progress: But in his obscure neighbourhood, he was neither known, nor sufficiently valued for his eminent skill in that useful branch of knowledge, till he published a book entitled 'The Geometrical Key, &c [*A*].' A little before his death, the members of the Royal Society sent him some mathematical queries: to which he returned so satisfactory an answer, that they gave him a medal with an inscription full of honour and respect. He died at Bishop's-Nymmet aforementioned, on the 5th of June 1690, and was buried in his own church (*c*).

(a) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 850, edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) See Wood, *Ibid.* He was about 15 years old in 1640.

(c) Wood, *ubi supra*.

[*A*] *The Geometrical Key, &c.*] The whole title of the book, is, 'The Geometrical Key; or, the Gate of Equations unlocked; or, a new Discovery of the Construction of all Equations, howsoever affected, not exceeding the fourth degree, viz. of Linears, Quadratics, Cubics, Biquadratics, and the finding of all their Roots, as well false as true, without the use of Mesolabe, Trisection of Angles, without Reduction, Depression, or any other previous Preparations of Equations, by a Circle, and any (and that one only) Parabole, &c.' London 1684, 4to in Latin and English. An account is given of this book in the Philosophical Transactions (1). And it is there observed, that the author, in order to free us of the trouble of preparing the equation by taking away the second term, shews us how to construct all affected equations not exceeding the fourth power, by the intersection of a circle and Parabola, without omission or change of any terms. And a circle and a parabola being the most simple, it follows, that the way which our author has chosen is the best. In the

book (to render it intelligible even to those who have read no conics) the author shews, how a parabola arises from the section of a cone, then how to describe it *in plano*, and from that construction demonstrates, that the squares of the ordinates are one to another, as the correspondent *sagittæ* or intercepted diameters; then he shews, that if a line be inscribed in a parabola perpendicular to any diameter, a rectangle made of the segments of the inscript, will be equal to a rectangle made of the intercepted diameter and parameter of the axis. From this last propriety our author deduces the universality of his central rule for the solution of all biquadratic and cubic equations, however affected or varied in terms or signs. After the synthesis the author shews the analysis or method, by which he found this rule; which, in the opinion of Dr R. Plot (who was then Secretary to the Royal Society) is so good, that nothing can be expected more easy, simple, or universal.

(1) Vol. XIV. No. 157. p. 549, 550.

BALDOCK (RALPH DE), Bishop of London in the reigns of Edward I and II (*a*), was educated at Merton-College in Oxford (*b*), became Archdeacon of Middlesex, and

(a) Hengr. Wharton, *Hist. de Episc. Londinens.* p. 108, edit. 1695.

(b) Godwin, de *Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Lond. an.* 1305.

and, in 1294, Dean of St Paul's (c). The See of London being vacant by the death of Richard de Gravesend, Baldock was unanimously chosen, September the 20th 1304 (d). But, his election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome [A], and, having obtained the Pope's confirmation, was consecrated at Lyons by Peter Hispanus Cardinal of Alba, January the 30th, 1306 (e). Being returned into England, he made profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishop in the church of Canterbury, March the 29th, 1306 (f), and was enthroned, the 27th of July, in St Paul's church (g). The same year, he was appointed by the Pope one of the Commissioners for examination of the articles alledged against the Knights Templars (h). The year following, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England: but, Edward I dying soon after, he held that post scarce a year (i). December the 2d, 1308, this Prelate, with the approbation of the Chapter, settled a stipend on the Chancellor of St Paul's, for reading lectures in Divinity in that church, according to a constitution of his predecessor Richard de Gravesend (k). He contributed two hundred marks towards building the chapel of St Mary [B] on the east side of St Paul's. He founded also a chantry of two priests in the said church, near the altar of St Erkenwald (l). He was a person of a very amiable character [C] both for morals and learning, and deserved well of his country by his writings, which were; I. *Historia Anglica*, or 'An History of the British Affairs down to his own Time.' It is not now extant, though Leland says (m) he saw it at London [D]: II. A Collection of the *Statutes and Constitutions* of the church of St Paul's, extant in the library of that church in 1559 (n). Bishop Baldock died at Stepney, July the 24th, 1313, having sat from his consecration a little more than seven years, and was buried under a marble monument in the chapel of St Mary (o).

There was about the same time a ROBERT DE BALDOCK, a Canon of London, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who, upon the vacancy of the See of London by the death of Bishop Baldock, was (together with John Colchester, another Canon) presented by the Chapter of London to the Chapter of Canterbury (that See being likewise vacant) for the choice of one of them to be official of the diocese of London (p). This Robert Baldock was in great favour with King Edward II, who made him his Chancellor, and nominated him to the bishoprick of Norwich, into which he was elected about the middle of the year 1325, and confirmed by the Archbishop in the month of August. But he could not obtain the See, by reason of a Papal provision in favour of William de Ayremin. Soon after, he lost his liberty and life by the intestine sedition, which deprived King Edward of his crown: for, being seized by the enraged populace, he was dragged to

[A] His election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome.] During the vacancy of the See, the Archbishop had visited the church of St Paul's, and suspended three of the Canons, one of whom was Peter de Dene. Afterwards, when the Chapter met for the choice of a Bishop, the three deprived Canons demanded their seat among the rest; but being refused it, they protested against the election, and appealed to the Pope. The chapter nevertheless proceeded in their choice; after which Peter de Dene, in the name of the three Canons, appealed a second time against the election and confirmation, and obtained from the Pope a citation to the Bishop elect, to appear on a certain day at Rome, before Landulph Cardinal Deacon of St Angelo, who was appointed to hear and determine the cause. Accordingly the new Bishop set out for Rome the 8th of September (1); but Pope Benedict dying in the interim, Cardinal Landulph referred the cause to his successor Pope Clement. In short, Baldock and Peter appeared on the day assigned; but, Peter renouncing his appeal, and dropping the cause, the Pope ratified Baldock's election and confirmation, and ordered him to be consecrated (2).

[B] The chapel of St. Mary.] It was called the *New Work* *, and in 1312 was paved with marble. Three years after, a great part of the spire, being decayed with age, was taken down, and rebuilt with greater magnificence; and on the top was fixed a very large cross, in which were placed the relics of several saints (3). As the magnificent cathedral of St Paul's was now finished by the building this chapel, it will not be improper in this place to mention the conjecture of our great Antiquarian Mr Camden, that a temple of Diana formerly stood upon the same spot. But take it in his own words, as translated by his learned editor (4). 'Some have fancied that the temple of Diana formerly stood here; and there are circumstances that strengthen their conjecture; as the old adjacent buildings being called in their records *Diana Camera*, i. e. the chamber of Diana; the digging up in the church-yard in Edward the first's reign (as we find by our annals) an incredible number of ox-heads; which the common people at that time, not without great admiration, looked upon to have been *Gentile-sacrifices*; and the learned

know, that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in honour of Diana. And when I was a boy, I have seen a stag's head fixed upon a spear (agreeable enough to the sacrifices of Diana) and carried about in the very church with great solemnity and sounding of horns. And I have heard, that the stag, which the family of Baud in Essex were bound to pay for certain lands, was used to be received at the steps of the choir by the members of this church, in their sacerdotal robes, and with garlands of flowers about their heads. Whether this was a custom before the Bauds were obliged to the payment of this stag, I know not; but certain it is, this ceremony favours more of the worship of Diana and the Gentile errors, than of the Christian religion. And it is beyond all doubt, that some of these strange rites did creep into the Christian religion; which the primitive Christians either closed with, out of that natural inclination mankind has to superstition, or bore with them in the beginning, with design to draw over the Gentiles by little and little to the worship of the true God.' Whether these arguments are sufficient to support Mr Camden's conjecture, is not our business here to enquire.

[C] He was a person of very amiable character.] Pits tells us (5), he was a man of a mild and gentle disposition, a wonderful affability, and incredible sweetness of manners; which qualifications of mind, joined with an extraordinary piety, and no less learning, recommended him to the favour of great men and Princes, especially the Kings Edward I and II. *Vir miti placidoque ingenio, mira affabilitate, incredibili morum suavitate. Propter quas animi dotes cum singulari pietate et eruditione pari conjunctas magnatum et principum benevolentiam gratiamque mirifice conciliavit. Imprimis eum magno in pretio habuerunt Reges Edwardus primus, ejusque filius Edwardus secundus.*

[D] Leland says, he saw it at London.] That writer tells us (6), that, carefully perusing John Abbot of Burgh's *Annals of the English Affairs*, and coming to the year 1292, he met with a passage, in which honourable mention was made of Baldock's history. This put our Antiquarian upon enquiring after the book, which at length he found in the library of St Paul's church, and read it through. *Nuper enim*

(k) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. Wicklow. an. 1304.
 (d) Wharton, ibid.
 (e) Epistola Clementis Papæ, in Registr. Cant. data Febr. 1, 1306.
 (f) Registr. Cranborn.
 (g) Wharton, ubi supra, p. 109.
 (h) Th. Stubbs, Act. Pontiff. Ebor. apud X. Scriptorum col. 1730.
 (i) Adam Merimouth. Continuat. Matth. Westm. ap. Wharton, ib. p. 110.
 (k) Registr. Baldock.
 (l) Adam Merimouth ubi supra.
 (m) Comment. de Script. Brit. n. 333.
 (n) Dugdale's Monast. Angl. T. 111. p. 365.
 (o) Adam Merimouth ubi supra, p. 111.

p) Ex Instrum. autograph.

1) Matth. Westm. Hist. ap. Fear. Wharton, Hist. de Episcop. Convent. &c. p. 108, 109, et ibid. 1695.

2) Epistola Clementis Papæ in Registr. Cant. ata Lugduni, Febr. 1, 1306.

3) Novum Opus.

4) Adam Merimouth. apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 111.

5) See Camden's Britannia by Bishop Gibson, 2d Ed. Vol. I. col. 77.

(5) De illustr. Angl. Scriptorum. an. 1313. n. 459.

(6) De Script. Brit. c. 333.

(7) Adam Merim. ubi supra.

to the prison of Newgate, where he died in a most wretched condition, and was buried, May the 8th, in St Paul's church (q).

tum studiose legerem Joannis, Abbatis Burgenfis, Annales de rebus Anglicis, et pervenirem ad annum D. 1292, incidi in locum, ubi honestam mentionem fecit

historie Radulphi Baldochii. Hinc ego, justam occasione, quaesivi librum non contemnendum, et tandem Londini in fano Pauli inveni et perlegi. T

(a) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. III. n. 27.

(b) Gervaf. Aët. Pontif. Cant. ap. X. Scriptor. col. 1675.

(c) Annal. Ecl. Wigorn. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, Vol. I. p. 477.

(d) Canon. Lichfield. de success. arch. Cant. apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 113.

BALDWIN, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, was born of obscure parents at Exeter, where he received a liberal education, and in his younger years taught school (a). Afterwards, entering into Holy Orders, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter. But, soon quitting that dignity and the world together, he took the habit of the Cistercian order in the monastery of Ford in Devonshire, and in a few years became Abbot thereof (b). From thence he was promoted to the See of Worcester, and consecrated August the 10th 1180 (c). Upon the death of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury in 1184 (d), he was translated to that See, not without some difficulties in the way of his election [A], being the first of his order in England, that was ever advanced to the archiepiscopal dignity (e). He was enthroned at Canterbury the 19th of May 1185, and the same day received the pall from Pope Lucius III (f), whose successor Urban III appointed him his Legate for the diocese of Canterbury (g). Soon after he was settled in his See, he began to build a church and monastery at Hackington near Canterbury, in honour of St Thomas Becket, for the reception of secular Priests: but, being violently opposed by the Monks of Canterbury, supported by the Pope's authority, he was obliged to desist [B]. The 3d of September 1190, he solemnly performed the ceremony

(e) Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Ecl. edit. S. Drake, 1729, p. 214.

(f) Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 1676.

(g) Rad. de Decret. de arch. Cant. apud Wharton, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 692.

[A] *Some difficulties in the way of his election.* The See of Canterbury being vacant, the King came to Reading, and summoned thither the Bishops and Monks of Canterbury, in order to proceed to an election. And here there happened a contest between the Monks and the Bishops: The Monks pretended to the privilege of voting first, and the greatest interest in the election; for which they produced the King's charter. The Bishops, on the other side, argued against the authority of the charter; that it was a grant against common right, and made in prejudice of the Church of England; insinuating at the same time, that Suffragans ought to have the liberty of choosing their Metropolitan. The dispute running high, the assembly broke up without effect: But not long after, the King convened the Bishops and Monks of Canterbury at London for the same purpose. Here the Monks reviving the dispute, Gilbert, Bishop of London, who, in right of his See, had the privilege of voting first, chose Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester. All the rest of the Bishops concurred in this election; but the Monks of Canterbury, refusing to comply, appealed to the Pope, and went off. The Bishops presented their elect of Canterbury to the King, who received him as Archbishop; and he was saluted as such by Richard, Geoffry, and John, the King's sons. Soon after, the King came to Canterbury, to satisfy the peevishness of the Monks, and put an end to the contest. And, at last, giving them the formality of a new choice, he prevailed with them to pitch upon Baldwin. Whereupon Alan, Prior of Christ-Church, with a select number of the Chapter, came to London, with letters of deputation from the whole house; and meeting in the Chapter-house at Westminster, chose Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury. And that they might not seem to own any thing done already, or assent to the Bishop's election, they sung *Te Deum*, led the Archbishop to the altar, and saluting him on the cheek, presented him to the King and his sons, when the same ceremony was repeated to him (1).

[B] *He was obliged to desist from building the church and monastery of Hackington*] The circumstances of this affair merit a particular detail. You are to know then, that the Monks of Canterbury having been troublesome at the late election, the King and the Archbishop projected an expedient to check their influence, and render them less offensive for the future. This was by founding a society of secular Canons, and building a college upon St Stephen's church-yard at Hackington, about half a mile from Canterbury. This college was to consist of twenty canonries, one of which was to be endowed by the King, and the rest by each of the suffragans of the province. These benefices, as they became vacant, were to be filled up by the respective founders. The Archbishop's part was to build the church and the college, for which he had drawn a very magnificent model. The foundation was to be in honour of Arch-

bishop Becket, whose memory and martyrdom made so great a blaze in Christendom; and the King's establishing a Prebend was to be, as it were, a perpetual penance upon the crown for the death of that Prelate. These appearances gave so honourable a colour to the undertaking, that the Pope gave Baldwin a commission to pursue his model, and granted him a fourth part of the offerings made from that day forward at Becket's tomb. But, in truth, the secret of the project was, to draw the election of the Archbishop from the convent of Christ's-church to this new foundation; it being reasonably supposed, that the canons would prove more manageable upon such occasions than the Monks, and be influenced by the directions of their respective patrons. In short, there were great preparations of materials; the building was begun, and carried on with great diligence; and several estates were settled for the maintenance of the Canons. But the Monks at last penetrated the design, and, perceiving how prejudicial it would be to their convent, made a heavy complaint to the Pope upon that subject, setting forth, that the Archbishop designed to strip them of their antient privileges; that his intention in building this collegiate church, was, to make the holy Christm, and consecrate Bishops there, to injure their convent in it's authority and revenues, and to remove the archiepiscopal see to this new foundation. To give this remonstrance the greater force, they complained, that Baldwin was in a manner forced upon them by the over-bearing influence of the Court; that he had shewn himself disaffected to their society; that he had seized the customary presents made to them, deprived them of their advowsons, expelled some of their members, and excommunicated others. The Archbishop, it seems, had sent agents to Rome, to complain of the stubborn and intractable behaviour of the Monks, and particularly their intolerable pride and perverseness in respect to the late election. These commissioners represented, that Baldwin was both their Metropolitan and Abbot; that the Archbishops, in this double character, had all along had the disposal of every thing belonging to the See of Canterbury; that the placing and displacing the Prior, Sub-Prior, and all other officers and members of the society, belonged to them; whence they argued *à fortiori*, that, if the Archbishop could make and unmake the Prior, other business of less consequence must, of course, fall within his jurisdiction. But, to return to the remonstrance of the Monks. They informed the Pope farther, that the Archbishop had suspended their Prior, and some others of their members, who were sent to his Holiness with their appeal; that he had published an order to forbid the Monks going out of the cloister upon any occasion whatever; that he had sent Clercs into all parts of the kingdom, to preach up a contribution for the new church; that he had brought the crown into his interests, and was become irresistible in his encroachments; that he endeavoured to make the King and the

(1) Gervaf. Aët. Pontif. Cant. ap. X. Scriptor. col. 1675, 1676. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. apud Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 623, & M. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Ecl. edit. S. Drake, 1729, p. 214, 215.

ceremony of crowning King Richard I at Westminster (b). The same year, the King (b) *ibid.* having given the See of York to his bastard brother Geoffry Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop Baldwin took this occasion to assert the pre-eminence of the See of Canterbury, forbidding the Bishops of England to receive consecration from any other than the Archbishop of Canterbury (i). The next year, designing to follow King Richard to the Holy Land [C], he made progress into Wales [D], where he performed mass pontifically in all the cathedral churches, and induced several of the Welsh to join the Crusade (k). Afterwards, embarking at Dover, with Hubert Bishop of Salisbury, he arrived at the King's army in Syria; where being seized with a mortal distemper, he died at the siege of Acres or Ptolemais [E], and was buried there (l). His character [F], and

the Bishops the judges of the controversy; and that by this means the convent would be brought under this dilemma, either to incur the displeasure of the King and kingdom, or be forced to betray their society, and put a contempt upon his Holiness. But, notwithstanding this application to Rome, the Archbishop went on with his structure, consecrated the church, and installed several Prebendaries. Whereupon the Prior Honorius posted to Rome with all speed imaginable. The King being willing to put an end to the contest, and understanding that the Monks refused to refer the difference to himself and the Bishops, went down to Canterbury, in hopes to bring the convent off from their obstinacy. But the Monks rejected the King's mediation, and alledged in excuse, that the matter lay before the Pope, and could not be referred to any other decision. An accommodation being thus impracticable, the King and the Archbishop sent their agents to Rome; who, besides their instructions, were charged with letters to the Pope from each of the Bishops of the province of Canterbury. The Pope, upon the hearing of both parties, gave judgment in favour of the Prior and Monks, and ordered the Archbishop to restore the Religious he had displaced. Baldwin took little notice of this order, and, instead of restoring the Monks, gave the convent a new provocation by consecrating the Chirm at London. The Monks address his Holiness for relief, and Baldwin receives a menacing order from the Pope to pull down the new church, and proceed no farther in the undertaking. And thus the King, the Archbishop, and his suffragans, were over-ruled by the Pope's authority, and suffered themselves to be baffled by the Monks. Not long after, Pope Urban III being dead, and Gregory VIII advanced to the Papal chair, the Archbishop, expecting more favourable treatment from this Pope, attempted to carry his point another way. To this end he purchased, of the Bishop and convent of Rochester, a manor at Lambeth in Surrey, and ordered all the timber and materials, prepared for the college at Hackington, to be brought thither. And here, where the palace of the Archbishops now stands, he began to build upon the old plan; but did not live long enough to carry it on (2).

[C] — *Designing to follow the King to the Holy Land.* The Christians in Palestine being hard pressed by the Mohammedan Prince Saladin, and despairing to restore their affairs by their own strength, Baldwin King of Jerusalem sent Heraclius the Patriarch, and the Masters of the Knights Hospitalers and Templars, ambassadors to the King of England, to entreat him to send speedy relief to the Holy Land, and to present him with a Royal Standard, and the keys of our Saviour's Sepulchre, of the Tower of David, and of the City of Jerusalem. They had an audience of King Henry at Reading, where they delivered a very pressing letter from Pope Lucius III. The King promised to let them know his intentions upon the first Sunday in Lent; at which time the Lords spiritual and temporal being convened, the convention came to a resolution, that Philip King of France should be consulted, and so broke up. As for the King of England, he gave all his subjects, both Clergy and Laity, leave to undertake the Crusade. Upon which permission, a great number of Earls, Barons, and gentlemen of note, and, among the rest, our Archbishop of Canterbury, engaged in the undertaking. The next year, the Kings of England and France had an interview; at which time, my author says, the sign of the cross was plainly seen in the sky by all the company; which miraculous appearance encouraged great numbers to the expedition; and, the undertaking being resolved upon, the Kings took leave of each

other to prepare for the service (3). But King Henry dying soon after, his son and heir Richard I took upon him the execution of this design, and accordingly transported an army into Palestine (4).

[D] *He made a progress into Wales.* The Archbishop was accompanied in this journey by Giraldus Cambrensis, who has described it at large (5), with a plentiful mixture of miracles, prodigies, and other superstitious accounts, too tedious and ridiculous to be set down in this place. After his return, he held a council at Westminster, in which he pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should invade or disturb the rights of the See of Canterbury during his absence (6).

[E] *He died at the siege of Acres or Ptolemais.* At his arrival in the Holy Land, he found the affairs of the Christians in an ill situation, and the army much distressed by sickness and famine. He was not at all wanting to the cause, but endeavoured to encourage the troops both by his preaching and his purse. Finding himself near death, he made Hubert Bishop of Salisbury his executor, and ordered him to distribute his effects among the soldiers at his own discretion; which office that Prelate faithfully and exactly performed (7).

[F] *His character.* Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied this Prelate, both in his progress thro' Wales, and in his expedition to the Holy Land, tells us (8), he was of a dark complexion, an open and pleasing aspect, a middling stature, and a spare, but healthful, constitution of body; modest and sober, of great abstinence, of few words, and not easily provoked to anger. The only fault he charges him with, is, a remissness in the execution of his pastoral office, arising from an innate lenity of temper; whence Pope Urban III, in a letter addressed to our Archbishop, began thus, *Urbanus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Monacho ferventissimo, Abbati calido, Episcopo tepido, Archiepiscopo remisso. i. e.* Urban, &c. to the most fervent Monk, warm Abbot, lukewarm Bishop, and remiss Archbishop; plainly intimating, that he behaved better as a Monk than as an Abbot, and as a Bishop than as an Archbishop. With respect to his temperance, he is said never to have eaten flesh from the time he became a Monk to his death: concerning which particular, Brompton relates (9), that, once on a journey, he was met by a very lean and skinny old woman; who asking him, if it was true, that he had never eaten flesh, he answered, it was. It is false, replied the old woman, for you have eaten my flesh to the very bones. The Archbishop demanding what she meant, she acquainted him, that some of his officers had taken from her a cow, which was her only support. The Archbishop, not offended at her freedom, promised to repair her loss with as good a cow. I shall subjoin four verses by Joseph of Exeter, (the best Poet of that age, whose book passes under the name of *Cornelius Nepos*) addressed to Archbishop Baldwin (10).

In numerum jam crescit honor, te tertia poscit
Infula, jam meminit Wigornia, Cantia discit,
Romanus meditatur apex, et naufraga Petri
Ductorem in mediis expectat Cymba procellis.

Now thy vast honours with thy virtues grow,
Now a third mitre waits thy sacred brow.
Deserted Wigorn mourns that thou are gone,
And Kent's glad sons thy happy conduct own.
Now Rome desires thee; Peter wants thy hand,
To guide his leaky vessel safe to land.

2) Gervaf. de
Difcord. inter mo-
nach. et Baldw.
apud X Scriptor.
col. 1303, &c. Id.
Arch. Pontif. Cant.
ibid. col. 1676.
4) Parker, ubi
supra, p. 216, 217,
18.

(i) Parker, ubi
supra, p. 219.

(k) Girald. Cambrensis. de reb. à se gestis. c. 17, &c. apud Wharton, ib. p. 490.

(l) Gervaf. ibid. col. 1673.

(3) R. Hoveden, ubi supra, p. 628, 629, 630.

(4) Id. ib. p. 664.

(5) De Reb. à se gestis. Apud Wharton, Angliæ Sacra. Vol. I.

(6) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 1105.

(7) Rad. de Dialecto, Imag. Historiar. apud X Scriptor. col. 658. M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 219.

(8) De Vit. sec. Episc. costan. ap. Wharton, Angliæ Sacra, Vol. II. p. 429, 430. Idem, de jure et statu Menev. Eccles. ibid. p. 523.

(9) Chron. J. Br. apud X Scriptor. col. 1143.

(10) Apud Camd. Britannia, by Bishop Gibson. fol. Vol. I. col. 622.

and works [G], are taken notice of in the remarks.

[G] His works.] He wrote several Tracts; particularly, I. *De Sacramento Altaris: i. e.* 'Of the Sacrament of the Altar.' II. *De Commendatione Fidei: i. e.* 'Faith recommended.' III. *De Orthodoxis Dogmatibus: i. e.* 'Of Orthodox Opinions.' IV. *De Sæditis Hereticorum: i. e.* 'Of Heretical Sects.' V. *De Unitate Charitatis: i. e.* 'Of the Unity of Charity.' VI. *De Amore: i. e.* 'Of Love.' VII. *De Sacerdotio Joannis Hircani: i. e.* 'Of the Priesthood of John Hircanus.' VIII. *De Eruditione Giraldi: i. e.* 'Of the Learning of Giraldus.' IX. Thirty-three Ser-

mons. X. *De Historiis Regum: i. e.* 'Concerning the Histories of Kings.' XI. *Contra Henricum Winthonsensem: i. e.* 'Against Henry Bishop of Winchester.' XII. *De Commendatione Virginitatis: i. e.* 'In Praise of Virginity.' XIII. *De Angeli Nuntio: i. e.* 'Concerning the Message of the Angel.' XIV. *De Crucis: i. e.* 'Of the Cross.' XV. *De Mythologia: i. e.* 'Concerning Mythology.' XVI. *Carmen Devotionis: i. e.* 'A Devotional Poem.' XVII. *Epistole: i. e.* 'Letters (11)'. Our author's works were collected and published by Bertrand Tiffier (12), in 1662. T

(11) Bale, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 27. Pits, de illustr. Angl. Script. æt. 1193, n. 270.

(12) *Apud Script. B'hoth. Cæstræciens. Tom. V.*

BALÉ (JOHN), in Latin *Baleus* or *Baleus*, Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, about the middle of the XVIth century, was born the 21st of November 1495, at Cove, a small village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents, whose names were Henry and Margaret, being incumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich (a); and from thence was sent to Jesus College in Oxford (b). He was educated in the Romish religion; but, afterwards, at the instigation of the Lord Wentworth, turned Protestant [A]. This exposed him to the persecution of the Romish clergy, against which he was protected by Lord Cromwell, favourite of King Henry VIII. But, that Lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low-Countries, where he resided eight years; during which time he wrote several pieces in the English tongue (c). He was recalled into England by King Edward VI (d), and obtained the living of Bishop's Stocke in the county of Southampton (e). The 15th of August 1552, he was nominated by King Edward, then at Southampton, to the See of Ossory [B]; and, the 25th of March following (f), was consecrated, at Dublin, by the Archbishop of Dublin (g) [C]. He underwent a variety

(e) See an old piece intitled *The Vocation of Joban Bale to the Bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande*, &c. Rome, 1533, fol. 16.

(f) Not the 2d of February, as Jac. Waræus (*de Script. Hibern.* l. ii. c. 5.) says.

(g) *The Vocation of Joban Bale, &c.* fol. 16—18.

[A] He turned Protestant.] Let us hear his own account of his conversion. 'In omni literarum barbarie ac mentis cecitate illic et Cantabrigia pervagabar, nullum habens tutorem aut Mecenatem; donec, Lucente Dei verbo, ecclesiæ vocari cœpissent ad veræ theologia purissimos fontes. In eo autem splendore ortus novi Hierusalem, non à monacho aut sacrificio vocatus, sed ab illustri domino Wenfordo, tanquam a Centurione illo qui Christum Dei filium esse dicebat, serio excitatus, deformitatem meam quam primum vidi et agnovi. Protinûque divina bonitate ab arido monte in floridam ac fecundum Evangelii vallem transferebar; ubi omnia reperi non in arena, sed supra solidam petram ædificata. Unde scelestissimi Antichristi characterem illico abradi, jugaque ejus omnia à me longe projecit, ut esset in fortem et libertatem datum filiorum Dei. Et ne deinceps in aliquo esset tam execrabilis Bestiæ creatura, uxorem accepi Dorotheam fidelem, diviniæ huic voci aulfatans, Qui non continet, nubat (1). — I wandered in utter ignorance and blindness of mind both there (at Norwich) and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; till, the word of God shining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any Monk or Priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that Centurion who declared Christ to be the son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity. And immediately, through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowry and fertile valley of the Gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked Antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the sons of God. And that I might never more serve so execrable a beast, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry.' Bishop Nicholson would insinuate, that a dislike of celibacy was the grand motive of Bale's conversion. 'He was converted (says he) by the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth; tho' (in truth) his wife Dorothy seems to have had a great hand in that happy work (2).'

[B] He was nominated — to the See of Ossory.] We have a very particular account of our author's advancement to this bishopric, his sufferings in Ireland, and his escape from thence, in a piece written by himself, intitled, *The Vocation of Joban Bale to the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecutions in the same, and final delyverance*. Printed at Rome in

1553, in a black letter, 12mo. Here we are told (3), that our author, who had lived retired at Bishop's Stocke, waited upon the King, who was then at Southampton, about five miles from his living. His Majesty, who had been informed that he was dead, was surprized to see him, and, the bishopric of Ossory being then vacant, summoned his Privy Council, and appointed him to that See: whereupon the Lords present wrote the following letter to our author.

To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After our hartye commendacions. For as much as the Kinges Majestie is minded in consideracyon of your learninge, wysdome, and other vertuous qualities, to bestowe upon you the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande presently voyde, we have thought mete both to give you knowledge thereof, and therewithall to lette you understande, that his Majestie wolde ye made your repayre thither to the courte as soon as conveniently ye may, to thende that if ye be inclined to embrace this charge, his Higbnesse may at your comynge give such ordre for the farther proceedinge with you herein, as shall be convenient. And thus we bid you hartely farewell. From Southampton the 16 daye of August 1552. Your lovinge frendes, W. Winchestre, J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, T. Cbeine, J. Gate, W. Cecil.

Our author tells us (4), he refused this offer at first, alledging his poverty, age, and want of health. But the King not admitting this excuse, Dr Bale went to London about six weeks after, where every thing relating to his election and confirmation were dispatched in a few days, without any manner of charge or expence. On the 19th of December he set out, with his books and other effects, and arrived at Bristol, where he waited 26 days for a passage to Ireland. On the 21st of January, he embarked, with his wife and one servant, and in two days arrived at Waterford; and from thence went by land to Dublin.

[C] He was consecrated — by the Archbishop of Dublin.] The Archbishop was assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Down; and at the same time Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of our author's, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. There was some dispute about the form of consecration. The Dean of the Church, Dr Lockwood (*), desired the Lord Chancellor, that he would not permit the form, in the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth in England by Act of Parliament, to be used on this occasion, alledging that it would cause a tumult, and that it was not as yet consented to by the Parliament of Ireland. The Lord Chancellor proposed the affair to the Arch-

(3) *The Vocation, &c.* fol. 16.

(4) *Ib.* fol. 17.

(*) *Bla: made to myght euel be called, says our author.*

(a) *Baleus, de Iseplo, apud Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. c. ult. See also Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 502.*

(b) *Fuller's Worthies of England, Suffolk, p. 60.*

(c) See the remark [I].

(d) *Baleus, ubi supra, & Abel Rediv. ubi supra, p. 503—506.*

(1) *Baleus, de Iseplo, apud Script. Brit. Centur. VIII. c. ult.*

(2) *Nicholson's English Historical Library, Part ii. c. 8.*

of persecutions from the Popish party in Ireland [D]; till at length having intimations given him, that the Romish Priests were conspiring his death, he withdrew from his See, and lay concealed in Dublin (b). Afterwards, endeavouring to make his escape in a small trading vessel in that port, he was taken prisoner by the Captain of a Dutch man-of-war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel, and effects. This ship was drove by stress of weather into St Ives in Cornwall, where our Prelate was taken up on suspicion of treason, but was soon discharged (i) [E]. From thence, after a cruize of several days, the ship arrived in Dover Road, where the poor Bishop was again put in danger by a false accusation [F]. Arriving afterwards in Holland, he was kept a prisoner three weeks, and then obtained his liberty on the payment of thirty pounds (k) [G]. From Holland he retired to Basil in Switzerland; and continued abroad during the short reign of Queen Mary. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his bishopric in Ireland, contenting himself with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury (l), to which he was promoted the 15th of January, 1560 (m). This Prelate is author of a celebrated work, containing the *Lives of the most eminent Writers of Great Britain* in Latin [H], besides several other pieces mentioned in the remark

(b) *ib. fol. 31.*

(i) *ib. fol. 32.*
36.

(k) *ib. p. 37-41.*

(l) *Baſilius & Waræus, ubi ſupra. See alſo Abel Redivivus, p. 506, 507.*

(m) *Rymer. Fœd. T. XV. p. 561.*

bishop and the Bishops, who agreed in opinion with the Dean. Dr Goodacre wished it might be otherwise, but was unwilling to dispute the matter with them. But our author positively refused being consecrated according to the old Popish form, alledging, that, as England and Ireland were under one King, they were both bound to the observance of the same laws. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor ordered the ceremony to be performed according to the new book, and afterwards entertained the Bishops at dinner (5).

[D] *He underwent a variety of persecutions from the Popish party in Ireland.* The reader may see a full account of them in our author's own narrative (6), which it would be tedious here to transcribe. We shall only observe, that all his endeavours to reform the manners of his diocese, to correct the lewd practices and debaucheries of the Priests, to abolish the Mass, and to establish the use of the New Book of Common Prayer set forth in England, were not only rendered abortive by the death of King Edward, and accession of Queen Mary, but exposed him so much to the fury of the Papists, that his life was frequently endangered thereby. Once in particular (7), they murdered five of his domestics, who were making hay in a meadow near his house, and would probably have done the same by him, if the Sovereign of Kilkenny, hearing of it, had not come to his defence, with an hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen.

[E] *He was taken up on suspicion of treason, but was soon discharged.* The accusation was brought against the Bishop by one Walter an Irishman, who was Pilot of the Dutch ship, in hopes of coming in for a share of the Bishop's money, which was in the Captain's hands. When our author was brought to his examination before one of the Bailiffs of the town, he desired the Bailiff to ask Walter, How long he had known him, and what treason he (the Bishop) had committed. Walter replied, he had never heard of, nor seen him, till he was brought into that ship. Then said the Bailiff, What treason have you known by this honest gentleman since? For I promise you he looks like an honest man. Mary, said Walter, he would have fled into Scotland (*). Why, said the Bailiff, know you any impediment why he should not have gone into Scotland? If it be treason for a man, having business in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. Walter was so confounded by what the Bailiff said, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the Captain and Purser coming in deposed in favour of the Bishop, assuring the Bailiff that he was a very honest man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, and deserved no credit. For the Captain, our author observes, was afraid lest the money he had stripped him of should be taken out of his hands. Thus he was discharged (8).

[F] *The Bishop was again put in danger by a false accusation.* One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an English Pirate, persuaded the Dutch Captain and his crew, that our author had been the principal instrument in putting down the mass in England, and in keeping the Bishop of Winchester, Dr Gardiner, so long in the Tower; and that he had poisoned the King. With this information the Captain and Purser went ashore, carrying with them our author's episcopal seal, and two letters sent him from Conrad Gesner, and Alexander Alefius, with commendations from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philip Melancthon, Jo-

achimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, who were desirous to inform themselves in the doctrines and antiquities of the English Church. They had likewise taken from him the letter from the Council (9), concerning his appointment to the bishopric of Osfory. These things aggravated the charge against him. For the episcopal seal was construed to be a counterfeiting of the King's seal, the two letters were heretical, and the Council's letter a conspiracy against the Queen. When the Captain returned to the ship, it was proposed to carry the Bishop to London; but at length they resolved to send the Purser and one more, with a message to the Council in relation to the affair. However this resolution was dropped; upon our author's strong remonstrances to the Captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ransom, on his arrival in Holland.

[G] *He obtained his liberty, on the payment of thirty pounds.* He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the house of one of the four owners of the ship; who treated the Bishop with great civility and kindness. He had but twenty-six days allowed him for raising the money agreed upon for his ransom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time he was sometimes threatened to be thrown into the common goal, sometimes to be brought before the magistrates, sometimes to be left to the examination of the Clergy, at other times to be sent to London, or else to be delivered to the Queen's ambassador at Brussels. At last his kind host interposed in his behalf, and desired the Captain to consider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commission, in mistaking a subject of England, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the desired effect, and the Captain was persuaded to take only thirty pounds for the Bishop's ransom, as he should be able to pay it, and so to discharge him (10).

[H] *Author of a celebrated work, containing the Lives of the most eminent Writers of Great-Britain in Latin.* This work was not published complete at first, but came out at three different times. The author published, first, his *Summarium illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ Scriptorum, in quarto. Wesel, 1549.* This performance was addressed to King Edward VI, and contained only *five centuries* of writers. Afterwards he added to these four more, and made several additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book, thus enlarged, is as follows. *Scriptorum illustrium majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus; à Japheth per 3618 annos usque ad annum hunc Domini 1557, ex Bersa, Gennadio, Beda, Honorio, Bostono Buriensi, Frumentario, Capgrave, Bostio, Burello, Triffa, Tritemio, Gesnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et IX Centurias continens: In quo Antiquitates, Origines, Annales, Loca, Successus, celeberrimæque cujusque Scriptoris facta, dicta, consilia, scripta, obitus, et alia scitu non indigna recensentur; reliqua ubique annorum supputatione servata, ut inde tam reproborum quam electorum ecclesiæ ministrorum facta, mysteriis in S. Joannis Apocalypsi descriptis, in stellis, angelis, equis, tubis, tonitruis, capitibus, coronis, montibus, phialis, et plagis, per ætates ejusdem ecclesiæ singulas, historice et aptè respondeant. Autore JOANNE BALEO Sudorvolgio Anglo, Officriensi apud Hybernos jam pridem episcopo, nunc apud Germanos pro Christi professione peregrino. Accedunt his Appendices, una cum actis Romanorum*

(9) See the remark [B].

(10) *ib. fol. 40.*
41.

1) *ib. fol. 18.*

2) *ib. fol. 20.*

3) *ib. fol. 28.*

4) The vessel, in which our author embarked in the port of Dublin, was bound for Scotland.

5) *ib. fol. 34.*
5.

remark [I]. Bishop Bale died in November 1563, in the 68th year of his age, at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral of that place (u). No character has been more variously represented than our author's, as will be seen in the Testimonies of authors concerning him [K].

BALES

manorum Pontificum, quæ eorum Adulatores Carsulanus, Platina, Stella; et similes omiserunt. Accedunt et filiorum monachorum Jurorum facta, præcipuè fraterculorum mendicantium, quos in quarta tertie classis sectione locustæ adumbrant. Atque hæc Appendices adjunciam habent tam piorum patrum, quam Antichristorum in ecclesiis quasi perpetuam successionem, cum rarissimis diversarum terrarum ac gentium historiis et exemplis; ex quibus apparebunt eorum adulteria, supra, contentiones, seditiones, sectæ, invidia, fallacia, veneficia, homicidia, ac principum prodiones, cum innumerabilibus imposturis. Basil, apud Joannem Oporinum.— I have set down the title at length, because it is the best Analysis of the author's design in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whose lives are there treated of, are those of the Greater Britain, namely, England and Scotland; that the work commences from Japhet, one of the sons of Noah, and is carried down, thro' a series of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the author was an exile for religion in Germany; that it is collected from a great variety of authors, as Berosus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boston of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Bostius, Bullerius, Trithemius, Gesner, and our great Antiquarian John Leland; that it consists of nine Centuries, comprising the antiquity, origin, annals, places, successes, the more remarkable actions, sayings, and writings of each author; in all which a due regard is had to Chronology: the whole with this particular view, that the actions of the Reprobate as well as the Elect Ministers of the Church may historically and aptly correspond with the mysteries described in the Revelation, the stars, angels, horses, trumpets, thunders, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, thro' every age of the same Church. There are Appendixes to many of the articles; also an account of such actions of the contemporary Popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carsulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the Monks, particularly those of the mendicant order, who (he pretends) are meant by the locusts in the Revelation; ch. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To these Appendixes is added a perpetual succession both of the Holy Fathers and the Antichrists of the Church, with curious instances from the histories of various nations and countries; in order to expose their adulteries, debaucheries, strifes, seditions, sects, deceits, poisonings, murders, treasons, and innumerable impostures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of both the Bavarias, and Elektor of the Roman Empire; and the Epistle dedicatory is dated from Basil in September, 1557. On the back of the title page is a print of the author, and under it the following distich and tetrastich:

DISTICHON ÆGIDIÏ SYNEGORI.

Germani in effigiem Joann-
nis Balei.

Hæc est effigies Docti genuina Balei,
Quem studiis natum terra Brytanna dedit.

Ætatis suæ 62.

IN EANDEM TETRASTICHON.

Cur sic attentus pictum mirare Baleum?

Ἵσκι ἀνθρώπου ὄντι θεομοίωται, ἀλλὰ μέσος.

Sculptor non animum finxit, sed tu cape librum;

Ἴσκι γὰρ ἐκ εἰκῶν σωματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς.

In February 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of five more centuries, making in all fourteen; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Christ, with a description of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This volume is dedicated to Count Zkradin, and Dr Paul Scalichius of Lika.

[I] He wrote several other pieces. Namely, first, those he compiled while he was yet a Papiſt: viz. 1. A Bundle of Things worth knowing. 2. The Writers

from Elias. 3. The Writers from Berthold. 4. Additions to Trithemius. 5. German Collections. 6. French Collections. 7. English Collections. 8. Divers Writings of divers learned Men. 9. A Catalogue of Generals. 10. The Spiritual War. 11. The Castle of Peace. 12. Sermons for Children. 13. To the Synod at Hull. 14. An Answer to certain Questions. 15. Addition to Palanodyrus. 16. The History of Patronage. 17. The Story of Simon the Englishman. 18. The Story of Francus Senensis. 19. The Story of St Byrard. 20. A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Faſti. Secondly, those he wrote after he had renounced Popery; First, in Latin: viz. 1. The Heliodore of the English. 2. Notes on the three Tomes of Walden. 3. On his Bundle of Tares. 4. On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus. 5. On Textor's Officina. 6. On Capgrave's Catalogue. 7. On Barnes's Lives of the Popes. 8. The Acts of the Popes of Rome. 9. A Translation of Thorp's Examination into Latin. Secondly, in English: First in English metre, and divers sorts of verse; viz. 1. The Life of John Baptist. 2. Of John Baptist's Preaching. 3. Of Christ's Temptation. 4. Two Comedies of Christ's Baptism and Temptations. 5. A Comedy of Christ at twelve Years old. 6. A Comedy of the raising of Lazarus. 7. A Comedy of the High Priest's Council. 8. A Comedy of Simon the Leper. 9. A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the Disciples Feet. 10. Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Christ's Passion. 11. Two Comedies of Christ's Burial and Resurrection. 12. A Poem of God's Promises. 13. Against those that pervert God's Word. 14. Of the corrupting of God's Laws. 15. Against Carpers and Traducers. 16. A Defence of King John. 17. Of King Henry's two Marriages. 18. Of Popish Sects. 19. Of Popish Treacheries. 20. Of Thomas Becket's Impostures. 21. The Image of Love. 22. Pammachius's Tragedies, translated into English. 23. Christian Sonnets. Secondly, in English prose: viz. 1. A Commentary on St John's Apocalypse. 2. A Locupletation of the Apocalypse. 3. Wickliffe's War with the Papiſts. 4. Sir John Oldcastle's Trials. 5. An Apology for Bernes. 6. A Defence of Grey against Smith. 7. John Lambert's Confession. 8. Anne Askew's Martyrdom. 9. Of Luther's decease. 10. The Bishops Alcoran. 11. The Man of Sin. 12. The Mystery of Iniquity. 13. Against Antichrists, or false Christs. 14. Against Baal's Priests, or Baalamites. 15. Against the Clergy's single Life. 16. A Dispatch of Popish Vowes and Priesthood. 17. The Acts of English Votaries, in two parts. 18. Of Hereticks indeed. 19. Against the Popish Mass. 20. The Drunkards Mass. 21. Against Popish Persuasions. 22. Against Standish the Impostor. 23. Against Bonner's Articles. 24. Certain Dialogues. 25. To Elizabeth the King's Daughter. 26. Against Customary Swearing. 27. On Mantuan of Death. 28. A Week before God. 29. Of his Calling to a Bishoprick. 30. Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgement of Leland, with Additions. 31. A Translation of Sebald Heyden's Apology against Salve Regina. 32. A Translation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epistle before it with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader (11). In this catalogue of John Bale's works, taken from the author cited in the margin, we have not the titles of each piece at length, but merely the subject, briefly expressed. For example, in the last class, N^o 16, the title at length is; The Apology of Johan Bayle agaynſt a ranke Papiſt, answering both hym and hys Doctours, that neither their Vowes nor yet their Priesthode are of the Gospell, but of Antichrist. And N^o 29 is intitled, The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecutions in the same, and fmall Deliberance. But, as our author's pieces are very scarce, it was impossible to supply all the titles.

[K] The Testimonies of authors concerning him.] I shall throw together the praises and censures bestowed on Bishop Bale, as they arise. Gesner, in his Bibliotheca, calls him *vir diligentissimus*, 'a writer of the greatest diligence;' and Bishop Godwin, in his treatise of the Conversion of the Britons to Christianity, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into the

(11) Fuller's *Abd. Redivivus*, p. 509. 510.

the British antiquities; *Antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentissimus persequator*. The reverend Laurence Humphrey, in his *Vaticinium de Roma*, has this distich on our author:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Baleus habet.

i. e. Luther and Platina discovered many things, and Vergerius same; but Bale detected them all; viz. the errors and frauds of the Papists. Valentine Henry Vogler, in his *Introduct. Universal. in notit. Scriptor. c. 22.* thinks, 'it will be less matter of wonder, that Bale inveighs with so much asperity against the power of the Pope, when it is considered, that England was more grievously oppressed, by the tyranny of the Holy See, than any other kingdom.' *Quod vehementius in Pontificium Dominatum invehantur Baleus, tanto minus forte quispiam mirabitur, quanto gravius præ aliis regnis sacram tyrannidem Anglia fuit experta.* But he adds, that, notwithstanding our author had rendered himself so odious to the Papists, yet his very enemies could not help praising his Catalogue of English Writers. *Tametsi vero Baleus adeo inivisus fuerit Pontificiis, tamen ipsimet Catalogum ejus de Anglicis scriptoribus coguntur commendare.* Bishop Montague, in his *Apparat. prim. scilicet. 83.* though he censures our author for his unjustifiable freedom in writing and speaking, yet thinks him of credit and weight in many things. *Impotentis linguæ et callidissimi scriptor, sed in multis non rejeccitiss.* Valerius Andreas, in his *Pref. Biblioth. Belgic.* calls him an impious wretch and a wicked apostate; but at the same time allows him his merit as a writer. *Joannes Baleus, homo impius quidem et infamis apostata; nominari tamen hoc loco vel ideo potuit, ut quis è sordibus gemmas legat* (12). Vossius charges him with dissimilarity in his accounts of antient writers. *Unum scio, in priorum sæculorum scriptoribus non raro Balei fidem claudicare* (13). But of all the writers, who have censured Bale, no one has fallen upon him with greater severity than his follower John Pits. Here are a few of those invenomed arrows he has shot at him. *Hic Lelandi Catalogum non tam prolixè auxit, quam prodigiòse depravavit. Omnia namque sædissimis mendaciis et calumniis replevit, et opus Lelandi pollutissimo stylo turpiter conspurcavit. Multa habet ille digna quidem hæretico spiritu et ore, sed ab omni urbanitate et morali honestate prorús aliena, et Christianis auribus nonnulla plane indigna.—Ille miser homuncio, præter calumnias in homines, et blasphemias in Deum et sanctos, nihil habet suum, quod notatu dignum judico — In illo sterquilinio sperabam saltem aliquam antiquitatis gemmam me inventurum. Sed Episcopo Gallo infortunator, spe mea-frustratus sum* (14) — i. e. 'This writer did not so much enlarge Leland's catalogue, as corrupt it in a monstrous manner. For he has stuffed it full of lies and calumnies, and spoiled Leland's work, by his own barbarous stile. He says many things worthy indeed of the mind and mouth of an heretic, but absolutely void of all civility and moral honesty, some things plainly unworthy of a Christian ear.— If we except his slanders against men, and his blasphemies against God, the poor wretch has nothing of his own, which deserves our notice.— I hoped to have found at least some gem of antiquity in that dunghil: but, more unlucky than Esop's cock, I was disappointed in my expectation.' He gives us some instances of the severity and injustice, with which Bale treats the most famous Doctors of the Church, such as Venerable Bede and St Aldhelm; and of the scurrilousness, which he uses towards Bishops, Monks, and Priests, whom he accuses of hypocrisy, superstition,

and the worst of crimes (15). He brands him with the name of *Bal* or *Baal*, and calls him an apostate Carmelite Monk, and a married priest. *Idolon apud simplices Anglos Joannes Bal, qui se Latine Baleum cognominat, fuit hæreticus Anglus, ab ordine Carmelitarum apostata Monachus, et Sacerdos (salva Lectoris reverentia) maritatus* (16). But it will take off from the edge of this author's satire, if we recollect, that he was a zealous Papist, and an exile for his religion; and that he is here declaiming against a writer, who was a furious enemy to the Papists, by whom he had been ill treated, and who never spoke of their religion but with peculiar bitterness and asperity. But to go on with our *Testimonies*. Dr Fuller says: 'One may wonder, that being so learned a man, who had done and suffered so much for religion, higher promotion was not forced upon him; seeing about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, bishopricks went about begging able men to receive them. But probably he was a person more learned than discreet, fitter to write than to govern, as unable to command his own passion; and *Biliofus Baleus* passes for his true character (17). Wharton, in the preface to his *Anglia Sacra* (18), tells us, Bale paid very little regard to truth, provided he could increase the number of the enemies of the Romish Church. *Veritas Balæo parum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ ecclesiæ numerum augere posset.* And again (19): *Clausus vero plerumque oculis Scriptorum Anglicorum atates Baleus definivit.* i. e. 'Bale for the most part settled the Chronology of the English writers with his eyes shut.' Bishop Nicholson says: 'The ground-plot of this work (the *Script. Brit.*) was borrowed from Leland; and the chief of his own superstructure is malicious and bitter invectives against the Papists.— Some have thought his making of books of some little Saxon epistles excusable, and what would admit of an apology. But if we mark him well, he is continually multiplying the writings of all his authors at a very unsufferable and unjustifiable rate (20).'

Lastly, Mr Harrington of Christ-church in Oxford, in his preface to the first volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, passes this censure on both Bale and Pits: 'All good Antiquaries, men of enlarged souls, and of an even temper, however of divers professions, have always been of the same principle: they all equally sacrificed to truth and learning, and suffered not their private opinions to put a bias on their history. And whoever will compare the *Cento's* of Bale and Pits with the excellent works of Leland and Camden, must necessarily discern, how near an alliance there is between zeal and ignorance, and between learning and moderation.' And again, in the introduction to the second volume: 'Before this age, and somewhat within it, Leland, who, by the command of King Henry VIII, had undertaken to survey and perpetuate books of the antient monasteries, after the dissolution thereof, hath completed that work with so great exactness, that Bale and Pits, who have since attempted the same, have only made use herein of the Gorgon's common eye, and have reflected that single light only upon posterity.' Our author's books are prohibited by the Church of Rome, among those of the first class of Heretical books; and the *Index Expurgatorius*, published at Madrid in 1667, calls him a most impudent and scurrilous writer against the See of Rome, the Mass, and the Eucharist, and one that is perpetually breathing out poison; for which reason, it forbids the reading any of his works for ever. *Scriptor impudentissimus ac maledicentissimus adversus Romanam Sedem, Missam, et Eucharistiam, virus nunquam non spirans; nihil propterea ex ejus operibus unquam permittendum* (21).

B A L E S (PETER) the most famous master in the art of Penmanship, or Fair Writing, and all it's relative branches, of his time, in our country. He was born in 1547, and he is styled by Anthony Wood, 'a most dextrous person in his profession, to the great wonder of scholars and others;' who adds, 'That he spent several years in sciences among the Oxonians; particularly, as it seems, in Gloucester-Hall: but that study which he used for a diversion only, proved at length an employment of profit (A).' Nevertheless it seems more likely, that he resided not at that university, so much to attain sciences, as to teach his own art; and that he used it rather for profit than diversion [A]. The earliest account we have of his perfection therein, takes notice

[A] For profit rather than diversion.] As A. student in any college, but only seems to have been in Gloucester-hall; we may give the greater regard to

12) Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, *Censura celebriorum Autorum*, Lond. 1690, p. 481, 82.

13) De Histor. Lat. l. ii. c. 16.

14) Jo. Pits, *Relat. de reb. Angl. edit. Paris. 1619. p. 3.*

15) Athen. Oxon. l. i. col. 289.

(17) *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 61.

(18) *Vcl. I. p. 31.*

(19) *Ibid. p. 47.*

(20) *English Historical Library*, ubi supra.

(21) *Apud Sir Thomas Pope-Blount*, ubi supra.

of a Micrographical performance, in which the writing was so wonderful small, yet so very legible, that it surprized all who saw it, and honourably advanced his name into the most noted Chronicle of the times (b). This delicate specimen of his art, is also thus celebrated by Mr Evelyn. 'Adrian Junius speaks of that person as a miracle [B], who wrote the Apostles Creed, and beginning of St John's Gospel, in the compass of a farthing; what would he have thought of our famous Bales, says he, who in 1575, wrote the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Decalogue, with two short Latin prayers, his own name, motto, day of the month, year of our Lord, and of the Queen's reign, to whom he presented it at Hampton-Court, all within the circle of a single penny; enchased in a ring and border of gold, and covered with crystal! so nicely wrote as to be plainly legible, to the admiration of her Majesty, her Privy-Council, and several Ambassadors who then saw it (c).' He was also well skilled in many other excellencies of the pen, besides such matters of mere curiosity in miniature, which seem to have recommended him to some employment, upon certain particular emergencies, under the Secretary of State, about the year 1586, when the conspiracies of Mary Queen of Scots with the Popish faction, were discovered. And as Sir Francis Walsingham had other able instruments to unveil the disguised correspondence which passed between them; such as Arthur Gregory, who could *unseal* a letter, and so dextrously *close* it again, under the same impression, that no eye could discern it's having ever been opened; and likewise Thomas Philips, whose business was to *transcribe* and *decypher* such letters as were written in secret characters; whereof that Queen had no less than three-score tables or alphabets (d): so had the said Secretary also, now and then, need of some one who was expert in the *imitation* of hands; and could add, according to instruction, any postscript, or continuation of one, in the very form and turn of letters wherein the rest of the epistle was written, to draw out such further intelligence as was wanted for a compleat discovery, from the traitors themselves, of their treasonable intercourse. And as we shall anon observe also from Camden, that Master Bales was famous for this talent, on another extraordinary occasion, which hereafter happened, so it seems he was now employed to exercise the same, sometimes, for the service of the State, in the dangerous machinations aforesaid against it. For some few years after, that is, in 1589, and not long before the death of the said Secretary, Bales, by a friend, got it remonstrated to Mr Randolph the Ambassador, who was intimate with the Secretary, that some preferment which Bales had been led in expectation of, had not been settled upon him, for what he had heretofore performed in behalf of the government, before the said Queen's death (e). And we shall further perceive, that he was several years after in quest of a place at Court, though we cannot find that he ever obtained it. The death of that Secretary might weaken his interest, or make way for other competitors. And it appears also, that he had some occasion given him to write or speak something in defence of accurate penmen, or those who were masters in the art of writing, against the unreasonable and illiberal insinuations of some supercilious or malignant courtier, who would have objected his profession against his promotion; as if *Writing* was but a mechanic art, and the masters of it, fitter to guide the hands of boys than the heads of men; and though some persons might have been advanced for the dexterity and readiness of their pens, to places of eminence and even titles of honour, yet afterwards they usually affected an inability of exercising that instrument with any degree of elegance, lest, as a French author has observed, they should

(b) Hollinhead's Chron. anno 1575.

(c) Evelyn's Numismata, &c. folio, 1697, p. 268.

(d) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1586, & W. U-dall's Hist. of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland. Lond. 8vo, 1636, p. 342, 350.

(e) Copy of Mr P. Ferriman's Letter to T. Randolph, Esq; among the MS. collections of Nat. Booth, Esq; late of Gray's-Inn.

to a tradition which has passed among our old Writing-masters, that the best of their profession were wont, in Queen Elizabeth's days, and afterwards, to repair to the universities, and did reside, or were employed in the colleges and schools, to instruct the younger students in the arts of Writing and Arithmetick: In which light, Bales will appear rather a teacher, than a scholar at Oxford; not one who spent several years in sciences there, or practised writing for his diversion only, but only for his profit. Not but there might be a mutuality of instruction or improvement, by such his residence at that seat of the Muses: And as he improved the hands of several in the art of fair writing; so some of them might improve his head with learning, and a taste of some sciences, and more visibly that of Poetry; which we find in his works so often interperfed. In the like obscure manner A. Wood intimates, that John Davies of Hereford was afterwards also sent to the University of Oxford, as if to be a student there; tho' he knows not in what house of learning (1): Whereas it plainly appears, in his own works, that he went for no other end, but to teach the arts of writing and accompts there; and he tells us, that he thrived by it, as one of his brothers named James did also after him, in the same University; to whom, and his brother Richard, likewise master in the same faculty, he has addressed two of his poems (2).

[B] — Speaks of that person as a miracle.] This person seems to have been Francis Alumnus,

who wrote the Apostles creed, and the first fourteen verses of St John's Gospel in the compass of a penny, and in full words, which he did in the presence of the Emperor Charles V, and Pope Clement the VIIth, as Genebrand relates (3), and Simon Mayolus out of him; who had in his own possession, such a miracle, as he calls it, or the very same; *Nos domi idem miraculum servamus*, being his words (4). Such examples render Pliny's account more credible, of the penman who wrote all Homer's Iliad, so very small and close, that it was contained in a nut shell; which Cicero, and others also mention, tho' Lancelotti puts it among his *Farfallonis*, and reckons it one of the popular errors of Pliny; as a learned author has observed (5): Which he might not so readily have done, had he seen the performances in this kind of Micrography, by those two late famous Scots, John Dundas the father and the son; 'The latter of whom wrote, in the compass of a guinea, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Psalms 117, 120, 131, and 134; Collected for the 10th Sunday after Trinity, *Prevent us, O Lord; Prayers for the Royal Family, Clergy, Gentry, and Commonalty*; with vacant space for much more.' This curiosity, a late eminent Writing-master says he was possessed of (6); which we take to be the same that we have also seen afterwards in other hands, and is still to be seen; the said writing being preserved in a locket of gold, covered with chrystal, and set round with pearls; and was designed as a present to the late Princess Sophia.

(3) In Chron.

(4) In Colloq. 23.

(5) Human Industry: or, a History of most Manual Arts, &c. 8vo, 1601, p. 49, 50.

(6) See an Essay of the First Invention of Writing, &c. by Mr Robert More, before his Copy Book, printed in octavo folio, 1716, 1725, p. 5.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 444.

(2) In his Scourge of Folly, consisting of satirical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy persons of our Land, &c. 8vo, without date, p. 218.

should be suspected to owe their advancement to such an ordinary acquisition (f). Bales did, it seems, sufficiently confute these sophistical objections in that Defence; though his arguments, as well as his adversary's, are but lightly touched upon in the letter aforesaid; and so, as rather to describe their way of thinking in general, than to repeat their particular words [C]. However, that application for some convenient preferment, did not slacken his industry, or avert him from the pursuit of his business; for he taught the sons and daughters of many persons of distinction, some at their own houses, others at his school, situated at the upper end of the Old Bailey; where also some of the best citizens sent their children. Here we find him in the year 1590, and then he set forth in print, the first fruits of his pen, as he observes in his epistle, which he communicated to the Publick, his *Writing Schoolmaster, in three parts* [D]. From the first of which, shewing how by the contraction of words into literal abbreviations, the pen of a writer should soon learn to keep pace with the tongue of a moderate speaker, Mr Evelyn, as aforesaid, thinks he was the inventor of those *Short-Hand* cyphers, and other *nota furtiva*, so much in use among us [E]. And whereby, as a learned foreigner has observed, we Englishmen

(f) Montaigne's *Essays*.

[C] *Their way of thinking in general, than their particular words.*] As for Master Bales thoughts in general, they appear to have been, that he conceived, it became every body, who could write, to shew their gratitude, rather than detraction, towards an art, of which they were so constantly in need, and from which, only their own indifferency could hinder them of deriving the greatest advantages; that those who are but meanly accomplished with it, would be worse without it; that a bad hand might be affected by some men, more out of policy to conceal bad sense, than shame of getting good preferment by a good pen; it being less disgrace to such, that they be not understood thro' the badness of their hands, than of their heads: He also thought, that Fame's highest flights were made with those plumes, which have been lent her by good writers; and that the greatest Ministers of state have sprung even out of their own inkhorns. Of which our own history is not wanting to furnish, among others, a very conspicuous example. For there was in the reign of King Henry III, one Mansel, an inferior Clerk, or Priest, who besides fifty promotions, with the cure of souls, rose to expend an annual revenue of four thousand marks; how much more becoming soever, more moderate profits may have been thought, for a penman, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a writing-school (7). Yet such a Penman, whose qualifications, perhaps, at this distance, should not be severely judged of; since he appears to be the same Mansel, whose merits made him a companion for Kings, Queens, and Nobles; and whose, hospitality was such, that he once entertained an illustrious assembly of them, with 700 dishes of meat, in the year 1256 (8); and since he appears to be the same person with that Sir John Mansell, who is described to have been about the same time a faithful counsellor to the said King (9). In short, after Bales had hinted many inconveniences which have happened, thro' the want of fair, distinct, and legible writing, especially to the works of the learned; many having been spoiled at the press, because they could not be read, or transcribed; and more turned to waste paper, for the same reason: He concludes with much the same way of considering this qualification, as another late professor of the art has done; who, in his excellent copy-book, has these words: 'To write a good hand is a fine accomplishment; and is as useful to the gentleman and scholar, as to the man of business: For as a graceful manner of speaking, gives a lustre to good sense; so a bad hand, like a stammering tongue, very often obscures it (10).'

third book is, the *Key of Calligraphie*; opening the ready way to write fair, in a very short time, &c. invented by *Peter Bales*: the first of January, 1590; imprinted at London by T. Orwin, &c. in *quarto*. After this title, follows our author's dedication to the Lord Chancellor Hatton: There are Latin verses before it, by T. Newton, of Cheshire; also in English and Latin, by P. Hunston of Cambridge, and in English, by Tho. Lodge. His rules in the last part, or *Key of Calligraphie*, are written in verse as well as prose: And indeed we may observe several of his fraternity since, addicted to Poetry; which may be naturally accounted for, from their being so conversant with the Poets; by transcribing their moral sentences, short maxims, and distichs, to set their scholars as copies; which is certainly laudable, to season their youthful minds with elegant admonitions, at the same time that they are forming their hands to business; besides the precepts of any art are well known to be most successfully communicated in verse; which, besides the pleasure of rhyme, is also even thereby, not to mention other advantages, rendered more engaging to the memory, which rhyme so knits up, by the affinity of sounds, that in remembering the last word of one line, we often call to mind both verses; as the critics have judiciously observed (11). Our author concludes his whole work with one epigram, from the book to the reader; and another, from himself to his country-men: The former is as follows.

(11) Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie; and Mr Dryden's Dedication of his *Rival Ladies to the Earl of Orrery*.

Swift, True, and Fair, good Reader, I present;
Art, Pen, and Hand, have played their parts in me:
Mind, Wit, and Eye, do yield their free consent;
Skill, Rule, and Grace, give all their gains to thee:
Swift Art, true Pen, fair Hand, together meet;
Mind, Wit, and Eye, Skill, Rule, and Grace to greet.

The second edition of this work was published in twelve, seven years after the former. Among the many verses in our author's praise before it, four copies, or more, were composed by the scholars at Gloucester-Hall; among whom, Edward Michelbourne, a noted Poet of his time, hath two: And there are three or more copies by the students of St John's College, as A. Wood has observed (12).

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 289.

[E] *Inventor of those Short-Hand cyphers, &c. so much in use among us.*] A learned Author, who lived at the time that this art of Short-Hand was first invented, or newly revived among us, speaks of it after this manner. 'In this citty, he taught the arts of *Calligraphie*, or faire writing of divers handes, and characters; and of ciphering, and *algorisme*; and (which is much to be regarded) the art of *Brachygraphie*; which is an art newly discovered, or newly recovered; and is of very good and necessarie use, being well and honestly exercised: For by the meanes and helpe thereof (they which know it) can readily take a sermon, oration, play, or any long speech; as they are spoken, dictated, acted, and uttered, in the instant: It hath a good part in the art of *Steganographie*, and is a principall member thereof (13).'
Master Bales may in effect be called the first inventor among us, of this art, as Mr Evelyn thought him to be; since he was the first who made it practicable, the first who made it commodious;

(13) Sir George Buc's *Third University of England*; or, A Treatise of the Foundations of all the Colleges, Auncient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houses of Liberal Arts, within and about the City of London, fol. 1615, annexed to E. Howe's edit. of *Stowe's Annals*, p. 984.

(7) Sir Robert Cotton's Short View of the Long Life and Reign of Henry the Third King of England, 410, 627, p. 244.

(8) Dr G. Goodcan, Bishop of Gloucester; Touching the Decay of the World; in Dr Hakevill's Apology, &c. b. v. p. 177.

(9) Dr Hakevill, in his Answer to the Bishop, in his Apology of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, folio, third edit. Oxon. 635, l. v. p. 178.

(10) Writing Improved: or, Penmanship made easy, in it's Useful and Ornamental Parts, &c. by John Clark, 1714, oblong, plate 12.

(g) Bayle's Hist. Dict. in the article of **QUINCTILIAN**.

(b) In the Harleian Library of Manuscripts.

Englishmen have the reputation abroad, of being the most expert Short-Hand writers in the world (g). In, or not long after the year 1592, he was some how employed in writing for, or to, Sir John Puckering, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal; whose servant, as I remember, he some where stiles himself: but it is certain there were several petitions, letters, &c. about that time, written in the fine small Secretary and Italian hands, by this Bales, among that Lord-Keeper's papers; many of which are still in being (b). Among the rest, there are several letters written by one Topcliffe, who was much employed

modious, and comprehensible even to children; the first who publicly taught it, and whose method first induced others to build improvements upon his foundation. But his scheme was not indeed the first that appeared in print, by two years; for a learned Physician of Cambridge, Dr Timothy Bright, set forth, so long before him, a little treatise upon the same subject (14), which he dedicated to the Queen; and observes to her Majesty therein, that Cicero accounted it worthy of his pains, and profitable to the publick; to invent a more expeditious kind of character, as we may read in Plutarch's life of Cato the younger. His invention, as he also informs her, was mere English; without precept, or imitation: But it has, in the judgment of ingenious men, been thought difficult to be understood, much more to be put in practice. The improvement made by Bales in his book aforesaid, was to write after the Doctor's characterly words, divided into dozens, by the Roman letter, with certain commas, and other periods or short marks, to be set about each letter in twelve several places, for the distinction of every word. But the love of variety, or ambition after perfection, would not let the art rest here; for about the time of the Queen's death, or soon after, Mr John Willis, a Divine, published a new *Art of Stenography, or short Writing, by Spelling Characterie*; and he promoted it to many editions; but that greater simplicity from which he had deviated, and the greater multiplicity of which he compounded and perplexed his character, brought it after a course of years, into total disuse, notwithstanding his high opinion of it, and the advantages he imagined others drew from it; notwithstanding that he published it in Latin (15), as well as English; and set forth a *schoolmaster* besides, to his own art (16). His successor upon this topic, Mr Edmund Willis, a man less conceited of his own offspring, and of clearer conceptions for such a work, produced a neater, and more perspicuous *Abbreviation of Writing by Character* (17); but not without regard to, and some directions from, Mr Bales's invention. Yet much more popular became the method of Theophilus Metcalfe, whose Essay passed thirty-five editions, or more (18); notwithstanding he also thought it necessary to publish another, which he called a *School-Master*, to explain it. Thomas Shelton became famous after him for his Tachygraphy; or easy, exact, and speedy short writing: And some years after, he published his *Zeiglography*; or new Art of short Writing; the former was translated into Latin (19), for the benefit of foreigners. The acute and comprehensive *Jeremias Rieb*, had a distinguished genius for this sort of contractions, and was so expert in executing his own rules, that the notorious John Lilburne would have acknowledged under his hand, had it been permitted him, that he had minuted down his trial at the Old-Bailey with the utmost exactness. We have the *Psalms* in his short-hand; his *Semigraphy*; or *Arts Rarity* (20), recommended by several hands; and his *Pen's Dexterity*; approved by both Univerfities. Some have attempted to improve upon him, who still want improvement; and others, by enlarging his *Short hand*, have been thought to prolong it. The chief excellence in him, and his followers, consists in *contracting sentences*, by points and marks placed about the characters; still preserving we see, some traces of Mr Bales's device. But others still found room for alterations, and some for amendments. Mr Everard published a *Short-hand* not long after (21). Mr Noah Bridges set forth his *Art of Short and Secret Writing* within a twelve month after him (22); and Thomas Heath appeared not long after the Restoration (*). But William Mafon's improvements in the art for above twenty years, has advanced his reputation perhaps above them all. He first grounded himself upon Mr Rich's scheme, in his *Pen plucked from an Eagle's Wing*; but built more successfully upon a new plan,

in his *Art's Advancement*; or *exact Method of Short-Hand*, and his *Table of natural Contractions, by Persons, Moods, and Tenses*, &c. and especially in his last treatise, intituled *La Plume Volante*; in which he has brought the art nearer to perfection than others who had taken that, or the like path to it. Yet is not Mr Steel, a School-master of Bristol to be overlooked, who has several particulars new and considerable in his *Short Writing begun by Nature, completed by Art*; manifesting the irregularity of placing the artificial, before the natural, or symbolical contractions, &c. The book consists of three parts; first, the emblems; second, the expression of words concisely, that are not to be emblematically expressed; and third, the contraction of sentences like words. Mr Elisha Coles, who was a School-master in Ruffel-street, near Covent-Garden, and author of two most compendious and well known Dictionaries, published also upon this subject (23) a book which has been deservedly well received; for his brief *Account of the Short-Hands extant*; his *method, less burthenfome than others to the memory*; and his *new inventions, for contracting of words and sentences*; with other ingenious devices, pleasant and profitable: He proposes by a variety of letters, in variety of places, suppose a threefold situation, above, upon, or under a line, real or imaginary, wherein something of Bales is still discernible, to comprehend monosyllables of every sort; has given us some judicious observations upon the schemes of others, and made several commendable advancements of the art in his own. After him Mr William Addy published another Short-Hand with applause (24), and chose rather to improve upon the principles of the ingenious Mr Rich, than to raise a *fabrick de novo*. He also published the *Bible*, and, if we mistake not, the *Testament*, in a beautiful little character, engraved by the curious hand of John Sturt, and bound in a small pocket volume. We should be too extensive upon this subject of brevity, were we to mention all who have refined upon it; seeing that an author who offered a new character, most simple and succinct, above thirty years since, acknowledged he had consulted above thirty short-hand writers then in print, to compose it (25). We shall therefore only mention Mr J. Weston's book, called *Stenography completed, or the Art of Short-Hand brought to Perfection*, which is now in some vogue; and Dr Byram's scheme, for which we hear he has obtained a patent; tho' he has not made his art yet publick; and conclude with the observation of a learned gentleman, who has also published *An Essay towards a further Improvement of Short-Hand*; and prefixed to it a discourse, whereby we have been much enabled to deduce the *short Succession* aforesaid of our Short-Hand writers; and wherein are these words: 'I think, that, both with respect to the cultivation, and practice of such a way of writing, no people upon earth can justly pretend to dispute the pre-eminence with the English. The neighbouring nations, indeed even the most celebrated for skill in other arts, must be reckoned strangers to *Short Hand*; if not absolutely, yet in comparison with us. Accordingly, Mr Locke says he had been told, that this was an art known only in England (26). And the author of the *Essay on Literature*, declares, that he scarce ever met with any who understood it in *France or Spain* (27): 'Though as to the *French*, I am assured, they have got a Short-Hand book, which was published a good while ago, and is intituled, *Tachygraphie, ou l'Art d'ecrire aussi vit qu'on parle*, 12mo. But notwithstanding so many of the English have laboured and done worthily in cultivating *Short-Hand*; and it is now certainly far improved among us, beyond what it was at the beginning; I cannot agree that this art has been yet *completed*, much less can I agree that it has been brought to the utmost perfection it is capable of (38).'

(14) Entitled, *Characterie: An Art of short, swift, and secret Writing, by Character*. Printed by J. Windet, &c. 12mo, 1588.

(15) *Stenographia: s. Ars Compendiosa scribendi*, 8vo, Lond. 1613.

(16) Octavo, 1628.

(17) Octavo, London 1618; and with enlargements, 8vo, 1627.

(18) Entit. *Radio-Stenography: the most easy, exact, lineal, and speedy Method that hath ever been attained or taught*. 8vo, one edit. 1635.

(19) *Tachygraphia, sive exactissima & compendiosissima brevis scribendi Modus*, &c. Lond. 8vo, 1671.

(20) Octavo, Lond. 1654.

(21) Octavo, Lond. 1638.

(22) Octavo, Oxon. 1659.

(*) *Stenography: or the Art of short Writing*, &c. 8vo, 1664.

(23) The newest, plainest, and shortest Short-Hand, 8vo, 1674.

(24) *Stenographia, &c.* 8vo, 1695.

(25) The plainest, easiest, and practical Method of writing Short Hand, ever yet published, by F. T. 12mo, 1712, In Pref.

(26) Locke's Essay on Education, p. 72.

(27) Printed for T. Bowles, 8vo, Lond. 1726, p. 108.

(28) An Historical Account of compendious and swift Writing, by Philip Gibbes, 8vo, Lond. 1736, p. 59.

employed about the country, in ferreting out the Popish Priests and their plots, in those times, and he made some discoveries, which he wanted to communicate in a secret manner; but disliking the use of multiplied alphabets, as a method too tedious, preferred an invention of Bales's, which is called his *Lineal Alphabet*, or *Character of Dashes*, as the shortest and simplest he had heard of; wherein every letter was expressed by a single straight stroke, only in different postures and places [F]. We are informed also, by some

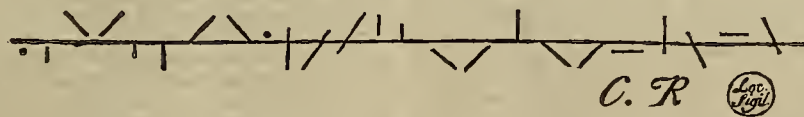
[F] Every letter was expressed by a single straight stroke, only in different postures and places.] We are left to guess at the scheme itself of this improvement in *Cryptography*, or *Stenography*, or both, from what has descended to our sight, through very eminent hands, of the like nature, or answering much to the said description. This invention seems to have regarded a double improvement, a short, as well as secret way of writing, at once; and more speedy than any ordinary alphabet; however it may not seem to have been fully intended to answer the design of *short-hand*; the use of dashes, or single straight strokes for every letter, as in the description of that cypher, implying an inconnection of them, and no abbreviation of words or syllables; no such contraction and concurrence, as we find in those compendious and expeditious characters, which will best hold any pace with the voice. The other part of the description, calling it a *lineal alphabet*, might partly intend to describe the marks used for the letters themselves, straight strokes being lines of what continuance soever; but might chiefly import, that those substituted marks, which have no distinction of shape, tho' they may of height and disposition, to answer the remainder of the description, as to their posture and place, should be principally distinguished by their vicinity, inclination, and contiguity to, or transgression of, some one or more lines, running quite through, or between them. For example, if you draw an horizontal line as far as it will conveniently receive over it half the alphabet, and dispose of four perpendicular strokes, or dashes, each under a letter; so as one stroke shall be some space above the line; another, come down near it; a third, touch it; and the fourth, pass somewhat through it; they will sufficiently distinguish any four of the letters; then the eight remaining, may be as distinctly signified, by so many straight strokes diagonally disposed, after the same manner; four, sloping to the right, and four, to the left. Thus half the alphabet is accounted for; and it is but doing the like, beneath the line, as you have done above, and you have a most simple, or unperplexed, and compendious supply for the whole. This cypher is so obvious to the eye, so familiar to the hand, and easy to the memory, that a child may learn it without a master. We cannot say positively, that this was exactly Mr Bales's scheme, tho' it may answer the description of it above-mentioned in the text; and therefore we do not offer to give any diagram, or figure of it; for he might use more horizontal lines than one; or fewer dashes, and in more varied positions; so approach nearer the scale of Musick;

which also, by the way, has been proposed to perform the offices of any, or all alphabets, with great advantage; so that the words of a psalm, or a sonnet, might be couched in the notes of it; seeing that two of them only, upon the five bars, will express all the necessary letters; by the use whereof, the instruments of musick, would become the instruments of speech; and all practitioners might parley with, in playing to one another. All lawyers, tergiversants, and other strife-mongers, might then wrangle and scold melodiously; and all instructions, intelligence, conference, and correspondence, vocal or instrumental, might be carried on to some tune. For the learned have presumed, that musical sounds and signs, might not only signify and communicate all letters and words, but all things and notions; that the uttering of them would serve for an universal language, as the writing of them would for an universal character (29); and so the whole globe being turned into an orchestra, we should all live and die in universal harmony. But to return, that scheme which we have seen, as was before said, so much corresponding with the explanation above attempted of that we have not seen, we shall here produce to the reader's sight; as what may not only conduce to the better comprehension, and perhaps to the recovery of Master Bales, but it may be with improvements. We must first observe this more modern scheme differs from that, already proposed to answer the foregoing, not only in one point, which is indifferent, the extending of all the alphabet above the line; but in others, which are material; as varying the position of the signatures, in two instances, and augmenting them in two more: The variations are in having but one distance from the line, and two degrees of perpendiculars that touch it; and the augmentations are, of two parallel lines, and two dots, or full points; which is more complex, less uniform, and deviates more from the name of a *lineal character*; if the propriety of that expression is to be preserved in the substitutes for the letters themselves, as well as the transverse line which is the rule of direction to them. However, this character has a distinct brevity, and beautiful simplicity in it: 'Tis most easily learnt, readily written, and not readily discovered. The said cypher, in it's original, with it's alphabetical key over it, is still to be seen, under the hand and seal of King Charles I, as he inclosed it in one of his letters to Edward Somers, Earl of Glamorgan, dated at Oxford, April the 5th, 1646 (30). In which letter, the conclusion is written in this character, interpretable by the said key; which are as follow,

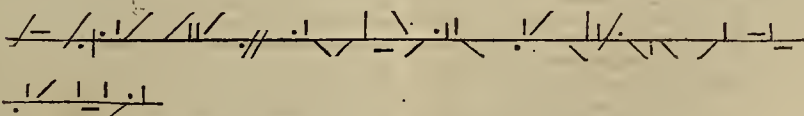
(29) Bishop Wilkins's *Mercury*; or *Secret and Swift Messenger*, &c. edit. 1694. cap. xviii.

(30) And preserved in the Collection of Royal Letters in the Harleian Library of Manuscripts.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z



Thus, when you read, in this cypher, his Majesty's assurance, to that Earl, in the said letter, of



You will more easily decypher it by that key, than by all the rules in Mr Falconer's *Cryptomenyfis Patensata* (31). That Earl of Glamorgan, soon after Marquis of Worcester, published not long after the Restoration, an ingenious little book, full of rare improvements in art; and among his secret ways of writing, or communication, he has undoubtedly de-

scribed this in the following words:— 'A cypher and character, so contrived, that one line, without returns, and circumflexes, stands for each, and every of the twenty four letters; and as ready to be made for one, as the other.' And the title he gives it, in his table of contents, is, 'A one line cypher (32).'

(32) See his *Century of Names, and Scantlings of Inventions*, &c. 24to, 1663, No. 3. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. IV.

(31) Or the Art of Secret Information disclosed, without a Key; containing plain and demonstrative rules, for decyphering all Manner of Secret Writing, &c. by John Falconer, 1685.

some of our best Antiquaries in the profession, and those who have been most conversant in the works of our ancient *Calligraphers*, that he was one of the earliest Writing-Masters among us, who had his pieces engraven upon copper plates [G], and printed off at the rolling-

[G] *He was one of the earliest Writing-Masters among us, who had his pieces engraven on copper plates.* When Jodocus Hondius, who was a fine Penman himself, as well as Designer, and Engraver, undertook to collect and engrave several copies from his own writings, and those of the most celebrated 'masters of the pen in Europe, he seems to have invited Master Bales, among the rest, to communicate some specimen of his performance, in a size proposed, to make a regular and uniform copy-book; and we are informed by a late famous professor of the art, who was very curious in his enquiries after our ancient improvers of it, that those copies of the several masters engraven by Hondius, appeared in 1594 (33). The same author, in that Essay from which we receive this intelligence, having ranked Mr Bales, as earliest in time, at the head of the English masters, who published their works at the rolling-press, says again, That 'his, with Mr Mar-
'tyn's, and other pieces, made part of a copy book 'engraven by Hondius; one of which, with many 'valuable fragments in it, I have, says he, in my 'collection (34).' The edition of Hondius his book which we have seen, was published twenty years after that date above (35), and among other copies written by the admired J. Vanden Velde, Hondius himself, J. Honthufius, Solomon Henrix, one of whose pieces is dated 1594; besides Pælix Van Sambix, E. Goos, Il Curione in Roma, J. Beau Chefne of Paris, and M. Martyn, our countryman; there is also one piece subscribed with the name of Peter Bales: It is written in the Latin tongue, and in the English character; but it is very probable that there were more of his copies engraven and printed in that manner; and we have read, that many such valuable pieces of his writing were published by Hondius as aforesaid. Howbeit, when fame had found a channel through his example, for this kind of publication, other artists of his own country, by their labours kept it open, for the stream to refine in, as it rolled down to us. It has been thought, that the reason our countrymen did not appear earlier in publick, with their writings, by this means of letter-graving on copper, was their not having the Rolling-press in England, 'till it was introduced from Antwerp, by Mr John Speed, about the year 1610; as a late author has furnished (36). But we certainly had the custom by some engine or other, to print off copper plates, tho' not in Calligraphy, long before that time, and even before Justus Lipsius is reported to have invented it; tho' the use of it might not be so common in England as abroad. Among those who followed the steps of Master Bales, Mr John Davies of Hereford was not the least conspicuous, who has been celebrated for his fast, fair, close, and various writing, of the Secretary, Roman, Court, and Text hands, by Dr Fuller (37), who says, he could also flourish matter, as well as letters; and with his fancy, as well as with his pen: Indeed he published several books of Poetry, as may be seen elsewhere (38); and some few of penmanship (39); something also *In Laudem Artis Scriptoriae*. The praise he sought as a Poet, obstructed his acquiring much profit by his practice as a Penman, tho' he had taught his art successfully at Oxford; where Magdalen College was his best beloved patroness; as in one of his poems, addressed thereto, he confesses (40): He was also some time tutor in his art to Prince Henry, as he writes before one of his copy-books; and elsewhere, calls the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere his good Lord and Master (41). He certainly envied Master Bales the credit of that golden pen, we shall hereafter mention him to have won from one, or more competitors in the art; but in divulging his malignity, Mr Davies has exposed his own Disposition, more than the other's Reputation; by not only falsely traducing him in the character of a fair writer, but against all laws of humanity, made his inculpable exigencies the subject of lampoon; and in many other instances, justified the epigram that was composed by another Poet upon him; wherein it is said, he would make a good author, if he could *pen*, as well as he could *write* (42); as he has recorded himself, against himself; and in his

Scourge of Folly, shewed the scourging of his own. He died about the year 1618, and was buried in St Giles's in the Fields. His countryman, J. Geringe, was a man of more modesty, and brought the art to greater perfection; some of his plates were graven in the year 1615. And Martin Billingsley, another eminent hand, whose works were also well received (43), is commonly joined with him in the applauses which were payed to the art, or those who excelled in it, by some noted Poets of their time. Not long after, William Comley of Henley, published his *Copy-Book of the most useful English Hands; with an Alphabet of the Capital Text Letters*: To which is joined, *A new Alphabet of the Capital, Roman, Knotted Letters; fit and ready to set any manner of hand to*: And there is further joined, *A Book of the Secretary and Round Hands; with another Alphabet of Capital Antique Letters* (44), as he calls them; being composed of human postures; afterwards imitated by succeeding publishers, in a smaller size; that youth might, with writing, learn drawing at the same time. Speedily after, Mr David Browne, an ingenious Scotchman, addressed his Examples of Fair Writing to King James (45), whose Scribe, he styles himself. His work is said to have been printed at the letter-press, but more probably was from wooden blocks, like the foregoing author's; whose method also he seems to follow, in leaving blanks for learners to fill up. Afterwards Mr Goodere, Richard Weston, and Peter Gery (46), kept up the art in it's various excellencies with good commendation; and it was carried on in this flourishing state till the death of that great ornament of it, Mr Thomas Faye, who had a curious felicity in all his performances, but could not be induced to make them publick. Edward Cocker, on the contrary, was thought too general a publisher; he was the engraver of his own writings; and some of them on silver plates: He first published in the early part of his life; and before Oliver Cromwell died. We have at least fourteen or fifteen copy-books of his in print (47); for he kept writing and printing himself off, 'till the time of his death, which was about the year 1677. Mr Evelyn having mentioned Mr Geringe, Billingsley, Gery, and Cocker, says of them, 'That what they published of letters and flourishes, 'are comparable to any of those masters whom we 'have so much celebrated among the Italians and 'French, for Calligraphy, and fair writing (48).' But then followed such an incontinency of publication and piracy, that the very press groaned under the prostitution of the art. Passing over therefore Mr Watfon, James Seamer, J. Hodder, J. Fisher, Louis Hughes, M. Johnson, besides others; who indulged their pens so much in *springing* of capitals, *knottings* of figures, *penicilling* of flourishes; in twirling and tangling the heads and tails of letters together, with such extravagance; and in hunting a single line through such unnatural, perplexing, and tedious labyrinths, as no eye could follow without pain; we shall only mention those who retrieved the art from these exorbitant fancies, and attired it in that most unaffected and becoming dress it now wears. Among the first, appears to be Col. John Ayres, who introduced the plain, neat, Bastard-Italian-hand, and by the assistance of Mr John Sturt, that excellent letter-graver, carried the glory of English penmanship far beyond those who went before him (49). Then also Mr Eleazar Wigan charmed his readers with boldness and volubility in command of hand: Mr John Seddon (50), with the choice variety of his fruitful fancy, and neatness in his compositures: Mr Booting, who excelled most, when he copied most: Mr Peter Story, an universal artist, but peculiarly eminent for his masculine and beautiful disposition of large and elaborate pieces; as were the Dundaffes, for the marvellous minuteness of their writings, before taken notice of. These were followed by the late Mr Charles Snell, George Shelley, John Clarke, and Robert More, to whose Essay before quoted, we have been much indebted for several parts of this brief Descend of his famous predecessors. The former of these, Mr Snell, published several pieces (51), and so rigidly opposed all moderate use of those decorations, even under due

(33) Mr Robert Maré's Essay on the Invention of Writing, &c. prefixed to his Copy Book, entitled, The General Penman, in it's last edition, fol. oblong, 1725, p. 4.

(34) Ibid. p. 5.

(35) With this title: *Theatrum Artis Scribendi, varia summorum nostri seculi, Artificum Exemplaria complectens Novem diversis Linguis exarata. Jodoco Hondio aelatore. Amst. apud Joan. Jansson. fol. oblong, 1614.*

(36) John Bagford, in his Account of his Collections for an History of Printing, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, anno 1707, No. 310.

(37) Worthies of England, in Herefordshire.

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 444.

(39) *The Writing School-Master; or The Anatomy of Fair Writing*; wherein is exactly expressed each several character. Together with other Rules and Documents coincident to the Art of Fair and Speedy Writing. By John Davies of Hereford, 4to, oblong, the latter editions dated 1663—1669. In the 15th plate the Engraver's name appears to have been John Inglesnam.

(40) Davies his Scourge of Folly, p. 221.

(41) Ibid. p. 184.

(42) By J. H. 120.

(43) His *Pen's Perfection*. And his *Copy-Book*, containing Variety of Examples of all the most curious Hands written; with the Breaks of each Letter: With the three usual and most necessary Hands of our Nation, &c. 4to, oblong.

(44) All printed together in fol. oblongs, May 22, 1622, and dedic. to Robert Earl of Suffex.

(45) Entitled, *Calligraphia*, &c. fol. oblong, 1622.

(46) His *Copy Book*, containing 42 Copies of all the Hands in Use; performed according to the natural Freeens of the pen, fol.

(47) As his *Introduction to Writing*, His *England's Penman*, His *Penna Volans*, *Magnum in Parvo*, *Mulum in Parvo*, *Youths Directions*, *Pen's Facility*, *London Writing-Master*, *Lavoyers Writing-Master*, *Country School-Master*, &c. &c.

(48) Evelyn's *Sculptura: or the History and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving on Copper*, &c. 8vo, 1662, p. 99.

(49) See his *Book of Arithmetic and Writing*, fol. &c.

(50) His *Penman's Magazine*: perfected by Geo. Shelley, and published by T. Read, fol. 1705, &c.

(51) *The Art of Writing*, in it's Theory and Practice, fol. also — *The Standard Rules of the Round, and Round Text Hands*, &c. necessary to be known by all Writing-Masters, &c. — *The Penman's Treasury* opened, &c. Done by Command of Hand, &c.

rolling-prefs; wherefore he is ranked the foremost amongst those English masters of the pen, who have, by such publications, rendered themselves capable of being marshalled according to their seniority, and judged of according to their merits, by those of their successors who have gratefully undertaken to preserve their memory. On Michaelmas-day in 1595, he being then forty-eight years of age, had a great tryal of skill in the Black-Fryars, with one Daniel Johnson, for a Golden Pen, of twenty pounds value; and won it, though his antagonist was a younger man by above eighteen years (i), and was therefore expected to have the advantage of a greater steadiness, or other command of hand. We are further told by a contemporary author, that he had also the *Arms of Calligraphy* given him, which are, *Azure, a Pen, Or*, at a prize, where solemn trial was made for mastery in this art, among the best penmen in London (k), which being a tryal among more opponents than one, this, wherein the said arms were given to him, should seem different from that, wherein he won the golden pen of Daniel Johnson aforesaid. That is the first contention we meet with for the golden pen, though other memorable ones have since occurred [H]. In 1597, when he republished his *Writing School-Master*, he was in such high reputation for it, that no less than eighteen copies of commendatory verses, composed by learned and ingenious men of that time, were printed before it, as A. Wood has observed (l). He also, by other exercises of his pen, recommended himself to many other persons of knowledge and distinction; particularly by making fair transcripts of the learned and ingenious compositions of some honourable authors, which they designed as presentation-books to the Queen, or others their friends or patrons, of high dignity: some of which Manuscripts have been, for the beauty of them, as well as for their instructive contents, preserved as curiosities to these times. We know not very particularly, what other branches of the art he cultivated, more than that we shall, in our future observation, find him distinguished also with the title of a Scrivener, as if he had sometime professed the business of writing contracts, or drawing deeds, or other instruments; unless the signification of that word was not then so confined as it is now, to that particular business, but was used in a general sense, as the word Scribe sometimes is, to signify a practitioner in any branch or degree of penmanship. A. Wood was not sufficiently acquainted with the matter of fact, to represent it with due distinction, when he said that Bales was engaged in the Earl of Essex's treasons in the year 1600 (m), as if he was an adherent to that unfortunate nobleman, or instrumental in promoting his tumultuous insurrection. The truth is, he was innocently engaged, in serving the treacherous purposes of one of that Earl's mercenary dependants, named John Danyell of Dersburie

(i) An Account of this Tryal of Skill, written by Bales himself, was preserved in a MS. Vol. in Bishop Stillingfleet's Library, No. 216, as the late Bishop Tanner has remarked in one of his MS. Note-Books, now in the Hands of Mr Joseph Ames, Secretary to the Soc. of Antiquaries.

(k) Sir George Bae's Third University of England, fol. 1615, at the end of Stowe's Annals; as before, p. 934.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 237.

(m) Ibid.

due propriety and regulation, in his rules, tho' he retained them in his practice, that the others, his contemporaries, therein opposed him; and restored the use of judicious embellishments upon proper occasions. For Mr More admonishes the Ornamentator to be upon his guard, lest he merits the character of a fancy-monger; and says, he must have regard to time, place, and circumstances; that the sportive faculty must be banished the court of business, and he must neither *ludere cum seriis*, nor *paratragœdiare in trifles* (52). Mr Shelley having made a glance at engrossers of reputation, says of ornaments in fine Penmanship, as the divine Herbert does of Poetry, with some alteration,

A knot may take him, who from letters flies,
And turn delight into an exercise (53).

Agreeable to whom, Mr Clarke was rather for correcting the false taste of ornament, than abolishing a true one; and has given good directions for conduct, in his arguments, as well as good improvements of the more essential part, fine writing itself, in his own copies of it (54). Under these masters, and one or two more, whose works gained them a character of supremacy in their profession, in the reigns of Queen Anne, and his late Majesty (55), the fair *Italian*, and especially, the free *Round-text*, and the *Round hand*, those two genuine parents of the free, most commodious, and most expeditious hand of business, which we call a *Running-hand*, prevailed over all others, and were brought to that perfection they are still preferred, or even improved in, by those masters who are the ornament of the art at this day; above twenty of whom have permitted many curious pieces of their writing to be engraved and published, not many years since, in a fair and elegant volume together (56); which being written and printed, from the top of the pages to the bottom, like the generality of other books, and not from end to end of the leaf, or in the oblong form, as the practice of our Writing-Masters, from the example of the old foreigners, has before been; and there being also enough of the leaves in that collection to gain them the preservation of binding

ing, the impression will not be so liable to be lost, or soiled, and torn, as the works of our best Penmen usually in a few years are, thro' the publication of them in the manner aforesaid, most liable to all the casualties of destruction.

[H] Other memorable ones have since occurred.] Among which none was perhaps more remarkable than that trial for a golden pen, made within the memory of many living, between one Mr German, a Writing-Master of note in Queen Anne's reign, and one of the six, at that time most celebrated for the art; but whether it was Mr Snell, or Mr More, we cannot now positively recollect. It seems there was a competition between German and More; and the former insisted, that the latter should set the copy, which More did in these words:

As more and More our understanding clears,
So more and more our ignorance appears.

German fell short in his art, as well as his wit of this antagonist; but in the judgment given for the golden pen, it was said, that the umpires found such an equality of excellence in the two copies, that they could not, for some time pronounce a determination, till one of them espying in Mr German's piece, the omission of one single point, only the title of an *i*, they gave their verdict against him, and so he lost the prize. The said Mr More has made some ingenious reflexions upon such like vain and impotent oppositions, as are made against those who have approved themselves masters of their Art, upon the occasion of what was first begun by that Daniel Johnson against Bales; where he says, 'Art with me is of Party. A noble emulation I would cherish, while it proceeded neither from, nor to malevolence. Bales had his Johnson, Norman his Mason, Ayres his (57) Matlock and his Shelley; yet art the while was no sufferer. The busy-body, who officiously employs himself in creating misunderstandings between artists, may be compared to a turn-stile, which stands in every man's way, yet hinders nobody; and he is the slanderer, that gives ear to the slander.'

(57) So in the last edit. of Mr More's *Essay on the Invention of Writing*, &c. p. 5. In the first edit. before his friend Mr Shelley's second Part of *Natural Writing*, it is only *A— bad his S—*, which seems rather to be meant for Mr Snell. *Quere*, How it is in the second edition? when we know Mr More was alive, and whether he died not before the Third!

[I] We

engraved by George Bickham, folio, 1733, &c.

(52) His Essay on the Invention of Writing, &c. before his Copy-Book, as above, fol. 6. First printed before Mr Shelley's Book of *Natural Writing*, afterwards with his own Copy-Book, about 1716, and lastly in 1725. He also published a *Striking-Book*.

(53) G. Shelley's second Part of *Natural Writing*, &c. fol. 1714, in the Introduction. He also published a new *Striking-Book*, and a new Book of Alphabets for the Use of Christ's Hospital, where he was Master, &c.

(54) J. Clarke's *Writing Improved*, or Penmanship made easy in its Useful and Ornamental Parts, &c. fol. oblong, 1714, in 31 Plates. He also published *The Penman's Diversions*, &c.

(55) See *A Poem on Writing*; printed on a Sheet, Broadside; with the Effigies of Six of the most celebrated *Writing-Masters of London*, engraved by G. Bickham, about the year 1714.

(56) *The Universal Penman*:

(n) Danyell's *Dysasters*, 4to, MS. fol. 2. Dedicated to Sir Thomas Houllcristie, and annexed to his *Declaration*, hereafter more particularly cited.

(o) An Abstract whereof, may, or should appear, in the *Book of Star-Chamber Cases*, which we have not at present leisure to consult.

Deresburie, Esq; as he styles himself. This man, resolving out of the distresses of his Lord, to raise a considerable addition to his own substance, already sufficient, being worth, by his own confession, above twenty thousand pounds (n), contrived, in compassing the same, through his deceitful procurement of Bales to imitate some of that Earl's letters, which he would have sold to his Lordship's enemies, as he did the copies to his friends for a large sum of money, contrived, I say, the absolute loss of his own estate, liberty, and reputation, the compleat ruin of himself and his family; being sentenced in the Star-Chamber, upon the evidence of Bales, and other witnesses, in June 1601, to pay a fine of three thousand pounds, for which his whole effects were extented, also to be exposed on the pillory, and endure perpetual imprisonment besides, for his said forgery, fraud, and extortion. As this will appear a notable example, how a comfortable and creditable competency may be destroyed, by covetous and dishonourable courses to augment it, 'twill deserve a more ample Memorial than has been hitherto divulged in print; not only to deter others from the guilt of any such like imposition, but to clear Master Bales from having any guilty hand in this. He was indeed, for a short time, under some confinement, that they might be certain of his evidence at the tryal; and we find also, that Bales wrote a large *Declaration* to the Countess of Essex, and, it seems, at her request or command, wherein he set forth the whole manner of his engagement, and the justification of his conduct in this business; which narrative would no doubt have laid open this black contrivance (o) to our full satisfaction. But though we shall be chiefly obliged for the particulars thereof, to another *Declaration* also in manuscript, written by that criminal himself [I], this cunning contriver of his own ruin; yet were he calmly to have revised,

[I] We shall be obliged for the particulars thereof, to another *Declaration* in manuscript, written by that criminal himself] The said author, John Danyell, was a different person from that John Daniel, who was a Master of Arts at Oxford, in the beginning of King James the First's reign, and a publisher of some musical compositions; also different from that John Daniel, who was brother to Samuel Daniel, the noted Poet and Historian; and publisher of some of his poetical works, after his death, towards the latter end of the same reign; nor yet the same with that John Daniel contemporary with this last, who published several sea-charts, or maps of the coasts of England, and other countries. But this John Danyell of Deresbury (58), whereof we are further to speak, having served the Earl of Ormond in Ireland above twenty years, procured to be recommended by him to the Earl of Essex, for some employment under his Lordship, or in the court. He mentions a preferment or two, which he expected thro' the Earl's means, but failed of; and appears to have been very diligent in procuring advantageous leases, or purchases of several parsonages in Cheshire: He cites two letters, he says the Earl wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in Oxford, the one in May 1594, to favour him in renewing a lease of the rectory of Runcoine in that county, and the other in July following, wherein the Earl appears to recommend his servant T. Brook to the same, adding, — 'I understand that one Danyell, pretending a desire to take a lease of certain concealed tithes, hath, under that colour, got certain hamlets, which were before demised in my servant's lease, and now seeketh to take advantage against him, upon some words mistaken; wherein my servant is chiefly to be helpen and relieved.' He pretends also the Countess had written several letters against him to the Lord-Keeper about that lease; and that for these disappointments, his expences, and loss of time, in service and attendance upon them, he looked upon the Earl and his Lady to be greatly indebted to him. The first step he took to make himself reparation, was to marry the Countess's gentlewoman, with whom, as he insinuates, he received hopes of an handsome portion: He cites the release, which the Countess gave his wife for eight thousand pounds, and all other accounts that had passed between them, dated in May 1596. And in 1598 appears to have solicited the Earl for a commission, or company of soldiers in Ireland, through the mediation of Sir Edward Dyer; who, by his answer, seemed not very forward to espouse his pretensions. But through the interest of his father-in-law, Sir Guyllyam Merrycke, his Lordship was persuaded to stand godfather at the christening of one of his children, which was termed the first badge of his Lordship's favour or reconciliation. But he never received further countenance or confidence of trust, in any negotiations of importance; nor recompence for his services, or preferment with his wife, as he says, except some plate

at their marriage, and at the christening of two of his children. But when the fatal impetuosity in that Earl's disposition, gave way to further inflammations by his parasites and incendiaries; till at last he made that turbulent eruption, in order to remove an opposite party at the court, which proved the cause of his untimely end; Danyell found an opportunity to throw his angle into the troubled stream; resolved to raise himself a profit upon the Earl's ruin; and that, out of some letters written by his Lordship to his Lady, which fell into his hands. Some of those letters, were eight or nine years old; mentioning matters of affection, and perhaps courtship; some expressed his dislike of divers persons; others treated of some solicitations made to, and transactions with, or for him; some contemning the time he spent at court, and shewing his desire of a private life; others describing his loathsome and unpleasant employments; and in many of them, a continual impatience and disquiet of mind. Danyell pretends he could not read any of these letters, till Bales had copied them; to serve a purpose which will hereafter appear. Indeed the Earl, like many others who write in great hurry, was apt to make his pen, in some syllables, or terminations of a word, dwindle away oftentimes into a scrawl, or strait line; but nothing so illegibly as is here pretended, by a man who had been conversant with him at least six years, and could give us the purport of his letters above, and make quotations from two of them, written to his Lady from Ireland, in August 1599; from the one, as follows, — 'The Queene's commandment in her servyces may breake my necke; but my enymes practyces shall never trouble my hearte.' And these words from the other, — 'I trust, (*) or longe, to reduce Ireland to a peaceable government; if the traytors of England, be not confederates with the traytors of Ireland.' And yet there was nothing in these letters that the Law took exceptions at, to the Earl's detriment at his trial; tho' Danyell, to terrify his afflicted Lady into a compliance with his barbarous extortions for them, falsely threatened her he could sell them to his Lordship's enemies, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, for three thousand pounds (59); and the counterfeits he imposed upon her, for which he gave him more than half that money, might aggravate the Earl's rashness, and consequently his guilt; therefore the covetous impostor escaped no kind of reproach when his deeds were detected, and suffered the censure for them without any compassion. Thus much was thought necessary to be premised of this story, that our readers might not be misled by his palliated representation of it. They may therefore now behold the juggle in the shape and colours he has transformed it into, for want of Master Bales's more ingenious discovery; and these are Danyell's words. — 'About the 20th of October 1599, I found bie chance, under my bed, in my house, then at Charing Crosse, a verie fayre caskett covered with purple velvett and laced with gould lace, which I thought strange in that

(58) There is a Book in print, entitled, *The Birth, Life, and Death, of the Jewish Unction*, by John Daniel of Deresbury, Esq; Lond. 8vo, 1651.

(*) i. e. or longe.

(59) Danyell's Letter to the Countess of Essex. MS. in the Vol. hereafter quoted.

revised, and at sufficient distance of time had thought maturely on it, he might have perceived

that place; and fynding the same easie to be opened, I satysfied my dysfyre; wherein appeared letters, sent from the late Earle to his Ladie, wrytten in such a hand as I coule not reade. But whylest I was thus perusing these letters, my wyffe, being abroad, came fuddenlie into the howse; so that I tooke onlie one bundle of those letters hastelie out of the caskett, and sett the caskett under the bed agayne, locked with the ffall of the cover, for it was a spring locke; which bundle of letters I carried into my studie, where yt remayned careleslie above three monethes, before I dyd any thynge with them, for I could not understand the contents of any of them. Befydes I havinge, as many thousands then had, an absolute opynyon of the Earle's fidelitie and allegiance to her Majestie, state, and countrie, could not be brought to ymagyne that hys Lordship had any evell thought to any of these, untill, by some specyall intelligence, I had notice that hee was very dysfyrus to accept of any condycions, to have friendship with some, whom before he termed hys enemies. Which thinge I thought could hardlie procede from hym, unlesse there were greater cause then was generally conceyvid, or I before could ymagyne. Thereupon I began to feare the event, and a lyttle to looke about me, whether there were matter in the letters that myght endanger mee; and having taken the sayde bundle of letters as aforesayd, I revewed the same, and styll fynding that I could not reade them, was much troubled how to understand the effect of them. In this tyme of delyberacion, the Countess sent for her caskett; which was delyvered to her kynswoman, and Gentleman-Usher, beinge both sent for them, to my wyffe, in a coache, about the 7 of Januarie, 1599. But the next day after, the Countesse of Essex came to my house herselfe, and demanded her letters myssing, which I purpofelie concealed, both from the Countesse, and from my wyffe; for I was resoalved to use meanes to understand the contents of them, before they were delyvered to the Countesse, or to any other. But when the Countesse perceyvid that I denied her letters, then sayd she, I must tell my Lord of them, if it were my owne mother that had them; ffor he hath dysfyred to have a fight of them, and I told hym, they were in your wyffe's keepynge; therefore, now they are gone, I must tell hym how the matter ys; otherwyse, I shall be condemned, although I know there ys noe bad matter in the letters, neither against her Majestie, nor State; but onlie, because my Lord hath alreadye dysfyred to have a fight of them; therefore, I pray, make diligent search for them among your servants: And soe departed, not then very much dyspleased, as yt seemed to me. But the next day, both I and my wyffe, were dyverslie folycyted from the Countesse; and at the last, in some sortte, there was a thousand pounds offered for the letters myssing; which I feared to accept, or to be known of having any of the letters. For bie thys large offer I had caule more and more to suspect the Earle's doings; whereof, after some consideracion had in that behalfe, aboute the tenth of February then next following, I took four or fyve of those letters out of the bundle, and went with them to Mr Peter Bales, ye Scryvener; who, perceyving that I could not reade them, endeavored, by all meanes, to make me understand the contents of them. But then, I was to devyce, in what manner I should remove all suspycion, either how I came bie those letters, or els, to what purpose I mente to converte them. Therefore, to colour the same from Bales; I told hym, That thys employment was done by the Countesse of Essex; and bye that meanes, I kept from hym my intent and purpose; which was, that yf there hapned matter of state, or fytt matter to be dyscovered out of any of the letters, I would have manifested the same to her Majestie. But then I was to travell a litle further, and to devyse in what manner I should understand the rest of the letters, which were aboute twenty six in number; and those, I was unwilling that Bales should be acquainted withall; for then hee myght have endangered mee, bie makinge the fyrst discovery, and so have reaped the fruytes of my travell, yf there had chanced any matter of State in the rest of the letters. So that I willed Bales to

ymytate the sayd Earle's hand-wrytynge as neare as he could, both in the lynes, letters and supercryption; which I did, to obscure my secret determination from hym: And hee willinglie performed all my dysfyre, in wryting those letters dyvers tymes; as I appoynted hym; especyallye one letter. But lett me here remember the opynyon of some, that have condemned mee, for that I dyd not cause Bales, at the fyrst, to wryte the Earle's letters playnlie, which they thinke had been better and redyar to teach mee to reade the letters I brought to hym, and that therefore thys my longe dyscryption of learning to reade the sayd letters should be idle and vayne; whych cannot be denied, as some understand yt to bee in the letters which I brought to Bales. But I would gladlie know how you can devyse to learne the reading of those letters which I dyd not bringe to hym, for the causes before remembered: Therefore, for my parte, I could fynd noe better meanes than to have Bales ymytate the Earle's hand-wrytynge, which brought me to thys perfectyon, that by talyng the best of Bales ymytations, and using them as carefours to the rest of the letters, I found these benefyts; fyrst, bie perusing Bales, in wrytinge the sayd letters often over, I was reasonable perfect in makinge the letters known to me. Then before he left mee, I could reade those fyve letters soe perfect, that I dyd dyctate some letters as he wrote them. Thyrdlie, beinge afterward at Ritchmond; I used the best of Bales ymytations as carefours to the rest of the letters; whereof I wrote four or fyve copies, with stoppes (*), which I sent to the Countesse. Fourthlie, and before that tyme, I found matter which served my turne, to prove Bales meaning towards mee, in the tyme of his wryting those letters; and therobie freed myself from the Cunstable, bie using these words in one of the letters before remembered, viz. *The Queene's commandment, &c.* which wordes, for my remembrance, I wrote forth with my owne hand, and caused Bales to incert those wordes into dyvers of hys copies, because I myght, at one tyme or other, take occasyon to prove Bales meaning towards me; which I did, not for any doubt I made of the wordes to be matter of State, but to prove from tyme to tyme how Bales was disposed towards me; for he gave me greate cause to sussepte hym, in speakinge one tyme to me very particularlie, saying, That if he had found matter of state in the letters, hee would have sent for a Cunstable and arrested mee. Then he asked mee what I ment, to have him copy those letters? I sayd, That the Countesse of Essex willed mee. But why doe you cause mee to wryte one letter soe often, said hee, and so lyke a hand you cannot reade? I answered, That I ment to geve some a gull; ffor I gulled hym, in that hee beleevved mee, tuching the Countesse commandment; which fyctyon I made, for feare of a Cunstable; for at that tyme I had all the bundle of letters about mee. But when he told me, that Mr Wiseman folycyted the Earle of Essex, to have a Clarke's place in the Courte for hym; as I take yt, to be Clarke to her Majestie, of her Highnes bills to be signed, yf I be not deceyved; for these causes, I had some reason to doubt his delinge; and otherwise, I had used hys help in readinge some part of the letters concealed. But fynding hys affectyon, and seeing his dyspofytion, I had more reason to seeke meanes to escape the Cunstable, then to hassard my estate, by engaging myselfe into the danger of soe craftie a person; which might easelie have hapned dailie, yf he had found matter of state in any of the letters. Nevertheles, yt ys fallen more beavelie upon mee, in another kynd, then I dreamed of; not onlie bie Bales meanes, but unfortunately wrought by sundrie devyces, beyond my expectation: I beinge more carefull, to preserve the credyt and reputacions of others, then to preserve the estate of mee, my wyffe and chyldren, am taken in a snare, bie comytting my tonge to sylence; and bie sufferinge one halfe of my determination to be obscured; much lyke the man that alleaged these wordes of the Psalme, *Non est Deus*, but omittinge the preceding wordes, *Dixit insipiens, in corde suo*: As the Nun did, bie readinge *Omnia probati*, but never turned the leaffe.

(*). Designed to intimate, that where he made them, he had reserved some matters of importance.

perceived enough therein, under his own hand, to account for his sufferings; like that bird

(60) This is the same P. Ferriman whose Letter is before quoted; and the same, to whom J. Davies in his *Scurge of Folly*, p. 200, directs an epigram; declaring, that, thro' love, this Peter keeps the Keys of his Heart's Heaven, and yet is locked in.

(61) See also a Declaration of the Treasons of the late Earl of Essex and his Complices, &c. 4to, 1601, Sign. F. 2. &c.

' So that, henceforth, I never used *Bales* further, in thys busynesse; nor, sythence that tyme, had I any dealing with hym; untill he, and one *Peter Ferriman*, aboute the last of March 1600, made meanes to borrow twentie pounds of mee for six monethes; which motyon, at the fyrst, I enter- tained; but when I heard Ferrimans (60) bond was lyttle worth, then I refused to deale further with them; but yf I had knowen, or suspected myselfe to be in eyther of theyre dangers, yt had been a fmeale matter for mee, at that tyme, to have lent them 20 pounds, wherbie I had escaped theyr con- spyracies; which I little esteemed, because I could not ymagyne, that these matters would, bie any meanes, have growen to foe high a poynte; con- sydering that neyther my intent, act, nor any part of my meynage, could, bie any meanes, worke in the Earle any such cause of *dycontentment*, or any such cause of *offence* to the lawes of this land, as is now conceaved and devulged, bie some to be agaynst her Highnes lawes, as matter of state, and the *chaffe cause* of the Earle's *overthrowe*; which I will labour to manifest hereafter. But when *Bales* was denyed twentie poundes, hee pre- sentlie combined with *Ferriman*, and devised a *Declaration*; conteynyng, and amplyfying the *man- ner of my dealing with hym*, about the sayd letters, and delyvered the same to her Ladiship, about the 2d of *Apryll*; which came not to my knowledge, tyll about the Earle's arraignment: So that thys *Declaration* comyng then to the late Earle hys hands, was never publlyshed, but kept secrett, from the second of *Aprill* 1600 tyll the eight of *Februarie* followinge; at which tyme, the Earle, being at *Essex-houffe* the day of hys pretended action, before the Lords, and a greate multitude there assembled, pronounced these words (61); viz. *That hys lyffe was sought; that hee should have ben murdered in his bedd; that hee had ben persydouslie delate with; that hys hand had ben counterfeyted, and letters awrytten in hys name; and that therefore they were there assembled to defend their lyves; with moche other speech to the lyke effect: Hereupon the Lord Cheyffe Justyce sayd unto the Earle, that yf hee had any such matter of greyffe, or yf any such matter were attempted, or purposed agaynst hym, hee willed the sayd Earle to declare yt; assuring hym that yt should be trulie related to her Majestie, and that yt should be indyfferentlie heard; and justyce should be done, whosoever yt concerned. Thys offer of the Lord Cheyffe Justyce, dyd not then agree with hys Lordship's purposes; for he ment to endeavour another matter, as hath ben spread abroade; and knew the truth to be otherwyse, as hys Devynes have sett forth, that hymselfe verie honourable confessed at hys last breath, in hys humbled mynd, which shall appeare more at large in another place. But to returne to my purpose, after I had made this end with *Bales*, about the 20th of *Februarie* 1599, I determined by way of *petytion* to have delyvered the sayd bundle of letters to the *Queene's* Majestie, then being at *Rytchmond*; whether I repayed, and stayed there six days together for that purpose: But although I had greate dyslyre to performe the same, and, for the causes afforesayd, was before that tyme, retryled from the late Earle, yeat, being styll esteemed to be one of hys followers, I was stayed from approachinge her Majesties prefrence; so that yt greaved mee greatlly, consydering I had followed and served in the Court foe many yeares, and always mayntayned myselfe in state of a gentleman; and then, to be kept from presentinge myselfe to her Majestie, and altogether *rejetted*, in delyvering the sayd *petytion* and letters as I would; bie reason whereof I was dyscourage, and alsoe crossed in performyng my dutie and deter- mination in that behalfe; whereupon ensued, that through the ymportant *request*, and ptyfull *mon* made bie the Countesse, and others at her request, at the last I yealded to come and speake with her honour in *York-houffe*, where the Earle of *Essex* was then comytted to the custodie of the Lord- Keeper; and her Ladiship, at my comyng thether, used many urgent and vehement *perswasytions*, viz. That she lyttle thoughte I had any such letters, as*

those I sent her cotypes of, from the Court. For, said she, I protest I thought those letters had been burnt longe synce; and now I perceyve you have them, and meane to delyver them to the *Queene*, to the undowing of my Lord and mee: If you will delyver mee my letters, I will procure my Lord to bee better to you then hee hath ben, and besydes, you shall have full recompence for all your losses.' After all this courthip, all these promises, as he pre- tends, and a great deal more, he was struck with compassion! and prevailed on to part with the letters, for a sum of money, agreed upon in the following manner. When he came from *Richmond*, he had a great deal of discourse with the Countesses, at *York-houffe*; who expressed abundance of remorse at the obstructions that had been made to the improvement of his for- tune, and their neglect of allowing some handsome provision with his wife, all which stopped his return to the Court; expecting the effect of these fair words, which, says he, seemed then as sweet as *honey*, but in the end as bitter as *gall*. To go on in his own stile, 'The next day the Countesses sent a Knight, Sir Edward Dyer, to my house at Charing-Crosse; who told mee, that hee had not, as yeat, any warrant to deale with me; but sayd, hee had of some matter betwene me and the Countesse of *Essex*; therefore dyslyred I would come to hys lodgings the next morning, which I dyd; and then hee confessed, that the Countesse had entreated hym to take order with mee; and foe, wyth that I should sett downe the cause of my greyffes, and the effect of my demand; to which I answered, that non knew better then hymself, what wronge, losse, and hynderance, I receyved bie followinge the said Earle.' So re- peats his Lordship's failing to prefer him to the *Queene's* service; recommendinge another to the parsonage of *Runcorne*; and the not having received any fortune with his wife: 'Then the Knight took pen and inke, saying, hee would sett downe a thousand poundes for my recompence; and I told hym, that three thou- sand poundes would hardlie answer my losses. Then he offered mee *seventeen hundred poundes*; to which I answered, that I was worthie of a 1000*l.* with a wyffe in marryage, and a 1000*l.* more, in recom- pence of my services, and other losses; and then he charged me with my promys, because I had before referred myselfe to his judgment, and therefore sayd, that *twentie* poundes more ys all I can geve; which, by his perswasion, I yealded to accept; whereupon he willed me to write the cause of my demand, and subscribe my name under this summe of 1720 poundes; which summe he had before written in figures upon a whole sheet of paper; under which summe, I wrote these words; *The said summe of 1720*l.* I dyslyre to have, in consideration of my wyvve's marriage, and our services; and then sub- scribed my name, John Danyell: Which he ac- cepted on the Countesse's behalfe; and the next day, being the third of *March* 1599; hee, and others, brought to my house at Charing-Crosse, 1720 poundes. Thys money being receyvid, the letters mysing, were called for; I went with that money to my clofett, and brought downe all the bundle of letters; and then, those *four or five* letters whereof I had sent cotypes from *Rytchmond*, as afforesayd, were speycallie dyslyred; which cotypes they had brought, to conferre together with the orygynalls; for which orygynalls I made searech, in the bundle of letters; but being styll very un- readie in the hand-writing, I was longe in seekyng for them. Then one of them who was more per- fect in reading the Earle's hand-wryting, tooke the bundle out of my hands, and found the orygynalls presentlie; and in examinyng, began to reade them openlie; but the other blamed hym, and bade hym reade to hymselfe; which being donne, the *petytion* to her Majestie, and my letter to the Countesse from *Rytchmond*, were brought forth, and in perusing the sayd *petytion*, one shaked hys head, and sayd, thys matter was neare broching: And foe they both dyslyred, that the Countesse letter to my wyffe, the *petytion* to her Majestie, and my said letter to the Countesse, with all the copies of the said let- ters, might be burned; all which was performed accordinglye. And after thys, I was demanded, yf*

I had

bird of prey, who saw the fatal feathers which had dropped from his own wings, upon the arrow that shot him. In 1607, there being one thousand pounds of the aforesaid fine paid into the Exchequer, King James granted, by his letters patent, to the relic of the said Earl, then Countess of Clanrickard, the remaining two thousand pounds, to be paid in the same annual proportions as the other had been; to reimburse her losses by the said fraudulent extortioner. A true abstract of that grant is here subjoined, for the better intelligence of this affair [K]. After the aforesaid censure of John Danyell, and what

* I had made any acquainted with the sayd letters :
 * I told them, I had the help of one Bales, to teache
 * me to reade some of them. Then they entreated
 * mee to swere upon a booke, that I had delyvered
 * all the letters, and coppers, which came to my hands.
 * I answered, that I had either delyvered them, or
 * burned them, before their face: And thereupon
 * they both departed, very well pleased: For within
 * two days after, the Countesse sent me word, she
 * was satsfyed in every respect, and then wysht me
 * as much good of her money, as she had comfort
 * in receyving her letters.

In most other parts of his book, whence we have transcribed this most material circumstance, he is incessantly upon his justification; and is for convincing us of his sincerity, and innocence throughout this transaction, by telling us that, 'Yf I had not holden myselfe free from all danger of law, I would never have resumed the inherytance of the parsonage of Mynsbull, in my own name, paying for the same 520*l.* nor have bought the state of the parsonage of Hackney; which cost me above 700*l.* with reparations, new buylding, and making the assurances with other charges. Befydes, I delyvered out plate, to the value of 300*l.* in gylt and sylver; with many oxen, kyne, horses and geldings; together with apparel; which I made, to attend in the court, and other goods; for which I had bonds, statutes and judgments, with other assurances from severall persons, to the value of 1600*l.* in good debt, all which parsonages, debtes, and the assurances for the same, I passed in my own name, after I receyved the the sayd summe of 1720*l.* which may satsisfie every reasonable man, that I helde myselfe free from all danger of the law; although the contrarie hath hapned agaynst me.'

After the Countesse of Essex had thus finished with Danyell, she caused Bales to draw up a Declaration of his whole engagement in this affair; which he did in the beginning of April 1600, and it appears, that besides his own name, there were those also signed to it, of Peter Ferriman, and George Lylle as parties, or witnesses to the matter of fact contained therein; which Danyell never heard of, tho' he had often been with the Countess at York-house, and at the Lady Walsingham's, at Barn-Elms, since he received the money aforesaid; till Bales himself told him of it, as they were going together to Westminster, the day of the Earl's arraignment; at which, as well as before, at Essex-house, his Lordship objected, out of that Declaration, the counterfeiting his hand, and other indirect practices used upon his letters. At the Earl's Trial, as appears in a manuscript account of it, Mr Attorney took occasion of entering into the matter of counterfeiting his Lordship's letters, and declared it was performed by his Lordship's direction, that others might be charged with it: But the Earl said, he was so far from employing Danyell to procure such copies, that he earnestly desired his punishment; yet the robbery of his Lady's casket, and extortion from her of so much money, was then overlooked; the letters being acknowledged in court, to have nothing of moment in them against the said Earl(62). But in little more than a twelvemonth after the writing of the said Declaration, both that, and the evidence of it's author, were made use of, at the conviction of John Danyell in the Star-Chamber, for forgery and cotenage; and he was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned, as was before declared. He spent his time in the Fleet much upon writing Apologies, Petitions, Letters, and Dedications of them, to King James, Queen Anne, &c. All which may be seen in his MS. volume before us (63), from whence we have above recited every passage in which he mentions Master Bales. We find him further by this book, to have been in the Fleet at least four years; where himself, his wife, and three or four children, were reduced to the extremity of having nothing to live upon, but the profits of certain

artificial flowers; some of them frosted, some of needle work, and others called fatten-flowers; which she invented and disposed of for three of those years together; as appears by the petition of the said Jane his wife, to the King; wherein she prays, that she may have the sole privilege of vending her said inventions. There is a Tract at the end of this book, also of his writing, called Danyell's Dysasters; in the dedication whereof, to Sir T. Houlcrofte, he tells him, that he here presents to his discret patience, the first fruits of his travail, since his liberty. But if he could have borrowed that patience he celebrates in his patron, he would not have turmoiled his brains with such unsatisfying repetitions of his case; from whence it were easy to fill two or three sheets more, with the ebullitions of his corroding inquietude; and all to the same purpose already mentioned, tho' in different words; so true it is, that *He who will not take Conscience for his Conductor, shall have her for his Tormentor.* But that no future reader of the extracts above, from this MS. may be perverted by the specious pretences therein, of Danyell's procuring copies of the Earl's letters, only to find offences in them, for which the state might condemn him justly, and not to sell them, as well as the originals; we shall conclude, with Mr Camden's account of the matter in these words: 'To this cause (Essex's) also belongeth a censure given at this time in the Star-Chamber; and therefore is not to be passed over in silence. I said before, that the Earl complained of his letters being counterfeited; hereof a diligent enquiry was made, and a notable imposture discovered. The Countess, his wife, misdoubting some mischief to her husband and herself in this troublesome time, put certain love-letters, which she had received from him, into a cabinet, and intrusted them in the keeping of a Dutch woman named Ribove; this Dutch woman hid them at her house: By chance, John Danyell her husband (64), lighted upon them, read them, and observing that there was somewhat in them which might endanger the Earl, and incense the Queen, caused them to be transcribed by one that was expert in imitating hands very like the original: And when the fearful Countess was ready to lie-in, he told her, that he would presently deliver them into the hands of the Earl's enemies, unless she would forthwith give him 3000 pounds. She to avoid the danger, gave him presently 1720 pounds (65), and yet for that great sum, she received not the original letters, but the copies from the impostor; who purposed to wipe the Earl's adversaries also of a great summe of money for the originals. For this imposture he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, fined three thousand pounds, whereof the Countess was to have 2000, and to stand with his ears nailed to the pillory, with this inscription, a wicked Forger and Impostor (66). All that we know further of this John Danyell, may be read in the next note.

[K] For the better intelligence of this affair.] The said letters patent set forth: That King James, in the fifth year of his reign, made a grant to the aforesaid Countess, now of Clanrickard; in which it appears, that it having been decreed on the 17th of June, in the 43d year of the late Queen's reign, by her counsel in the Star-Chamber at Westminster, that John Daniell of Dersburie in the county of Chester, Esq; for divers great offences by him committed, in counselling, and indamaging of the said Frances, then Countess of Essex, and now wife to Richard Earl of Clanrickard; and for divers other wrongs, and abuses offered unto her, should pay to the said late Queen Elizabeth, her heirs, &c. the sum of three thousand pounds for a fine. And it is in the said decree also expressed, that the meaning of the Lords of the Council was, to be suitors to her Majesty, that she would allow the said Countess two thousand pounds for her damage, and loss out of the said fine; for the satisfaction whereof, an inquisition was taken the 14th day

(64) There must be a mistake here; for Danyell himself calls the daughter of Sir Gilly Merrick his wife, as we before observed.

(65) This sum is erroneously printed in the edition before us, which should be corrected as we have done here.

(66) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, fol. 1588, p. 630.

(62) The Arraignment of Robert Earl of Essex and Henry Earl of Southampton, in the Great Hall of Pleas at Westminster, her Majesty then lying at Whitehall, fol. MS.

(63) Which may be entitled, A Declaration of the Sufferings of John Danyell of Dersburie, Esq; for his Practices with the Earl of Essex his Letters. 4to, dated from the Fleet, 1602, &c.

what he has said of Master Bales, little more occurs to us of this our famous Penman. Whether he ever hurt himself, by any such improvident generosity, as to be easily drawn into suretyship by his acquaintance, for any considerable sums of money; or it is only a mere allusion to his name, we are not certain; but we have met with it, used in a manner proverbially, in some humorous display of characters published in the beginning of King James's reign, where some extravagant spendthrifts are described to have been reduced to such a situation, as *To need the friendship of Peter Bales*; which may indeed signify no more, than that they were, or likely to be, arrested for debt, and wanted some friends who would be their *Bails* (p). However that be, an oblique and invidious reflection, that seems some few years after, to have been publicly made on his circumstances, representing him obliged to remove from place to place to avoid his creditors, might favour the former conjecture. This reflection we have in an epigram, composed with prejudice perceivable enough, by one of his own profession, as we observed before; who has therein traduced his abilities, through envy of his success by them; and has perhaps therefore as unjustly traduced his circumstances: for writers, and especially poets, the title of which they both claimed, would envy one another, as well as potters, blacksmiths, and even beggars; the brightest authors, as well as the dirtiest artizans, being subject to that mean and beggarly passion towards one another, so long since as the days of Hesiod (q). The epigram aforesaid, which we take to have been imposed upon his character, in his seeming decayed, or declining condition, was published, as we compute, in 1610, and though he therein appears to have been alive when it was written, it is possible he might have been not long dead when it was printed: but this is submitted, by a transcript here given of it [L], to the judgment of our readers.

(p) His name is applied to such like sense, as we remember, in a scarce old tract, entitled, *The Black Book*, 4to, 1604.

(q) In *Op. Dica.*

day of *September* in the 43d year of the reign aforesaid, by *Thomas Aston*, Sheriffe of *Chester*, of such lands, and goods, whereof the said *John Daniell* was then seized; and they were extended to the yearly value of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* and the said extent was duly returned. Afterwards the Queen, by her letters patents, under the great seal, dated 26th of *January* in the 44th year of her reign, demised, granted, and to farm let, unto the said Countess, all the lands and hereditaments of the said *John Daniell*, mentioned in that *inquisition*; to have, and to hold, so long as they should continue in possession of the crown, for payment of that fine. In which said letters patents there is reserved the rent of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* yearly to be paid into the Exchequer. And whereas, by the payment of that rent, and by the sale of certain goods of the said *John Daniell*, there has been paid towards the said fine 102*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* as by a certificate under the hand of *Edward Wardour*, Clerk of the Pells, appears (being 24*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* more than was intended to the crown by that decree). Therefore his said Majesty, inclining to accord with that intention, grants, by these presents, to *Richard Earl of Clanrickard*, and the said *Lady Frances*, now his wife, the remains of the said sum, or fine, of 3000 pounds as yet unpaid; and all his interest in the said extent, and in the said rent of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* till they shall receive the remains of the said fine. And that they may have, hold, and enjoy all the lands, messuages, and tenements expressed in the said letters patents, and apply to their own use, and behoof, all the profits and benefits that may arise from the said premises, till the fine be fully satisfied: and for the better keeping account how the same is paid, the said Earl and Countess, shall, according to the times appointed, pay yearly, into the Exchequer, the said sum of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* And the officers thereof, are thereupon hereby authorized and commanded forthwith to repay them the said yearly rent. For the doing whereof, these letters patents, or the inrollments of them, shall be sufficient warrant and discharge to the Treasurer, Chancellor, &c. and all officers of the Exchequer, &c. *Dat.* Westminster, the third day of November in the fifth year of his reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the one and fortieth.

Clapham.

BALEY or BAILEY (WALTER), author of some treatises mentioned below [A], was son of Henry Baley of Warnwell in Dorsetshire, and born at Portsmouth

[A] He wrote some Treatises. I. *A Discourse of three Kinds of Pepper in common Use*. This piece was printed in 1558, in 8vo, and dedicated to Sir John Horley. II. *A brief Treatise of the Preservation of the Eye-sight*; printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign in 12mo, and at Oxford in 1616, and 1654, in 8vo.

In the edition of 1616 there is added another *Treatise of the Eye-sight*, collected from Fernelius and Riolanus; but by what hand, we are not told. They both pass under Dr Baley's name. III. *Directions for Health, natural and artificial, with Medicines for all Diseases of the Eye*, 1626, 4to. IV. *Explicatio Galeni de potu convalescentium*

Per Breve de Privat. Sigillo.

Irrot' in Theaurar' Recept. Secii Dm. Regis Jacobi,
28 Die Novembris 1607. An° Regni sui Angliæ,
ac Franc. et Hibniæ, quinto, et Scotiæ Anno.

Will. Skynner.

Irrot' per Edw. Wardour, } 28° Die Decembr' Anno
Clericum Pellien' } Quinto Regis Jacobi
1607.

Examinat' per me Thomam Martin, &c.

[L] By a transcript here given of it.] Our reason that the book wherein the said epigram is printed, was published in the year 1610, is drawn from the 170th page of it, where there is an epigram addressed to Dr Geo. Abbot Bishop of London; he being in that see but that one year. But the epigram which we take to have been written against Master Bales, is as follows.

Of a Pen for a Running-Hand.

The Hand, and Golden Pen, Clophonian
Sets on his Sign; to shew, O proud, poor Soul,
Both where he wones, and how the same he wan,
From Writers fair, though he writ ever foul:
But by that Hand, that Pen so borne hath been,
From Place to Place, that for this last half Year,
It scarce a sen'night at a place is seen,
That Hand so plies that Pen, though neer the neare;
For when men seek it, else-where it is sent;
Or there shut up, as for the Plague, for Rent:
Without which stay, it never still could stand,
Because the Pen is for a Running-Hand (67).

(67) J. Davies his
Scourge of Folly,
8vo, p. 104.

G

Portsham in that county. He was educated at Wincheſter-ſchool, and admitted perpetual Fellow of New College in Oxford, in the year 1550, after having ſerved two years of probation. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded upon the Phyſic line, and was admitted to practice in that Faculty, in 1558, being at that time Proctor of the univerſity, and Prebendary of Dultingcote or Dulcot in the church of Wells; which preferment he reſigned in 1579. In 1561, he was appointed the Queen's Profeſſor of Phyſic in the univerſity of Oxford. Two years after, he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty, and at laſt was appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to her Maſteſty. He was eſteemed to be very ſkilful in his profeſſion, and was much followed for his practice. He died March the 3d 1592, at 63 years of age, and was buried in the Inner Chapel of New College in Oxford. His poſterity, Mr Wood tells us, ſubſiſted at Ducklington near Whitney in Oxfordſhire, and ſome of them had been Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid county (a).

(a) Wood, *Hiſt. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

convaleſcentium et ſenum, et præcipue de noſtræ ale et biræ paratione, &c. i. e. 'An Explication of Galen concerning the drink of thoſe who are recovering from a fit of ſickneſs, and the aged; and

'particularly concerning the preparation of Engliſh Ale and Beer, &c.' This piece was in Manuſcript, in 4to, in the library of Robert Earl of Aylebury (1). T

(1) Wood, *Hiſt. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

BALIOL or BALLIOL (JOHN DE) [A] founder of Balliol-College in Oxford, was the ſon of Hugh de Balliol [B] of Bernard's-caſtle in the dioceſe of Durham (a). He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knights fees [C], a conſiderable eſtate in thoſe times. But he received a great addition thereto, by his marriage with Dervorgille [D], one of the three daughters and coheireſſes of Alan of Galloway (a great Baron in Scotland) by Margaret the eldeſt ſiſter of John Scot, the laſt Earl of Cheſter, and one of the heirs to David, ſome time Earl of Huntingdon (b) From the year 1248 to 1254 he was Sheriff of the county of Cumberland (c); and in 1248 was conſtituted Governor of the caſtle of Carlifle (d). Upon the marriage of Margaret daughter of King Henry III to Alexander III King of Scotland, the guardianship of them both, and of that kingdom, was committed to our Sir John de Balliol (e), and to another Lord (f); but, about three years after, they were ſo grievouſly accuſed of abuſing their truſt, that the King marched towards Scotland with an army, to chaſtiſe them. However, in conſideration of the many important ſervices performed in the moſt difficult times,

(a) Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 523, 524.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 524 & p. 46. & 609.

(c) *Rot. Pip.* 32 Hen. III. Cumb.

(d) *Pat.* 32. Hen. III. m. 8.

(e) *M. Weſtm.* ad ann. 1252. p. 350.

(f) Robert de Roſs of Werke.

[A] BALLIOL (JOHN DE.) So his name is commonly written (1). But it is found otherwiſe in different authors: As, for inſtance, in M. Paris, *de Bailliol* (2), *de Bailloil* (3), *de Bailloil* (4), and *de Baiiol* (5). In Matthew of Weſtmiſter, *de Baliolo* (6), *de Baiiol* (7), and *de Bailloil* (8). And in Henry de Knyghton, *de Baliolo* (9). Modern authors commonly write it *Baliol*.

[B] Was the ſon of Hugh de Balliol.] N— de Balliol, Lord of the Manors or Seigneuries of Baillol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France (10), came in with William the Conqueror. — His ſon Guy, as is ſuppoſed, was made Lord of the Foreſt of Teedale and Marwood by William Rufus, who gave him alſo the manors of Middleton and Gainsford in Northumberland (11). — He was ſucceeded in thoſe eſtates by his ſon Bernard de Baillol, who built that ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the river Teefe, called from him Bernard-caſtle. — His ſon was named Eufſace; — whoſe ſon Hugh de Baillol was father of John, who is the ſubject of this article. This is the pedigree of that noble family, as traced by Sir W. Dugdale (12). Dr James Anderſon ſets it down thus (13), *Guy—Guy—Hugh—Bernard—John*. And Dr Henry Savage, in a manner different from both, *viz.* *Bernard Balliol—John—Edward—Bernard—John* founder of Balliol college (14). Which is the truſt, we cannot poſſibly determine, at ſo great a diſtance of time.

[C] He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees.] That he was eminent for power and riches, we learn from Matt. Paris; who calls him — *magne virum potentie & autoritatis* (15), and — *Miles dives & potens* (16). — And that he was poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees appears from hence: becauſe in the twenty-ninth of King Henry III, he paid thirty pounds upon levying the aid for marrying the King's eldeſt daughter, for the thirty Knight's fees he held (17). And again, in the fortieth year of the ſaid King, he paid ſixty pounds for the ſame, upon levying the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon a Knight (18). — To ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, we ſhall give a ſhort account of what a Knight's fee was. It was then ſo much inheritance in land as was ſufficient to maintain a Knight; and this was fifteen pounds a year

in the time of King Henry III (19): but by the Statute 1 Edw. II. c. i. a Knight's fee was twenty pounds a year. Sir Tho. Smith rates it at Forty pounds per ann. (20). According to Sir Edw. Coke, a Knight's fee contained four hundred and eighty acres of land (21): but, according to others (22), ſix hundred and eighty, or eight hundred, acres. So that, allowing for the difference in the preſent value of money from what it was in the reign of King Henry III, a Knight's fee of twenty pounds per ann. then, would be now worth near 400 l. a year.

[D] Dervorgille.] Her name is variously written, *Dervorgille*, *Dervorgulle*, *Dervorguille*, *Dervorguilla*, *Dervorgoyle*, and *Dervorgulla* (23). She was, in her own right, Counteſs of Huntingdon, Lady of Galloway, and alſo coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter. The two former titles, of Counteſs of Huntingdon, and Lady of Galloway, ſhe obtained, as being one of the three daughters and heirs of Alan Baron of Galloway, by his wife Margaret, eldeſt daughter of David Earl of Angus, Galloway, and Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland (24). But it is a queſtion, whether this Earldom was ſuffered actually to devolve unto her, in aſmuch as ſhe is in no record whatſoever, ſiſled Counteſs or Lady of Huntingdon, nor her huſband John de Balliol Earl thereof, though they enjoyed the lands and caſtle of Podringhay in Northamptonſhire thereunto belonging; only ſhe gave the arms of the Earl of Huntingdon in her ſeal (25). She was alſo, as I have ſaid, coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter; becauſe her mother, Margaret, was the eldeſt ſiſter of John (ſurnamed Scot) Earl of Cheſter, who died without iſſue in the year 1244. But King Henry would not ſuffer ſo great an honour, as that County-Palatine was, to be divided among women: Therefore he took it into his own hands, and annexed it to the Crown for ever; giving the laſt Earl's ſiſter ſome lordſhips and eſtates by way of compenſation: And to the Lady Dervorgille, in particular, the manors of Luddingland and Torkeſey in Lincolnſhire, and Yarmouth in Norfolk (26) Her two ſiſters were, Helen, married to Robert de Quincy hereditary Conſtable of Scotland; and Chriſtiana wife of William de Fortibus Earl of Albemarle, which dying without iſſue, her eſtates in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln, fell to John de Balliol and his wife (27).

(19) See M. Paris, as above, p. 926.

(20) De Republica Anglorum, c. xvii.

(21) 2 Inſtit. p. 596.

(22) Camden's, Britannia, in The Degrees of England, Vol. I. edit. 1742. p. 246.

(23) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(24) Anderſon, ubi ſupra, p. 758.

(25) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(26) Dugdale ubi ſupra, p. 45, 46.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 524. See alſo Anderſon, p. 758.

(2) See A. Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* Lib. II. p. 69, &c.
 (3) Page 430.
 (4) Page 639, 999.
 (5) Page 907.
 (6) Page 993.
 (7) Edit. Francof. 1601, p. 350.
 (8) Page 385.
 (9) Page 387.
 (10) Inter Decem Scriptores, edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2447.
 (11) Hector. Boethius, *Hiſt. Scot.*
 (12) Royal Genealogies, by J. Anderſon, D. D. Lond. 1732, fol. p. 759.
 (13) Ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.
 (14) Ubi ſupra.
 (15) *Hiſt. Angl.* dit. ut ſupra, p. 908.
 (16) Page 909.
 (17) *Rot. Pip.* 9 Hen. III. Northumb.
 (18) *Ibid.* 40 Hen. III.

times, to K. John the King's father, by Hugh our John Balliol's father; and especially by a sum of money, of which he had great plenty, he soon made his peace (g). In the year 1258, he had orders to attend the King at Chester, with horse and arms, to oppose the incursions of Llewelyn Prince of Wales (h). And, two years after, in recompence of his services to King Henry, as well in France as England, he had a grant of two hundred marks; for discharging which, the King gave him the wardship of William de Waffingle (i). In part of the years 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, and 1264, he was Sheriff for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (k): and in 1261, was appointed keeper of the honour of Peverell (l). In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of Balliol-College in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow (m) [E]. During the contests and wars between King Henry III and his Barons, he firmly adhered to the King; on which account his lands were seized and detained by the Barons, but restored again through one of his sons interposition (n). In 1264, he attended the King at the battle of Northampton, wherein the Barons were defeated (o): but, the year following, he was taken prisoner, with many others, after the King's fatal overthrow at Lewes (p). However, it seems he soon after made his escape, and endeavoured to keep the northern parts of England in King Henry's obedience (q). Moreover, having obtained authority from Prince Edward, he joined with other of the northern Barons, and raised all the force he could to rescue the King from his confinement (r). He died a little before Whitfuntide, in the year 1269 (s): leaving three sons behind him, Hugh, and Alexander, who both died without issue: and *John*, afterwards chosen King of Scotland. See the next article.

(g) M. Westm. ad ann. 1255. p. 362. et Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. Edit. 1640. p. 908, 909.

(h) Claus. 42. Hen. III. m. 11.

(i) Claus. 44. Hen. III. m. 5.

(k) Rot. Pip. Nott. & Derb.

(l) Pat. 46. Hen. III. m. 20.

(m) H. Savage's Ballio-fergus, as above p. 6.

(n) Claus. 47. Hen. III. m. 5.

(28) Ballio-fergus, ubi supra, p. 6.

(29) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 69, 85.

(30) Savage, ubi supra, p. 11.

(31) Chronica de Mailros, inter Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum, Tom. I. Oxon. 1684, fol. p. 241.

(32) Now called Canditch.

(33) Savage, ubi supra, p. 8.

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 524.

(b) See for the proof of this, almost all the English and Scots Historians; but particularly Speed and Tyrrel, among the former, and Abercromby among the latter.

(c) Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 336.

(d) Fordun's Synchron. edit. T. Hearne, p. 953.

(o) Guisei. Rishanger Continuatur. M. Paris. p. 993. &c. and Hen. de Knyghton, ubi supra, col. 2447, 2448.

(p) M. Westm. ad ann. 1264. p. 387.

(q) Ibid. p. 390.

(r) Claus. 50. Hen. III. in dorso, m. 9.

(s) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 524.

[E] In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of Balliol-college in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow. I follow Dr Savage (28), in placing this foundation under the year 1263. But Mr A. Wood, without assigning any reasons for it, brings it as low as the year 1267, or 1268: which undoubtedly was done on purpose to make it later than that of his college of Merton (29); for which he hath been severely animadverted upon by Mr W. Smith, in his Annals of University-college. — All that our founder John de Balliol did, was to settle yearly exhibitions upon sixteen scholars (30), till he should provide them a fit house and other accommodations. His allowance to them was only eight pence a week each, *ad communem eorum mensam* (31); now equal to ten or twelve shillings. At his death he recommended this pious design to his wife and executors. In pursuance of which, the Lady Dervorgille settled those scholars in a tenement the hired of the University, in Horsmongers-street (32), in St Mary Magdalen's parish, now part of the upper end of the present quadrangle of the College (33), and prescribed

statutes for their government in the year 1282 (34). Two years after, she purchased another tenement near the former, called Mary's-Hall; and when she had repaired it, the society were here settled by her charter; confirmed by her son Sir John de Balliol, afterward King of Scots, and by Oliver, Bishop of Lincoln (35). By which confirmation it appears, that this new foundation was filed, *Domus Scholarium de Balliolo*; and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, St Catherine, and the whole court of Heaven (36). Her endowment of the same consisted in *some houses* in Oxford; which, together with the site of the College, cost her fourscore marks (37); and lands in *Stanforabam*, and the *Howgh*, in the county of Northumberland; but most of these were afterwards lost (38). However, by the subsequent benefactions of Sir Philip de Somerville, Kt. who founded six scholarships; of Peter Blundell, &c. and especially of John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, who gave fourscore pounds a year, for the maintenance of four scholars born in Scotland; the revenues of that College are now able to maintain twelve fellows, and fourteen scholars.

(34) Ibid. p. 15, &c.

(35) Ibid. p. 18, &c. 23, 24, 25.

(36) See p. 18, 23.

(37) Ibid. p. 24.

(38) Ibid. p. 23, 24, 27. See also A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. as above, p. 69, 70.

BALIOL, BALLIOL, BOILLIOL, BOYLLOL, or BAILLOL (JOHN DE) King of Scotland, was descended from a most illustrious family, and was possessed of very large estates in Scotland and France, as well as England, though he chiefly resided here (a). The particulars of his history, so far as they can be with any certainty collected, either from the writings of historians or records, are of infinite consequence to the right understanding of the English and Scottish histories, during that period in which he flourished, and for want of having a Life of this Prince written with care, and from the authority of original authors, both English and Scottish writers have run into great confusion, often abusing each other for involuntary mistakes, and charging those things on a spirit of falsehood and partiality, which were, in reality, owing to misapprehension or want of due intelligence (b). As the clearing up those difficulties in our history, is the great point aimed at by compiling this life, and as it is indeed a point of far greater consequence, than the assembling the scattered memoirs of a person so long deceased, would otherwise be; it is requisite for this purpose, that we should introduce this article, by giving a distinct view both of the state of England and Scotland, at the time to which it relates (c). The great point of policy pursued by King Edward the first, was attaining the absolute sovereignty of this whole island, which he began by the conquest of Wales, and had well nigh finished by that of Scotland; which indeed, he more than once conquered, as we shall have occasion to shew in this article. But first we are to observe, how things stood in that kingdom before the extinction of the male line of the Royal family, which gave occasion to that controversy, by which John Balliol mounted the throne of Scotland (d). Alexander the third, King of Scots, a Prince equally renowned for his great and good qualities, married, when very young, Margaret, the daughter of Henry the third, King of England, and sister to Edward the first, which alliance brought him to have a greater intercourse with the court of England than most of his predecessors, and he was so happy, as to spend his whole life in the same intimacy and friendship with his father and brother-in-law, notwithstanding the high dignities they all possessed, as if they had been private persons, inasmuch, that he made several visits with his Queen to the English court; and, on the other hand, both her brothers and her nephew Edward,

while

while Prince of Wales, visited the Queen of Scots in her own kingdom (e). In the midst however, of all this friendship and affection, King Alexander was very careful to avoid doing any thing that might prejudice the rights of his crown, or fortify that claim which the Kings of England had set up, as Lords Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland: Thus for instance, when he went with his Queen to assist at the coronation of her brother King Edward, who succeeded his father King Henry III in 1272, he took a very extraordinary precaution; for he previously obtained from that Monarch a solemn act, by which he declared, that the presence of the King of Scots upon this occasion, should be no way prejudicial to him or to his kingdom (f). A. D. 1273, we find him again at Westminster, where he was present in a Parliament held by King Edward, in which he did homage to that Monarch by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, for his lands in England (g). This King Alexander having had long wars and great controversies with the Monarchs of Norway, at length compromised them all, and by a treaty of marriage which is still extant, gave his daughter Margaret, who was also niece to King Edward I, to Eric, King of that country. By the sixteenth article of this treaty which was concluded in 1281, it was stipulated, that the issue of this marriage, should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland, in case the King died without heirs male of whom he had then two hopeful Princes Alexander and David, even tho' the issue of that marriage should be daughters only (h). This provision came very soon after to take place, the King losing first his son David, and then Alexander Prince of Scotland, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, but died nevertheless without issue (i). In this melancholy situation of his affairs, King Alexander to provide in the best manner possible for the succession in his own family, and for the peace of his dominions, engaged the nobility of Scotland by a solemn act to promise allegiance to Margaret the daughter of Eric, King of Norway by Margaret his daughter, which act was dated A. D. 1284, in the thirty-fifth year of that Monarch's reign (k). But he being at that time a widower married, in hopes of having male issue, a French Lady, daughter to the Earl of Dreux, soon after which he most unhappily broke his neck by a fall from his horse, on the 19th of March 1286. Upon his demise Buchanan tells us, tho' certainly very falsely, that the States of Scotland met at Scoon in order to elect a new King (l), which, as we have seen, was not in their power to do, neither is it probable, that King Edward of England would have borne with such an attempt as this, to the prejudice of their lawful Sovereign Queen Margaret, the grand-daughter of his own sister. The truth of the matter is, that on the 11th of April, A. D. 1286, the nobility of Scotland met at the place before mentioned, in order to provide for the security of the government and the execution of the laws, which they did by choosing six guardians or regents, accountable to their Queen when she should be at home and of full age (m). This however proved a slender security, for in a short time after these guardians fell out among themselves, and instead of preserving the peace of the kingdom, created therein by these unseasonable disputes a civil war, which lasted between two and three years to the destruction of several of them, as well as to the endangering of their country (n). All this while it seems, little notice was taken of the young and absent Queen Margaret: Her father Eric, King of Norway, at whose court she still continued, beheld the growing distractions of her subjects from afar, but being unable to remedy them by himself, had at length recourse to a friendly mediation of Edward I, King of England, whom, by reason of his great power, his neighbourhood to Scotland, the long friendship entertained between the two nations, his influence over the guardians, and more particularly, by reason of his near relation to the Queen, he thought, and he was in the right, the fittest man in the world to see that quick justice should be done her. In hopes of this, he commissioned his Plenipotentiaries at Bergen on the first day of April, A. D. 1289, to go over to the King of England, and in his presence, to treat with the Scots about affairs relating to the honour and interest of himself and his daughter (o). These Ambassadors were very kindly received, by that great Monarch to whom they were sent, and who had not as yet, at least so far as appears from history, formed any designs to the prejudice of Scotland; but, on the contrary, was very assiduous in his endeavours to promote the interest of it's inhabitants, as appears by his letter dated at Clarendon, November 6, 1289, directed to the Prelates, Nobility, and other principal persons in the kingdom of Scotland, by which he very pathetically exhorts them to a peaceable, steady, and faithful obedience to their lawful Sovereign, Queen Margaret, and testifies his intention to send very speedily some of his principal Nobility to enquire into the state of things in their country (p). He did accordingly soon after send such Commissioners, not barely to look into the affairs of Scotland, but upon an affair of far greater importance, for he had now formed a design of uniting the two kingdoms, by a marriage between his eldest son, Edward of Caernarvan, stiled afterwards, Prince of Wales, and the young Queen Margaret, which he was desirous might be accomplished with the consent of the States of Scotland (q). His Ambassadors accordingly proposed it in an assembly convened for that purpose, and set forth all the advantages that would attend this marriage with the utmost eloquence. There are very different accounts given, of the reception this proposition met with from the States of that kingdom, for some say that, it was universally applauded; and others, that it was but very coldly entertained (r): The latter seems to be the more probable account of the two, because it is certain, that tho' the point was carried and a treaty agreed on, by which the two kingdoms were to be united, yet the very articles themselves

(e) Buchan. in Vit. Alex. III. Hector. Boeth. Scotorum Hist. lib. xiii. Lefleus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 234.

(f) Appendix to Mr Anderson's Essay, No. 26.

(g) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 126.

(h) Lefleus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 232. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 1079.

(i) Joan. Major. de Gestis Scotorum, lib. iv.

(k) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 266.

(l) Historia Scocie ad init. l. viii.

(m) Hector. Boeth. Scotorum Histor. l. xiv.

(n) Buchan. Hist. Scot. l. viii.

(o) Hector. Boeth. Scotorum Histor. l. xiv.

(p) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 245.

(q) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967.

(r) See the Bishop of St Andrew's Letter to King Edward, in which this point is fully cleared up, in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1092.

themselves shew, that the Scotch obtained all they could ask, which makes it plainly appear, that they were not over ready to come into this agreement: As they are certainly very curious in every respect, but chiefly as they appear to be the first plan that was ever drawn for such a coalition, the reader therefore may very probably be inclined to see them [A]. That there was a great party formed against this measure is also certain, for Robert Bruce, and several others, declined taking their seats there, tho' afterwards they came to the assembly on the report of the young Queen's death (s). It must be admitted notwithstanding, that King Edward had a very strong party in Scotland, at the head of which was the Bishop of St Andrews, whom the King had lately made his Chaplain, and our John Balliol, who had always adhered to the English interest, as indeed most of his family had done, and had thereby gained great advantages to themselves (t) [B]: Some

writers

[A] *The reader therefore, may, very probably, be inclined to see them.* The Commissioners or Ambassadors mentioned in the text, were Anthony, Bishop of Durham, and Ralph, Bishop of Carlisle, John, Earl of Warren, and Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Sir William de Vesey, Knight, and Henry Newarke, Dean of York: And in the preamble to the articles it is expressly said, that they, as procurators, or persons empowered by their master, King Edward of England, negotiated this treaty of marriage with the Guardians of the kingdom, and the rest of the Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, as well with the Nobility, Earls, Barons, and the whole Community of Scotland (1); so that nothing was omitted that could render this union solemn and binding on all parties; and it fully appears, by the penning of the articles, that it was intended to give all manner of satisfaction to the Scots, in doing which, the King ran no sort of hazard; for if there was issue of this marriage, all he granted came to his grand-children, and if there was none, he was left to the measures he had before concerted. The substance of these articles were as follows,

I. That the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland, shall for ever remain entire and unalterable, and the kingdom continue separated, divided, and free in itself from the kingdom of England without any subjection, by it's true bounds and limits as it had been before; saving the right of the King of England, or of any other person whatever, which he or they might have either to the marches or elsewhere, which before this treaty belonged to them, or might justly belong to them in time to come.

Mr Abercromby supposes, that this salvo was inserted for certain dark and secret purposes, to which I can by no means agree, because I think the words may be very fairly interpreted of the rights, which either he or some of his subjects might have to lands within the boundaries of the kingdom of Scotland, as assigned by this treaty (2).

II. That if Edward and Margaret shall die without issue of the Body of Margaret, the kingdom shall revert entire, free, absolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

III. That in case of the death of Prince Edward, without issue of the body of Margaret, her Majesty's person shall be remitted in like manner free and independent to Scotland.

IV. That no persons either ecclesiastick or laick, shall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to ask leave either to elect or to present their elects, nor to do their homage, fealty, and services, nor to prosecute law-suits, nor, in a word, to perform ought usual performed in Scotland.

V. That the kingdom of Scotland shall have it's Chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature, &c. as before, and that a new seal shall be made and kept by the Chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the Queen of Scotland be engraven upon it.

VI. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, shall be lodged in some secure place within the kingdom, at the sight of the Nobility, whose seals shall be appended to them, and there kept till either the Queen shall return to her own kingdom, or shall have heirs to succeed her.

VII. That Parliaments when called to treat of matter concerning the State or inhabitants of Scotland, shall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

VIII. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland, but such as being usual in former times shall consist with the common interest and good of the nation.

IX. That the King of England shall oblige himself and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable to the Church of Rome, in aid of the Holy-Land, to make restitution of the kingdom, in the cases aforesaid, and that he shall consent that the Pope restrain him and his heirs by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the aforesaid restriction, and payment of the said sum of money, if he or they do not stand to the premises. And,

X. Lastly, that King Edward, at his own charges, shall procure the Pope to confirm these articles, within a year after the consummation of the marriage; and that within the same time, the Bull of his Holiness shall be delivered to the Community of the kingdom of Scotland.

These articles and concessions were sealed by the Commissioners on Tuesday next before the feast of St Margaret, that is, on the 18th of July, A. D. 1290: And the letters patents for confirmation of this agreement, which was word for word repeated in them, were sealed with the King's seal at Northampton on the 28th of August following (3); and on the same day, the King appointed, by special commission, the Bishop of Durham to be Lieutenant to Queen Margaret, and his son Prince Edward in Scotland, for preserving the peace and government of that kingdom, with the advice of the Guardians, Prelates, and great men, according to their own laws and customs (4); and the Guardians and Nobility of Scotland, with the Governors and Captains of the castles and fortresses, engaged themselves by an instrument to deliver them up, when their Queen and her husband should come into that kingdom (5): So that every precaution possible was taken, for the mutual satisfaction of both nations, in case this marriage had taken effect, which, as is said in the text, was defeated by the death of Queen Margaret in the autumn of the year 1291, in the island of Orkney, whither she had been conducted by Sir Michael Scott, and Sir David Weems, as Commissioners from the States of Scotland to bring her home to her dominions.

[B] *And had thereby gained great advantages to themselves.* It will be proper here to shew how this illustrious family of Balliol came to have such large estates, and so great an interest, as at this time it plainly appears they had in the kingdom of England.

The first then of this family whom we find mentioned in the English history, is, Guy de Balliol, to whom King William II gave the manor of Biwell in Northumberland (6), his son Bernard de Balliol adhered steadily to King Stephen, and is supposed to have been the founder of Bernard castle upon the bank of Teife (7), his son Eustace flourished in the reign of King John (8), and his son Hugh de Balliol did great service against the Scots in the same reign (9). In the reign of Henry the third we find several Balliols serving with great fidelity in the worst of times, and always true to the royal family. It was owing to the various branches of this great family, that some confusion appears in their genealogy, but it is very certain, that John Balliol, son to Hugh de Balliol, married Dervorguill, or, as she is sometimes called, Darvorigilla, daughter to Alan of Galway, in whose right he was seized of Galway or Galloway in Scotland, and of many large estates in England (10), she being co-heiress of John Scott, the last Earl of Chester. This John de Balliol, upon the marriage of Margaret, daughter of King Henry III, to Alexander the third King of Scotland, was constituted one of the Governors of that kingdom, in which office he is said to have misbehaved, which exposed him to some trouble (11); but however, he recovered the King's favour, and did him great service

(s) Buchan. Hist. Scot. l. viii. ad init.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. 1. p. 523.

(1) Rymer, Fœd. Tom. II. p. 482.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 487, 489.

(4) Ibid. p. 487.

(5) Ibid. p. 488.

(2) Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. 1. p. 460.

(6) Testa de Nevil, Northum. Monast. Anglie. Vol. I. p. 338, 11, 10.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523.

(8) Clauf. 17 Jac. m. 8. Math. Paris. p. 276.

(9) Testa de Nevil. Northumb.

(10) Math. Paris. p. 433, 11, 30. Clauf. 22 H. III. m. 22. Pat. 22 H. III. m. 10.

(11) Math. Paris. p. 407, 11, 10. Ibid. p. 909, again 11, 10.

writers say, that he had great promises made him for the service he did the English court upon this occasion, which is not at all improbable, and perhaps he might have in view either the sole government, or a large share in the regency, in case this marriage had taken effect; but this was soon rendered impracticable by the death of the young Queen Margaret, which happened in her passage from Norway, her native country, to her hereditary kingdom of Scotland. This opened a new scene of affairs, for the direct line of the royal family being in her extinct, a great dispute arose about the right of succession in the collateral branches (u). The two chief competitors were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, both claiming under their common ancestor David, Earl of Huntington, both having fair pretences, but neither, as the law of that kingdom then stood, a clear or indisputable right [C]. But besides these, there started up no less than eight other pretenders, whether moved by their own ambition, or secretly incited thereto by the arts of King Edward, is a point, which, at this distance of time, cannot well be determined; but, however, this is very certain, that none of them could well be said, to have so much as a colour of right (w) [D]. The Barons of Scotland assumed to themselves the quality of Judges, and were afterwards declared to be the only legal and proper judges of a point, in which, except the competitors, none were so nearly concerned as themselves. But considering the great and extensive interest of Balliol and Bruce, it was foreseen, that these judges would not easily come to a determination, and besides there very soon appeared good grounds to doubt, whether, if they did, the claimants would readily submit to their decision (x). It was therefore agreed, from a mixture of policy, fear, and irresolution, that the whole matter should be left to the arbitration of King Edward, who no doubt very readily accepted a trust, which he had been so long endeavouring, by all

(u) Major, Lefleus, Buchan, &c.

(w) Thom. Walsingham. Math. Westm.

(x) Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249.

against the rebels, maintaining all the northern parts of the kingdom firm in his interest, by the assistance of the King of Scots (12). He died in the year 1269, but his wife survived him; and from records it seems that he left three sons, Hugh, the eldest, was at that time twenty-eight years of age, but he did not long survive him, dying in the year 1272 (13); he was succeeded by his brother Alexander Balliol (14), who died in 1278, or thereabouts, and was succeeded by the third brother, John Balliol, who is the subject of this article, and who seems to have been under age at this time, since, upon the demise of his brother, the custody of his lands was committed to Robert de Evre (15), but in the 10th year of the reign of Edward I, he appears to have had seigniorship of his tenants, being then abroad in the King's service in an expedition into Wales (16); so that it is probable, he might be born about the year 1260, or perhaps somewhat earlier.

[C] Then stood, a clear and indisputable right.] In the former note, we have given as clear an account as could be collected from our Records of the family of Balliol in England, which account agrees perfectly well with that, which in this note we are to give of the claim, set up by this John Balliol to the crown of Scotland, in default of the direct line of the royal family (17). In the first place, however, it will be requisite to shew, when, how, and whence the collateral branches sprung. In few words then, the fact stood thus, Henry, Prince of Scotland, son to King David the first, who died before his father, left three sons, Malcolm, surnamed the Maiden; William, surnamed the Lion, from his great courage; and David, Earl of Huntington. King William had but one son, called Alexander the second, and who was father of Alexander the third, his only surviving issue, who married Margaret, daughter to King Henry III of England, and sister to Edward I, by her he had two sons, viz. Alexander, and David, who died without issue, and one daughter, named Margaret, married to Eric, King of Norway, by whom she had one only daughter, named also Margaret, late Queen of Scotland, who dying without issue, the whole line of William the Lion failing, the right of the crown remained in one of the defendants of the said David, Earl of Huntington, but to which of them it belonged was a difficulty somewhat hard to be decided. This David, Earl of Huntington, had three sons, viz. Henry, Robert, and John, the two first died young, the last took the surname of Scot, and was Earl of Chester; he dying also without issue, his succession fell to the heirs female of his father David, who left three daughters, the eldest of which was Margaret, who married Allan, Lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only daughter, Dervorgilla, or, as some write it, Dergovilla, who married John Balliol, the founder of Balliol college in Oxford, and father to John Balliol of whom we are speaking; and who, in his mother's right, claimed the kingdom of Scotland (18). The

second daughter of David Earl of Huntington was Isabella, who married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the other claimant (19). According to this account it is very clear, that Balliol represented the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntington, and Robert Bruce, the second daughter; but then Balliol was one degree more remote, as being the great-grandson of the said David, Earl of Huntington, whereas Robert Bruce was only his grandson, so that the one was of the elder line, the other, nearest in degree; which, in few words, expresses clearly the point in debate between them.

[D] Could well be said to have so much as a colour of right.] We will state, for the sake of perspicuity, the claims of the rest of the pretenders to the crown of Scotland, in the order in which their petitions lie in the great roll of proceedings before King Edward (20), which leads us to speak, 1. Of Florence, Earl of Flanders, who set forth, that his great-grandmother was Ada, eldest sister of William, King of Scotland, but then it is to be considered, that this lady was sister likewise to David, Earl of Huntington, who, consequently, had a prior right to the crown, and the claimants beforementioned derived their right from him. 2. Patrick Dornbar, Earl of March, set forth a much shorter and clearer right, as being descended from Ilda, the daughter of King William, but then she was a natural daughter, of which he takes no notice in his petition. 3. William de Vesey claimed under Margery, another daughter, that is, also another natural daughter of King William. 4. William de Ros claimed under Isabella, the eldest natural daughter of King William. 5. Robert de Pynkeney set forth that he was descended by the mother's side from Margery, the sister of William King of Scotland. 6. Nicholas de Soules claimed under Margery, sister to King Alexander III. 7. Patrick Gallythly conceived he had a claim from his father Henry Gallythly, who was a bastard son of King William's. 8. Roger de Mandeville was descended from a bastard daughter of the same King. 9. John Cumine had quite another title, for he claimed under King Donald, that is Donald Bane, or, Donald the White, an usurper about two hundred years before; but he was willing to lay by his pretension in favour of John Balliol. He might also have added of Robert Bruce and John Hastings, for to say the truth, none but these three had colourable pretensions, nay, that of Hastings was scarcely such, when balanced with that of Bruce. Both were the immediate sons of the lawful daughters of Earl David, the brother of Malcolm the Maiden, and of King William; but Ada, the mother of Hastings, was the younger sister, who must therefore yield to Isabella the mother of Bruce; but then both Isabella and Ada were younger than Margaret, who was the grandmother of John Balliol, so that, as we before observed, the question was; who represented David, Earl of Huntington (21).

(19) Buchan Res. Scotie. Hist. lib. viii.

(20) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 542-600. It is from this Record our best historians speak; and farther than they agree with this Record, neither English or Scots Historians are to be regarded.

(12) H. Knyghton, p. 2447, 2448.

(13) Rot. Fin. 53 H. III. m. 12.

(14) Efc. 56 H. III. m. 26.

(15) Rot. Fin. 7 E. m. 14.

(16) Rot. Scutag. Wall. 10 E. I. m. 3.

(17) Johan. Fordun. Scotchchron. p. 960.

(18) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 578.

(21) See Brady, Tyrrel, and Abercromby.

(y) Vide T. Walsingham, H. Knyghton, W. Hemingford, &c.

(z) Rot. de superioritate Regis in Scotiam 18 E. 1, penes Custod. Record. in Turre London. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 525. Pryne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 488, 489.

(a) Chron. Abington. Thom. Walsingham, p. 56.

(b) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 543. Robert Brunne's Chron. p. 248, 249. Johan. Rossii Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 189.

(c) Hæst. Boëth. Scot. Hist. p. 273. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Histor. lib. viii.

all the arts a great politician could use, to have reposed in his hands; nor was it long, before he discovered to the world, what use it was he intended to make of it (y). In this however, as well as in every thing else, he proceeded with great caution and dexterity. The first step taken, was the assembling of the States of Scotland at Norham, a town on the borders, at the request of King Edward, to which he repaired in person, and on the tenth of May 1291, opened himself to that assembly in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner, declaring that he looked upon himself as the superior and direct Lord of Scotland, and that he expected in the first place, that the States should acknowledge him as such (z). They expressed a very great surprize at so strange a demand, but the answer they made was very sensible and judicious. They said that they were very unhappy in being at present without a head, and that this unhappiness was increased, by the demanding of them an acknowledgment of a right, of which, till then, they had never heard; and that they had bound themselves by an oath, to acknowledge no Prince or Superior, but the person who should be declared heir to their late King Alexander III, and this under pain of excommunication (a). King Edward having received this answer, adjourned the Assembly to the next day, when the States met again and desired further time, that, in a matter of such importance, they might have leisure to consult their countrymen. This could not decently be refused, and therefore the King very readily granted them a respite for three weeks, and this was the end of that assembly, and of its proceeding (b) [E]. They met again about the appointed time, and on the second of June following, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, declared to them, that since nothing was offered in bar to the right his master claimed, the King took his sovereignty to be acknowledged, and that he expected the competitors, the Guardians of the Kingdom, together with the Prelates and Barons, styling themselves the Community of Scotland, to recognize him as their Superior and direct Lord, which was accordingly done by such as were present, and, amongst the rest, by Robert Bruce, as the record still extant witnesses, though the Scotch Historians absolutely deny it (c) [F]. John Balliol was not there, and very probable his absence was premeditated

[E] And this was the end of that assembly, and of its proceedings.] Whoever consults that great record concerning this important transaction, which still remains in being, will find that every thing was conducted therein with the greatest shew of justice. Yet Mr Tyrrel seems to have gone a little too far, in asserting this assembly at Norham to have been a parliament of Scotland, called by King Edward I, as supreme and direct Lord thereof (22), which, to speak truth, neither agrees with the record, with the matter of fact, or indeed, with common sense: Not with the record, for therein it is expressly said, that they assembled there at the request of King Edward, to hear what he had to say to them, which, considering their submitting to his arbitration, was very just and reasonable; not reconcileable to fact, for if the King had called them in right of his superiority and direct dominion over Scotland, they could not have pretended any surprize on his assuming that title; and lastly, this is not reconcileable to common sense, since if he had summoned this assembly, as superior Lord of Scotland, he must have summoned them upon the oddest occasion in the world, since all he pretended to on that occasion, was to get this right of his acknowledged, as will more clearly appear by considering the steps that were taken. It was not the King himself, but the King's Justice who opened his Majesty's claim to the assembly in French, who adjourned them to the eleventh of May, to give their answer to this claim, and met them for this purpose at the parish church of Norham, when, as the record tells us, they earnestly pressed the King to give them longer time to consult with such as were absent, and to answer his demands concerning their recognition of his superiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, which he said was his right: Then upon further deliberation, he gave them time until the second of June next coming, and on that day precisely they were to answer his demands, and if they had any evidences, writings, or antiquities, to produce, which might exclude him from the right and exercise of his said superiority, or direct dominion, or overthrow his reasons and arguments for it, they were then to exhibit and shew them; protesting he was ready to allow them what the law permitted, and to do what was just; and that they might better understand his title, and make their objections against it if they pleased, the Bishop of Durham was appointed to set it forth to all the Nobles, and Prelates there present. It is true, the declaration he then made, and arguments he used, were wholly historical, and had been searched for, and taken out of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmbury, Roger de

Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, and the Chronicle of St Albans, Matt. Paris, that lay then in several of the abbies of England, being to this effect: That the Scots had been conquered by several of our Saxon Kings, that many of their Kings had submitted and sworn fealty to them, done homage, and received the crown and kingdom from them, and that the Scots had also submitted and been governed by such Kings, as the English Saxon Kings had placed in that kingdom. That after the Conquest, the very same things had been done, submitted to, and complied with, in the reigns of William I, and II, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, and Henry III (23). Mr Tyrrel's remarks on all this, appears equally just and impartial. 'This is the substance of that declaration, which you may find more at large in the histories of Matth. Westminster, and Tho. Walsingham, and which the King caused to be set forth, to satisfy the clergy and nobility of Scotland: but to speak the truth, though the matters of fact, which are therein cited, are rightly enough set down, yet there is no mention made of any homage or fealty done by the Scottish Kings; for the whole kingdom of Scotland, properly so called, which extended antiently no farther than the bridge of Sterling, which in the time of King Edgar, was the boundary between the Scottish and the Northumbrian kingdoms (24).' This clears up the whole matter, and very plainly shews, 1st, What right King Edward really had to homage from the King of Scots; and 2d, What, laying hold of this opportunity, he had a mind (under colour of this right) to exact from them for the future.

[F] Though the Scotch historians absolutely deny it.] It is a very natural thing, and one may almost pronounce it excusable, for an historian to have some inclination to heighten the honour, and palliate the disgraces of his country (25). But then this should be done with judgment and address, rather by reconciling than varying of facts, never at the expence of truth. Buchanan, who was not very tender in this point, and whose pride made him zealous for the honour of the Scots, tells us, upon this occasion, a very fine story of Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, for which however he gives us no authority, and, to say the truth, there was none to be had; because, as fine as the story is, it is founded on a false fact, or rather upon a multitude of false facts, which very plainly prove, that Buchanan wanted both that industry, and that fidelity, which is necessary to a good historian. But since we have accused him, let us hear what he says: 'There, that is, at Norham, Edward, by very fit instruments

(22) General History of England, Vol. III. p. 62.

(23) This deduction of his rights from old Histories and Abbey Chronicles, is to be found at large, inserted in the Great Record of these transactions. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 559.

(24) General History of England, Vol. III. p. 63.

(25) See Abercromby's remarks on this subject.

premeditated, that he might have the example of others to plead in excuse of his own behaviour; but, however, he came the next day, and submitted to make the same acknowledgment (d). This great point carried, pleased King Edward extremely, for he was no less satisfied with acquiring a kingdom by art, than if he had obtained it by conquest, and he took care to publish this sufficiently to the world, as a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was [G]. The several claims to the crown came next to be considered; and as it was not at all King Edward's interest to come to a hasty

(d) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 549.

instruments, tried by soft methods to persuade the Scots to submit to him, as he pretended their ancestors had often done before: But when they all constantly refused, he practised upon the competitors for the crown whom he himself had set up; and by large promises drew them to come into his proposal, persuading the rest to transfer the assembly from Norham to Berwick, as to a more proper place. There selecting twenty-four judges he shut them up in a church, with orders to decide this controversy, forbidding any to resort to them. As he found the thing go on very slowly, he went however in to them himself, and by conferring with them he found, that tho' Balliol had the better right, yet Bruce had more friends: He therefore first applied to him, supposing, that as his right was but indifferent, he would the more readily come into his measures; he therefore promised him the kingdom of Scotland, if he would accept it from the King of England, and hold it of him as of his superior. Bruce answered clearly, that his desire of reigning was not so strong, as that, to gratify it, he should in any degree lessen that liberty which the Scottish nation derived from their ancestors (26). Thus has Buchanan raised the credit of his country, weakened Bruce's title, and, to make him amend, bestowed upon him a magnanimity to which he had no claim; to shew the fallshood of all this, to place so material a point of history in its true light, and to avoid as much as possible that dryness which naturally attends all criticism, we will proceed from the record, and resume the proceedings of the assembly on their next meeting, as they are there stated. On the second of June, the Bishops, and other ecclesiastick Prelates, together with the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of the community of the said kingdom of Scotland, met right over against Norham castle, where King Edward then was, in a green, on the other side of the river Tweed, as did also all the Princes and Noblemen that claimed the kingdom. Then the Bishop of Bath and Wells was sent to demand, in the King's name, what they had done since their last meeting, and whether they would shew, propound, or say any thing, that could, or ought to, exclude the King of England from the right and exercise of his superiority, and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, that they would produce and exhibit it, if they believed it expedient for them; protesting in the name of the King of England, that he would favourably hear them, and allow what was just, and report what they said to him and his council, that upon deliberation they might do what justice required; but since they had answered nothing, neither propounded or exhibited any thing against it, therefore the Bishop recapitulating what had been said and urged for the King's title, and what had been done at these several meetings, in all which they had offered nothing considerable against it, declared to them, the Bishops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others of the Community of Scotland, that the King would make use of his right of superiority and direct dominion in Scotland, in deciding the controversy between the several competitors for that kingdom. Then the Bishop beginning with Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, being one of the chiefest competitors for the kingdom of Scotland, he demanded of him, in the presence of all the estates of the kingdom last mentioned, whether, in claiming the said right, he would answer and receive justice before the King of England, as superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, who openly and expressly, in the presence of all there present, answered, That he did acknowledge the King of England superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, and that he would before and from him, as superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, answer and receive justice. Then all the other competitors there present, viz. Florence, Earl of Holland, the Lord John Hastings, Patrick of Dun-

bar, Earl of March, William Vesey, William de Ros, Robert de Pinkeney, and Nicholas de Soules, had the same question put to them, and made the same answer. John Balliol was then absent, but upon his Proctor's request, the meeting was continued until the next day the third of June, to be in the parish church of Norham, when he gave the same answer to the third question. This was very strong and full, without doubt, and yet it did not absolutely satisfy King Edward, who insisted upon having letters patents in the French tongue from all the claimants, expressing their full satisfaction as to the right he claimed, of being superior Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, promising to submit to his decision of their title, and that he should enjoy the kingdom, to whom King Edward adjudged it (27). We may add to all this, with respect to Robert Bruce, that in the very preamble of his petition, wherein he sets forth his right to the succession of the crown of Scotland, he gives King Edward the title of superior and direct Lord (28). So that there can be nothing more contrary to truth, than what is asserted by Buchanan, and the only excuse that can be made for him is, that he has followed Boethius in general, tho' he has added several circumstances of his own invention (29).

(27) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. p. 579. N. Trivet. Anal. p. 273.

(28) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. p. 544, 545.

(29) HeCor. Boeth. Scotor. Hist. p. 273.

[G] As a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was] There cannot be a stronger instance given of the folly and danger of an ambitious disposition in a Prince of great abilities, than what is contained in the history of the conduct of this Monarch, who was so well pleased with the success he had hitherto met with, in the prosecution of this scheme of his to annex a whole kingdom to his dominions, by the exercise of his wit rather than his sword; that the very day after he had obtained the letters patents before-mentioned, he took a much stronger step, insisting, that as they had now granted him a right, they should next give him the land: Yet still he proceeded with a colour of justice, and took care that those he practised upon should do so too; for having insinuated, that in order to make a King he must have a kingdom to give him, he prevailed upon the claimants of the crown to grant him under their hands and seals another charter, by which they consent, that he should have possession given him of the kingdom, in trust for the person to whom it should be adjudged (30): When he had got this he thought he had got all, and therefore, not only took upon him the title of Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, but endeavoured all he could to establish a general opinion of his right in the minds of the English nation, by which he entailed long wars upon his posterity, infused seeds of dissension between the inhabitants of the two kingdoms, and thereby provided, as if he had done it on purpose, for the weakening the force of this island, and lessening the power of both nations with respect to foreign Princes and States; nay, so much was he possessed with the notion of the right given him by these charters, that he sent authentic copies of them under his privy-seal to all the chief monasteries in England, with orders, that they should be entred in the Chronicles and Ledger-Books of their respective houses, divers of which are still extant in the Cottonian library, where they that doubt the truth of it may consult them, and our authors have been so exact, as to give us a copy of the writs whereby the Abbots and Priors of those religious houses were enjoined to perform it (31). It bears date the 9th of July in the 19th year of his reign, A. D. 1297, being about seven years after the grant of that charter, and seems to have been done about the time when the Pope began to question the King's superiority over Scotland, and that none may question the truth of it, the very original of the charter of recognition is still preserved, with the seals of the competitors appendant to it, in the same library, that great repository of rarities of this kind (32).

(30) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. p. 573.

(31) Trivet. Chri

(32) Tyrell's General History of England, Vol. III. p. 66.

(26) Rer. Scoticar. Hist. l. viii.

a hasty decision, he consented to a commission, which was thus composed; Robert Bruce was to name forty Commissioners, John Balliol, and John Comin, Lord of Badenoch, were to name forty more between them, to whom King Edward, if he thought fit, might add twenty-four (e). These Commissioners were to meet, and accordingly did meet, at Berwick, on the second of August 1292. But they fell out about the preliminary Question, viz. by what law or rule they would conduct themselves in the decision of this question, and this made an adjournment necessary, so the King gave them till the fourteenth of October following, for after all they were not to judge in the last resort, but barely to report their opinion, as to the rights of the two principal competitors, to King Edward, and this without prejudice to the other claimants. The truth of the matter seems to have been, that King Edward himself was not as yet perfect in the part he was to act, for when they met again, he had quite changed, or at least new modelled, the preliminaries, to which the Commissioners, at their next meeting, which was on the fourteenth of October following, tamely agreed (f) [H]. All this being settled, the King sent for Balliol and Bruce, demanding of them, if they had any farther reasons to allege than those which they had set forth, in the papers which they had delivered to the Commissioners, and they answering in the affirmative, those farther allegations were with great formality heard, after which, King Edward took upon himself to put the main question upon which the whole affair turned, and which he worded in the following manner, viz. ‘Whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest sister, ought, according to the laws and customs of those kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by a degree, coming from the second sister? or, Whether the nearer by one degree descending from the second sister, ought, by the laws and customs of those kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the elder sister?’ to which, when pressed, they unanimously answered, That he who descended from the elder sister, though in the more remote degree, was to be preferred, which, as the reader will perceive, was a very explicit declaration in favour of Balliol (g). There is one circumstance more in relation to this great process, which deserves to be remarked, because it is particularly insisted upon by the Scotch historians, which is, that, to keep up a greater shew of justice and moderation, King Edward caused this case, under fictitious names, to be proposed to the ablest Lawyers abroad, who all, or at least the greatest part of them, declared in favour of Balliol, to which it is suggested they were drawn, by the method used in stating the case (b) [I]. This great point being fully determined, with respect

(e) Thom. Walsingham. Math. Westm. &c.

(f) Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249. Walt. Hemingf. Hist. Edw. 1. p. 36. J. Rossi, Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 189, 190.

(g) Nic. Trivetii Annal. p. 273.

(b) Heft. Boëth. Scotor. Histor. lib. xiv. p. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. viii.

[H] *The Commissioners tamely agreed.* The great length into which these proceedings were drawn by the art and contrivance of King Edward, joined to some other circumstances, such as that Balliol and Bruce (previous and notwithstanding their claim to the kingdom of Scotland) were his subjects, and had very large estates in England, put all things absolutely in his power, so that he was able to direct what he pleased, and to provide that whatever he directed should be complied with readily, and without being afterwards called in question (33): Things being thus circumstanced, he demanded, first, by what laws and customs this question was to be determined; next, if the laws and customs in the kingdoms of England and Scotland were different, how judgment was to be given, and whether the right to the kingdom of Scotland was to be adjudged, as if the question was of earldoms, baronies, and other such like tenures. The Commissioners were very clear and unanimous, that by the laws and customs of the two kingdoms, in case there were any such, the question was to be decided; that in case there were no such laws and customs, then the King, by the advice of his Peers and great men, might, and ought to, establish a new law; and they farther said, that the rule with regard to the kingdom, ought to be the same that took place in respect to the succession to earldoms, baronies, and other indivisible tenures. These answers being given, the King heard Bruce and Balliol at large upon their respective claims, till such time they themselves declared that they had not any thing farther to offer, and all this with a view, that no step might be taken, which did not, in appearance, agree with, and none omitted, that it might be thought was required by the strictest and most exact regard to justice (34).

[I] *By the method used in stating the case.* It is a little singular, that the English and Scotch historians are so silent about this circumstance, in a transaction which they have affected to examine with so much care. Heftor Boëthius does indeed tell us the fact in few words, as I have stated it in the text, affirming that the greatest part of the foreign Lawyers gave their opinion in favour of Robert Bruce, in regard to his high birth, and his being the nearest heir male (35). This I take to be a clear and full authority as to the thing, but Buchanan relates it very largely and circumstan-

tially; for he tells us, ‘That the King being willing to shew that he did not act rashly, in an affair so great and so weighty, resolved to consult those men in France, who were esteemed the most pious and wise, and to have the greatest knowledge in the Law; and as these sort of men are never of the same opinion, he did not doubt but that some of them would give such an answer as would suit with his design. An Englishman therefore, who had the whole management of this affair in France, proposed the question to the French Civilians in this captious manner. “A certain King, who is neither crowned nor anointed, but only placed in a certain seat, and proclaimed King, and yet is not so independent as not to be under the protection of another King, whose feudatory he acknowledges himself to be, died without children; two relations descended from Sempronius, the late King’s great-uncle, claim the inheritance; namely, Titus, great-grandson of Sempronius’s eldest daughter, and Sejus, grandson of the younger daughter, which of them two is to be preferred to an inheritance which cannot be divided.” The question having been proposed in this manner, most of the Civilians answered, that if there was any law or custom concerning this in the kingdom which was claimed, it ought to be observed; if not, it was usual to follow the custom of that kingdom of which the other was a fief; that in determining questions relating to fiefs, the custom did not ascend but descend, that is, that the custom of the superior ought to be a law to the inferior. It would be too long to relate all the opinions of the Civilians; but, to sum up the whole in a word, almost all of them disputing concerning the right, gave undetermined and contradictory answers, agreeing only in this, that they all allowed Edward a sovereign power to determine the matter, being imposed upon by the false light in which the question had been put to them (36).’ It is very evident from hence, that when men of great parts are conscious to themselves of designs that are not just, they take more care to preserve appearances, and to keep up the forms of justice, than men of the greatest integrity, who, as they desire to hide nothing from the eye of the world that passes in their hearts, are less concerned about the circumstances attending their actions. But

(36) Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. viii.

(33) Tyrell’s General History of England, Vol. III. p. 67.

(34) See the Record before cited.

(35) Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. p. 293.

respect to the preference due to Balliol against Bruce, the King, according to his promise, proceeded to hear what could be said in favour of the other claimants, among whom there was, by this time, a new one, viz. Eric King of Norway, who pretended, that as heir to his daughter Margaret, he ought to succeed to the crown of Scotland; but however, neither his nor the rest of the claimants titles were found to contain any thing that deserved much consideration, and it is very likely, that King Edward would then have proceeded to the last act in this great affair, if he had not been retarded by two new petitions from Bruce and Hastings, setting forth, that they were descended from the daughters of David Earl of Huntington, as well as John Balliol, and therefore praying that each might enjoy his third part of the kingdom, which they alledged, ought to be equally divided among the coheireffes, which is a dreadful blow to the Scotch historians, who take so much pains to magnify the publick spirit of Bruce (i). Now although the English writers concur with them also in this opinion, and condemn Bruce for preferring this new petition, yet at the bottom there was nothing foul or unjust in his behaviour, but, on the contrary, it was from the very beginning very uniform, and in this particular perfectly just, as in it's proper place shall be shewn. At present we will proceed in the very words of the record, and shew how this great controversy was brought to an end. The King, willing to deliberate with his Council upon this new matter, demanded whether the Kingdom of Scotland was partible among females, who all answered it was not. Upon which answer, the King appointed Monday next after the feast of St Martin, as the peremptory day, for all the competitors to hear their judgments in his Parliament at Berwick, intending in the mean time, further to deliberate and examine these matters, with knowing men of both kingdoms, besides the auditors and others of his Council, that so he might be fully informed, what in justice ought to be done (k). On the seventeenth of November 1292, which was the Monday after the feast aforesaid, the nobles and prelates of both kingdoms, the auditors, other great men, and a vast number of the people, being met in the hall of the castle of Berwick, with the Publick Notary, who signed the acts of the Court, all the other competitors claiming the kingdom, viz. Eric King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, William de Vescy, Patrick Earl of Marche, William de Ros, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Galightly, though they had sufficient notice and summons to be there, had withdrawn themselves, because they found they were excluded, by the better titles of the two last abovementioned competitors. Whereupon it was then adjudged, and judicially pronounced by the King, with the consent of the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms, that all these last competitors should obtain nothing by their petitions: and because John Cumin, and Roger de Mandeville, did not prosecute their petitions, they had the same judgment. But as to the last petition of Robert de Bruce, whereby he claimed the third part of the kingdom for his share, as of a partible inheritance, because it appeared by his first petition before the King, that he demanded the whole kingdom of Scotland, he therefore did by that acknowledge and grant that the kingdom was impartible, and one entire inheritance, which recognition and confession he could not then deny, and for that it had been agreed and adjudged by the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Nobles, great men, and the whole Council of both kingdoms, that the kingdom ought to be possessed by one heir alone, because of it's own nature it was impartible, as other kingdoms; for these reasons therefore it was adjudged, and judicially declared by the King, that he should gain nothing by what was set forth in his petition. The same judgment was given against John Hastings, for the same reasons. As to the petition of John Balliol, it was found and agreed by all the noblemen, prelates, &c. of both nations, that the kingdom of Scotland was impartible, and ought to remain to one heir; and because the King was judge of the right of his subjects, by the laws and customs of both the kingdoms, which was approved and affirmed by all the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms; and by the same laws and customs in the case before them, it was agreed, and judicially declared in favour of John Balliol, That the more remote by descent in the first line, was to be preferred to a nearer in the second line, in the succession of an impartible inheritance, and since none of the competitors denied him to be heir of the first line, therefore he was to be preferred before all others, as next heir to the kingdom of Scotland, by hereditary succession. Whereupon the King of England, as superior and direct Lord of Scotland, adjudged, that *The said John Balliol should recover and have seisin of that kingdom, with all it's appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he shall rightly and justly govern the people subject to him, that none might have occasion to complain for want of justice, nor the King, as superior Lord of that kingdom, upon the suit of the parties, be hindered to interpose his authority and direction (l)*: a right, which the King of England and his heirs always reserved in such cases,

(i) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 587.

(k) Thom. Walsingham's Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 588. Walt. Hemingford. Hist. Edw. I. p. 37. Hen. Knygton de Event. Angl. col. 2469. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 275a

(l) Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250. Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 275. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 598.

besides satisfying the world, or at least, the English nation, as to the purity of it's intentions, King Edward had visibly another design, in applying as he did to the Lawyers of other nations, for by this means he at all events established his right of deciding the question, in virtue of his superiority and direct dominion over Scotland; and upon this I must beg leave to hint an observation of my own, that he might first engage all the competitors for the crown to acknow-

ledge his superiority, by shewing them, that nothing but owning this right in him, could enable him to do justice to any of them, though when the step was once taken, he turned the argument against the competitor for whom he declared, by professing, that his right to the superiority over Scotland, and Balliol's title to throne, were equally clear, that if he presumed to question the former, it must necessarily destroy the latter.

cases, when he would make use of it. In pursuance of this judgment, he granted his writ to the Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, to put him in possession thereof, as also to the Captains and Guardians of the several castles and fortresses in that country, for the same purpose. The next day, being the twentieth of November 1292, John Balliol did homage to King Edward, at his castle of Norham, and then set out for Scotland, where, on St Andrew's day, he was placed on the royal throne by John de St Johnstown, appointed to that office by King Edward, because Duncan Earl of Fife was at that time under age. He did not remain long at home, or in possession of that shadow of royalty, which with so much difficulty he had gained, for upon St Stephen's day we find him again in England, and at Newcastle, where he did homage to King Edward for his kingdom, in the fullest and clearest terms that could be devised (*m*) [*K*]. He had now some hopes of being quiet, as having, at least in his own judgment, performed all that the King of England could either desire or expect. But he was very soon made sensible of his mistake. For upon the complaint, of no higher person than a Burgess of Berwick, against him, the King thought fit to appoint Judges, by a special commission, to hear and determine it. This appeared to King John a direct infringement of King Edward's promises, and therefore that he might be at a certainty, he preferred a petition to these Judges, setting forth, that the King of England, Superior Lord of Scotland, had promised to the Prelates and Nobility of that kingdom, that he would observe the laws and customs thereof, and that pleas of things done there, might not be drawn out of it; wherefore it was prayed, that he would observe this promise, and direct his Justices accordingly. To this petition, Roger Barbazon, Chief-Justice of England, answered, 'That if the King of England had made any such temporary promises when there was no king in Scotland, he had performed them, and that by such promises he would not now be restrained or bound.' King Edward went even farther than this, for in the presence of the Prelates and Nobility of both kingdoms, he declared, 'That he meant, in virtue of his superiority, to receive all complaints touching the kingdom of Scotland, and it's inhabitants, and to use and exercise his superiority and direct dominion, and to call the King of Scotland himself, if it was necessary, and the quality of the cause required it, to appear before him in his kingdom of England (*n*).' He even pushed this matter to a much greater length, and not satisfied with releasing himself from his promises, he insisted upon King John's releasing them also, and to this purpose he caused a release or acquittance to be drawn, setting forth all his grants and promises, and acknowledging, that they were all performed and fully determined, when he adjudged the kingdom to John Balliol, which release, dated the second day of January 1293, in the twenty-first of King Edward, and in the first year of King John's reign, was sealed with the King of Scotland's own seal, and with the seals of such of the Bishops, Earls, and Barons

(*m*) Johan. Fordun. Scotchchron. p. 967. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 273, 274. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 597.

[*K*] In the fullest and clearest terms that could be devised.] It is very evident from what is said in the text, that from the very moment John Balliol received the crown of Scotland from the hands of King Edward, it proved to him rather a burthen than an honour (37). In some things indeed, Edward acted as if he intended to treat him with kindness, but even in these there was such a mixture of haughtiness and self-interest, as greatly diminished, if it did not totally destroy, those favours. As for example, on the 19th of November 1292, King Edward caused the broad seal, which had been used in the time of the regency, to be brought before the great men of both nations, and there broke in pieces, because the King's broad seal was now to be used in that country; but at the same time he directed the broken pieces of the seal to be laid up in his treasury, as a perpetual monument unto posterity of his right to the superiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland (38). He was so fond of this title, and of having a King attend upon him, that he obliged King John to appear on St Stephen's day at Newcastle, where he did homage to the King in these words: 'My Lord Edward, King of England, superior Lord of the kingdom of Scotland: I John, King of Scotland, become your liege man for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with it's appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and hold, and ought of right to hold, for me and my heirs Kings of Scotland, hereditary of you and your heirs, Kings of England, and shall bear faith to you and your heirs, King of England, of life and limb, and terrene honour, against all men that may live and die (39).' It may not be amiss to observe, that upon his doing this homage, King Edward's Chamberlain demanded a fee; but, as is very justly observed by Rapin (40), this very demand was a very strong proof against his master's right, because, though peremptorily made, the Chamberlain, whose name was Peter de Chaunceant, could not tell what it was to be, for which he had never been at a loss, if there

had been so much as a single instance of any such homage done before. King Edward, however, did not consider it in this light, but in his next parliament held at Westminster settled the point, and declared, that Balliol should give his Chamberlain twenty pounds for his homage-fee, being double to what was paid by an Earl on the like occasion (41). To make Balliol some amends, in appearance at least, he, by his charter dated the 4th of January 1293, was graciously pleased to renounce for himself and his successors, all other rights over the kingdom of Scotland, save that of homage, and to declare that they pretended not to the wardships, or right of giving in marriage the heirs or heiresses of noble families in Scotland (42). He likewise ordered the records of that kingdom to be delivered to King John, and, by these small gratifications, endeavoured to send him away satisfied from this interview at Newcastle, which, in all probability, might have taken effect, if he had behaved towards him for the future, with the same spirit of kindness and decency; but, as we have shewn in the text, King John was scarce got home to Scotland, and begun to take upon him the exercise of the government, before he found himself treated with as little regard as any other feudatory, of what rank soever, which, at the same time, that it must in other respects have made him uneasy, could not fail of lessening his reputation and credit among his own subjects, of which they gave him immediate proof, by declining his court and presence, and treating his decisions, even in parliament, with the utmost contempt. Things standing thus, the Lords of his party failed not to insinuate to him, that, as this was the effects of his dependance on the King of England, the only remedy of which these mischiefs were capable, was his thinking of some way to throw it off. His listening to their council, instead of enabling him to do this, plunged him into a new series of misfortunes, which ended only with his life.

(41) Rot. Clauf. 21 E. I. m. 8. d.

(42) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 5.

(37) See Abercromby, and the Scottish historians in general.

(38) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 597.

(39) Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 273. Robert Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(40) Histoire d'Angleterre a la Haye 1724, 4to, Tom. III. p. 50.

Barons of his kingdom, as attended him in this journey (o). But whether this act of theirs was performed willingly, or only because such as gave their assent to it durst do no otherwise, is a point, as one of our best historians observes, very much to be doubted (p). If this matter lay heavy on King John's mind, and he began to foresee on what hard terms he was like to hold his new dignity, he was very soon confirmed in that sense of things, by repeated instances of King Edward's resolution, to draw all the affairs of Scotland that were of any importance, before himself in England. It was with this view, that summons after summons was sent to King John, requiring him to appear and answer before the King of England in his Parliament, to complaints exhibited against him, for denying, or not doing, justice in Scotland, every one of which cases, as it aggravated his uneasiness, so it put him under fresh difficulties with respect to his own subjects, who imputed all these unlucky accidents, to his having accepted the crown upon such hard terms, whereas in truth, if Robert Bruce had succeeded, he could have held it upon no better (q). It is highly probable, that these repeated citations, were intended by King Edward to establish, beyond all controversy, his title to the direct dominion over Scotland, and for this reason were carefully preserved upon record [L]. There was, however, but one of the complaints against King John that was prosecuted with remarkable effect, and that perhaps with a design to establish it as a precedent. This was the complaint of Macduff, who had been imprisoned by judgment given by the King of Scots in full Parliament, from which he appealed to King Edward, as the Superior Lord, and not without some colour of justice (r) [M]. The citation upon this appeal, was delivered to the

(o) Rymer's Fed. Tom. II. p. 597—600.

(p) Tytrel's General History of England, p. 75.

(q) Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. p. 970. Hector Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xiv. fol. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. viii. p. 256.

(r) Prynne's Collections, Vol. III. p. 531—551.

[L] *And for this reason, were carefully preserved upon record.*] In this note it may contribute extremely to the perfect understanding the subject of this article, which, without doubt, is one of the most curious and important in reference to English history, that will occur in this work; I say, it will contribute to render this subject perfectly intelligible, if we give a distinct account of these citations, and of the grounds upon which they were founded, since they will make two things absolutely manifest, as to which all our historians have written very darkly and confusedly; and yet, they are the only two points upon which all the controversies, between King Edward and King John constantly turned (43). The first is, what those rights of superiority were, which King Edward claimed, and meant to exercise over the kingdom of Scotland? The next, what were those hardships that King John thought so intolerable, as, rather to risk his life and crown, his family and his kingdom, than sit down tamely under them; tho' otherwise he was far from being a warm man, and farther still, from having a high spirit? An account of these several citations, in the order in which they stand on our records, will put these matters out of all doubt.

The first citation is dated the 8th of March 1293, and it sets forth, That Alexander III, late King of Scotland, stood indebted to John Mafon, a Merchant of Gascony, in the sum of two thousand one hundred and ninety seven pounds, eight shillings, which sum, though often requested, John King of Scots, had denied to pay; for which delay and refusal of justice, the said John Mafon found himself obliged to apply for remedy to the most gracious Prince Edward, King of England, and Superior Lord of Scotland; whereupon, he commands King John to be and appear before him in his parliament held at Westminster, on the morrow of the Ascension, there to answer this complaint, for delaying or denying justice (44).

The second citation was dated the 25th of March in the same year, from Canterbury, at the suit of Macduff, for causes that will be set forth more largely in the succeeding note, but amounting in the whole, as in the former case, to a delay or denial of justice, for which, King John is required to answer before King Edward, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, wherever he should then be in his kingdom of England; and the Sheriff of Northumberland is commanded to deliver the said writ to King John in his proper person, which he accordingly did, and made a return thereof, upon which all the subsequent proceedings were founded, as will be shewn hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of this suit (45).

The third citation was dated at Westminster, the 15th of June in the same year; the occasion this. While both the Kings were at Newcastle, King Edward had directed his letters to Walter de Huntercomb, his Governor of the island of Man, to give possession thereof to King John, which was accordingly done: After this, comes a Lady whose name was Aufrica, setting herself forth to be the cousin and heiress of Magnus, formerly King of Man, and

demands of King John to be put in possession of the said island, offering to make out her just claim thereto; to which, little or no regard being had by that Prince, she appeals to King Edward, as the Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, who, for this delay and denial of justice, requires King John to appear before him, within fourteen days next after the feast of St Michael, wherever he should then be in England. These letters, as well as the former, are directed to the Sheriff of Northumberland, with this particular instruction, that he should deliver them to the King in person, before sufficient witnesses, and should likewise certify this service to King Edward, on the day and at the place beforementioned, on the return of the writ (46).

The fourth is dated the second of September in the same year, and therein it is set forth, That David, late King of Scotland, had heretofore bestowed on the Royal Abbey of Reading in England, a priory dependant on the Bishop of St Andrews: This priory was afterwards alienated by the Abbot of Reading, in favour of the Bishop of St Andrews. The success of that Abbot being willing to recover the priory, set forth, that this alienation was contrary to the will of the major part of the Monks, in a petition to King John. The Bishop of St Andrews appeals from that King to the Pope, and this appeal the King received and admitted. The Abbot, upon this, appeals himself to King Edward, as Superior Lord of Scotland; who, upon this suggestion of denial and delay of justice, requires the said King to appear before him, to answer the same within fifteen days next after the feast of St Martin, wherever he should then be in England (47).

The fifth citation is dated the 20th of April 1294, and recites, That the reverend Father Anthony, Lord Bishop of Durham, had claimed before King John, his right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the towns of Berwick and Haddington, as belonging to his bishopric of Durham, but without effect; of which, having complained to King Edward, as the Superior Lord of Scotland, he, for this denial, and delay of justice, requires King John to appear before him, on the morrow of St John the Baptist, wherever he might then be in England. The Sheriff of Northumberland had the same directions in respect to this as in regard to the third citation (48).

[M] *Not without some justice.*] This remark is made to shew the wisdom of King Edward, who, very prudently enforced his process on that appeal, which being best grounded gave some degree of credit, even to that warmth and rigour with which it was pursued (49). The case then of Macduff (who by a very gross mistake, our historians stile Earl of Fife) was this: He was son of Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and by his grant, had a title to the lands of Bereys and Crey, but was turned out of the possession, by William Bishop of St Andrews, as guardian of the county of Fife, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland, upon which he applied himself to King Edward, who by his writ directed the Guardians of Scotland to do

(46) Rymer's Foder. Tom. II. p. 608.

(47) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 3.

(48) Rot. Scot. 22 E. I. m. 3.

(49) See Abercromby, &c.

(43) These citations are frequently mentioned by Tytrel and Abercromby in their Histories, but are set forth by neither.

(44) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

(45) Ryley Placit. Parliam. fol. 154. 155. Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

the King of Scots at Sterling, on the second of August 1293, requiring him to appear before the King of England in his Parliament, to be held after Michaelmas in the same year, where accordingly he was present, and being urged to answer the matter of that complaint, he replied, That he was a King, and that he could not answer without the advice of his subjects (s). He was told that this was altogether insufficient, that he had done homage to the King of England for his crown, and was therefore bound to answer. He persisted however in adhering to his former declaration, adding, that it was a matter which concerned his kingdom, and therefore he would do nothing without the assent of his people. Upon this Macduff demanded judgment, which the Parliament was ready to give with respect to the contempt, and it was, That three of King John's principal castles should be seized till he made satisfaction, upon which he submitted, which being all King Edward wanted, was received, and he had farther time given him (t) [N]. There happened about this time some disputes between the Kings of France and England, which afforded some hopes to Balliol, of being delivered from that uneasy situation he had been in ever since he attained the kingdom. Some of our old historians say, that he quitted England privately, which so enraged King Edward, that he seized all his estates there, and they likewise add, that the reason he gave such an answer, and avoided pleading directly to Macduff's complaint, was because the Scots had already appointed twelve Commissioners, viz. four of the Clergy, four Earls, and four Barons, to whom he was to account for his actions after his return home (u). I cannot help thinking, however, that they are mistaken in this, or rather, that they confound the times in which these events happened, since it is evident enough from our records, that King John did not break with King Edward either this year or the next, but, on the contrary, appeared again in the English Parliament, when the plea between him and Macduff was continued, and King John at the same time granted an aid out of his English estates, for the recovery of Gascony, which King Philip of France had seized into his own hands (w). It is however certain, that King John was privately taking the best methods he could, to put himself into a condition to throw off his dependance upon England. But he was so far from having thrown it off already, that when King Edward was determined to recover Gascony by force of arms, he not only directed his letters to King John, which were dated from Portsmouth, the twenty-ninth of June 1294, but also to the principal nobility of Scotland, requiring him to send men, and then to come in person, with military supplies to London, so as to be ready to pass with him on the first of September into France, for the recovery of Gascony (x), and a little before this, he had required the King of Scots to lay an embargo on all the shipping of his subjects, for the same reason (y). How far he complied with any of these demands does not appear, but it is very certain, that at this time, and a little after, King John was treating with Philip the Fair, King of France, about an alliance against England, and this he did not only with the privacy, but with the absolute consent of his subjects, and things being now far advanced, he granted full powers, by virtue of an instrument, dated at Sterling the fifth of July 1295, to his Ambassadors, William, Bishop of St Andrews; Matthew, Bishop of Dunkel; Sir John Soules, and Sir Ingeram Umfraville, to negotiate and conclude a treaty

(s) Ryley Placit. Parliam. f. 159.

(t) Rot. de Super. Scotiae.

(u) Chron. A-bingd. MS.

(w) Rot. de superior. Scotiae.

(x) Rot. Vafcon. 22 E. I. m. 11. d.

(y) Rot. Vafcon. 22 E. I. m. 13. d.

(50) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 604.

(51) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 606.

(52) Ryley Placit. Parliam. p. 154. 155.

him justice (50). In consequence of this, he was again put into possession of the said lands, and held them till after King John was in possession of the crown of Scotland, when in a parliament held at Scoone, in the Octave of the Purification of our Lady, he was attached to answer for his entering into possession of the said lands, which were in the possession of the late King Alexander III at the time of his decease, on account of the nonage of Coalbanus, Earl of Fife, who dying, left his son Duncan a minor, and he dying likewise seized of the same lands, left his son Duncan a minor and the King's ward. To this Macduff pleaded, that these lands were granted to him by his father Malcolm, Earl of Fife, which grant was confirmed by the late King Alexander III, whose charter he produced. Notwithstanding this he was imprisoned, and judgment given against him, saving to him however, his right of suit against Duncan the son of Duncan, when he should come to full age (51). After he was discharged from this imprisonment, which it was furnished he underwent, for having addressed himself during the vacancy of the throne to King Edward; he applied again to that Prince, who, thereupon directed his writ, or letter missive, as we have shewn in the former note; but King John not appearing, another writ was directed to the Sheriff, returnable fifteen days after Michaelmas, upon which he did attend, and not being allowed an Attorney, was obliged to plead in person, as is shewn above in the text (52).

[N] Was received, and he had time given him.] The King of Scots was under very uneasy circumstances in this affair, for what he had done in the case of Macduff was in full parliament, and very probably it was on this account he pressed so strongly his not answering, until he had consulted his subjects. But

this would not serve King Edward's turn, who clearly shewed him what he wanted, and what he was resolved to have from him, which was a new acknowledgment of his superiority, in default of which, he was to seize three of his best castles in Scotland. But before the pronouncing of the sentence, he came before the King and his Council, and made supplication to the King with his own mouth, and delivered it unto him with his own hand in writing to this effect: 'SIR, I am your liege-man for the realm of Scotland, and I pray you as to what I am come hither, and for which concerns the people of my kingdom as well as myself, that you will forbear while I speak with them, that I may not be surprized for want of advice; for that those that are with me will not, nor ought to advise me without others of the realm; and when I have advice from them, I will answer at your first parliament after Easter, and will behave myself towards you as I ought to do (53).' The King advising hereupon, at the instance of the great men of his Council, and with the consent of Macduff himself, granted his petition, and gave him a longer day, until his next parliament after Easter, that should be holden on the morrow of the Holy Trinity. He appeared accordingly in that parliament, and the cause was again adjourned at his request, but he still continued to feel in his heart, the deep wound that had been given to his honour, by the usage he had met with in the former parliament at Westminster, which, it seems, he could not either forget or forgive (54): Besides the time seemed favourable, and the quarrel lately broke out between the Kings of France and England, gave him a prospect of shaking off that yoke, which he could no longer bear.

(53) Rot. Scot.

(54) Walter. Hemmingford. Hist. Edward I. p. 43.

treaty with the crown of France, which was accordingly signed and sealed, on the twenty-third of October following (z) [O]. It was not long that a transaction of this nature could be concealed from a Prince of so great penetration as King Edward, and yet he dissimbled his discovery of it for several reasons, and continued to treat King John as formerly, or rather with greater civility; but in the mean time, he laboured two points with equal vigour and secrecy, the one was to settle the terms of a foreign alliance, that might enable him to oblige the French to do him justice; the other to engage the court of France to consent to a truce which he proposed, till the former had taken effect, in both of which he fully succeeded (a). He then directed his letters to the King of Scots, demanding the castle and town of Berwick upon Tweed, the castle and town of Roxburgh, and the castle and town of Jedburgh, to be put into his hands, until such time as the war with France was over, promising then to restore them. These letters were dated at Westminster, the sixteenth of October 1295 (b), but they met with a very cool reception from King John, who thought himself by this time in a condition to defend his own cause, and therefore instead of appearing as formerly in the English Parliament, he sent the Abbot of Aberbrothock to excuse him, which King Edward seemingly took patiently enough, but in the mean time he was preparing to reduce him by force, resolving while the truce beforementioned lasted, to employ that army which he had levied against the French, in conquering the Scots (c). King John gave him fair opportunity to do it, by taking a very extraordinary step, which was banishing all Englishmen out of his dominions; for he now thought himself under no obligation to temporize longer with this monarch, since he was sure of the assistance of France, and had been absolved from his oaths by the Pope (d). In the spring of the year 1296, King Edward began to move northwards, and coming to Newcastle, he caused a proclamation to be issued, requiring King John to appear there on the first of March, to which he neither paid obedience, nor sent, as he had done before, any person to excuse him (e). While King Edward was at Newcastle, the war begun both by sea and land, for the English fleet having orders to block up Berwick, the Scots, who were not then it seems totally destitute of a naval force, attacked that fleet with so much success, as that eighteen ships were sunk, and the rest dispersed. About the same time, Sir Robert de Rois, Captain of the castle of Werk, for the love of a Scots lady basely betrayed his trust, and deserted to King John. His brother William gave notice of this to King Edward, and desired that a body of troops might be sent him, with which he undertook to secure the castle. Accordingly one thousand men were detached for that service, who when they were come to a place called Prestfen, were surprized by the traitor Sir Robert, and the Scots under his command, by whom they were totally cut off (f). King Edward, when he heard this, said no more, than that he was glad that hostilities were begun by the Scots. Soon after this, the Earls of Monteith, Strathern, Athol, and Mar, with a body of five thousand men, entered the county of Cumberland; and advanced as far as Carlisle, the suburbs of which city they burnt, but were not able to take the place. It was not long before King Edward severely revenged these losses, for coming before Berwick on the twenty-ninth of March, and finding a strong garrison therein, capable and resolved to make a long defence, he put in practice a stratagem extremely well contrived, and attended with all the success he could desire or expect. For pretending to raise the siege, and withdrawing his forces some distance from the town, he caused it to be reported, that King John with a numerous army was come to their relief, and was advanced within a mile of the place. The townsmen, and many of the officers running out to meet these supposed succours, were

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 680, 681, 695.

Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet; Recueil des Rois de France, &c. P. II. p. 195.

(a) Nic. Trivet; T. Wallingh. W. Hemingford, &c.

(b) Rot. Scotie 23 E. I. m. 21

(c) Nic. Trivet; Annal. p. 237, 238. Fordun. Boeth. Buchan.

(d) Rapin Histoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III. p. 56.

(e) Walt. Hemingford Histor. Edward. I. Vol. I. p. 84.

(f) Nic. Trivet; Annal. p. 238.

[O] Signed and sealed on the twenty-third of October following.] It is very remarkable, that we find the full powers granted by John Balliol to his Ambassadors, and the treaty or alliance concluded by them with the crown of France, entered on the English records, and transcribed from thence by some of the old monkish historians, which plainly shews, that they were more careful in those days as to penning their Chronicles, than has been commonly imagined. As this alliance was the source of those wars, of which we are to give some account in this, as well as in several succeeding articles, it will be requisite to give the reader, a short sketch of the principal points which were settled in that treaty, and which may be reduced to the following seven (55).

I. That Edward, King John's son, shall marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, Earl of Anjou, the King of France's brother; that Prince Edward shall receive with the said Lady, twenty-five thousand livres de Tournois current money, and that she shall be assigned a dowry of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent, of which, one thousand pounds to be paid out of King John's lands of Balliol, Dampier, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of those of Lanerk, Cadiou, Cunningham, Haddington, and the Castellany of Dundee in Scotland.

II. That King John and his successors, shall with all their power, by sea and land, be assisting to King Philip and his successors, in the prosecution of the present war, against the King of England and his Allies, as well the King of Almain as others.

III. That he should, at his own charge, make war against the King of England, when he was employed in, or diverted by war in other places.

IV. That King John shall prevail with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Noblemen, and the Communities of all the cities in Scotland, so far as of right they may, to testify their assent to this agreement, by transmitting their letters patents under their seals to France.

V. That in like manner, if the King of England shall invade Scotland, the King of France shall make war upon him in other parts by way of diversion, and, if required, shall send auxiliary forces at his own charges, till they come thither.

VI. That if the King of England went out of his kingdom, or sent many forces abroad, the Commissioners promised, that the King of Scotland should enter England with his whole power as far as he could, making war in the field, besieging towns, wasting the countries, and by all possible ways destroying England.

VII. That they should not make peace on either side without the consent of the other.

(55) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 695, & seq. Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, P. II. p. 195.

were surprized by part of the English army, who on that occasion had Scots ensigns, the better to deceive them, and who pursuing them closely, entered the town with them, seized the gates, and let in all the rest of the troops, by whom the whole Scots garrison was totally cut off, to the number of seven thousand (g), as their writers report, or of about ten thousand (h), as the English Historians agree. Upon receiving an account of two such losses, as that of this important fortress, and the flower of his army that was in it, King John, who was not a very warm man, was so much provoked, that he drew up a solemn instrument, renouncing his homage and fealty to King Edward, and breathing, in the strongest terms, defiance, which he sent, by one of the Fryar-Minors of Roxburgh, to the King, then at Berwick, who according to his usual custom, in regard to every thing relating to the affairs of Scotland, caused it to be recorded, and as it is a very singular and extraordinary piece, we thought it might not be amiss to insert it in the notes (i) [P]. King John followed this declaration of his, with as great an army as he could raise, for at that time his subjects were much divided, the Bruces and their party, with the Earls of March and Angus, and others of the nobility, adhering to King Edward, and besides this, part of his forces were then in Northumberland, so that it was a kind of infatuation in him, to place all as he did upon the event of a battle, in which he shewed as much rashness now, as he had done weakness and timidity in his former conduct. King Edward having laid siege to Dunbar, and King John marching to its relief, the armies soon met, and came to a decisive action near that place, some time in the month of April, in which the Scots were totally defeated, with the loss, some say of ten, others of twenty thousand men (k). But the former account is the more likely to be true, since only Sir Patrick Graham of the King's Council or persons of distinction, fell there. We are indebted to one of our old historians for some particulars of this action, which are not mentioned in any of the rest. He says, that King John's army consisted of fifteen hundred horse, and forty thousand foot, that they had the advantage of ground, and that after their defeat, they fled to the forest of Selkirk (l). But several of the principal nobility took shelter in the castle of Dunbar; where, however, they found themselves presently besieged by the English army, and either through the treachery of the Governor, or for want of provisions, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The chief persons taken there were William Earl of Ross, William Earl of Athol, Alexander Earl of Monteith, four Barons, thirty-one Knights, an hundred Esquires, and about three hundred private men. The Scotch historians say, that King Edward treated the persons of rank that fell into his hands here, with great severity; but I find, that he only sent them prisoners into England, and caused them to be kept in different castles, twelve or fifteen in a place; but all writers agree, that as to the private men, they were used with all possible tenderness, the King causing them to be set at liberty, on their taking an oath that they would not take up arms against him any more (m). Upon the loss of the battle, and the taking the castle of Dunbar, King John and his army retired beyond the Frith of the Forth, and for any thing that appears, made no farther resistance, which some of their own writers, not without great appearance of truth, attribute to the divisions in their Councils, occasioned by the Bruces, father and son, that is, son and grandson to the competitor, adhering to King Edward, and as they had made many friends in King John's army, they doubtless did him a great deal of mischief, both by giving him bad advice, and by betraying to the King of England, what better advice he received from other hands (n). King Edward with his victorious army, marched on to Roxburgh, where the Steward of Scotland lay with a considerable

body

[P] *It might not be amiss to insert it in the notes.*

We are told by Buchanan, that the person who brought this extraordinary piece, very narrowly escaped with his life (56); which, considering the strangeness of the contents of it, is not at all wonderful. One of our antient historians, who says nothing of the ill usage of this man, informs us of many circumstances that seem not have been known to Buchanan, indeed to any of the Scottish historians; such as that the name of the person who brought it, was Adam Blunt, that he was Guardian or Warden of the Friars Minors at Roxburgh, that he brought with him three of his Monks, that he delivered it to the King, April 5, 1296; and that his Majesty directly ordered it to be enrolled in Chancery, intending no doubt to justify thereby his own proceedings, and the design he had then formed of acquiring the possession of, as well as the superiority over, the kingdom of Scotland, by conquering and annexing it to his own kingdom of England, as appears by the whole of his conduct afterwards (57). At present, let us peruse the letters of King John, thus then they ran, 'To the magnificent Prince Edward, by the grace of God, King of England; John, by the same grace, King of Scotland. Whereas, you, and others of your kingdom, have purposedly and knowingly, by your violent power, notoriously, and frequently, done grievous and intolerable injuries,

'contempts, grievances, and enormous damages against us, the liberties of our kingdom, and also against God and justice, citing us at your pleasure, upon every slight occasion, out of our kingdom, unduly vexing us, seizing our castles, lands, and possessions in our kingdom, unjustly, and for no fault of our's, taking the goods of our subjects, as well by sea as by land, and carrying them into your kingdom, killing our merchants and other traders with you, and taking away our subjects and imprisoning them. For the reformation of which things, tho' we sent our messengers unto you, yet they remain not only unredressed, but there is every day an addition of worse, for now you are come with a great army upon our borders, to dishonour us and the inhabitants of our kingdom, and proceeding forwards, have inhumanly committed many slaughters, burnings, and violent invasions, as well by sea as by land: We therefore not being able to sustain the said injuries, grievances, and damages any longer, nor to remain in your fealty or homage, extorted by your violent oppression, do hereby return them to you, for ourself and all the inhabitants of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of you in your kingdom, as for your pretended government over us (58).'

(g) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 972, 973. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xiv. fol. 294. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. l. viii. p. 258.

(h) Walt. Hemmingford. p. 91. Chron. Cotton. Chron. S. Alban.

(i) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

(k) H. Knyghton. Tho. Walsingh. Marth. Westm.

(l) Walt. Hemmingford Hist. Edw. l. p. 95.

(m) Rob. Brunne's Chron. Knyghton, Walsingham.

(n) Hector. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Buchan. Scot. Hist. lib. viii.

(56) Rerum Scot. Hist. lib. viii.

(57) Walt. de Hemmingford Hist. Edw. l. p. 92.

(58) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

body of men, with whom he might certainly have defended the castle. But he chose rather to make terms for himself and his adherents, and as the circumstances of the times were favourable, and King Edward was desirous of doing a great deal in a short space, he obtained as much as he could expect, which induced him not only to submit, but to take an oath of fealty to that Monarch (o). King Edward then marched to Edinburgh, and had both city and castle surrendered to him. He proceeded thence to Sterling, which, though a place of some strength, fell into his hands without any defence, the garrison having deserted it before he appeared in it's neighbourhood (p). All this very clearly shews, how ill King John was served, and how little reason he had to hope any thing from a dispirited army, and a divided nation, which induced him to listen to such reasons as were offered, to persuade him in such wretched circumstances, to think rather of preserving his person, than of protecting a people, who wanted virtue and loyalty enough, to make him or themselves free (q). It was certainly a bad choice he made, but then we ought to consider, necessity compelled him to it. In short, he determined to throw himself upon the mercy of King Edward, and having intimated this resolution of his to that Prince, he sent Anthony Bishop of Durham to encourage him to persist in that design, and to make him certain promises to keep him steady to it. This Bishop was very well received by the unfortunate Prince to whom he was sent, and those mean spirited counsellors he had about him, with whom having agreed upon the terms of their submission, he brought the King of Scots along with him to King Edward, being then at a place called Stroutharrack, without any state, only mounted upon a little nag, with a white rod in his hand (r). There being admitted into the King's presence, he made his acknowledgment of his offence, and begged pardon by word of mouth, and went thence with the King to the castle of Brechin, where he not only made another solemn acknowledgment of the errors which he had committed, in breach of his oath and duty to King Edward, but likewise absolutely surrendered himself, with the whole kingdom of Scotland, and his royal dignity, and in short, whatever belonged to him, either in a private or publick capacity, into the hands of Anthony Bishop of Durham, who received them in the place and in the name of King Edward (s). He likewise thought fit to seal and subscribe a certain instrument in writing, expressing this to be his free will and act, in the presence of some of his, and many of the English nobility, which as it is in itself one of the most extraordinary pieces that is any where extant, and as it very nearly concerns the subject of this article, we shall insert in the notes (t) [2].

(o) Walt. de Hemingford, Hist. Edw. I. p. 97.

(p) Major, Boethius, Buchan.

(q) See Brady's Tyrrel, Abercromby.

(r) Rot. Scot. 24 E. I. p. 8. Hecst. Boeth: Hist. Scot. lib. xiv.

(s) Rob. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Hen. Knyghton. Chron. Walt. Hemingf. Hist. Edw. I. p. 99.

(t) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718. As

[2] We shall insert in the notes.] There are several circumstances in relation to this matter, which seem to be wanting in our histories, in order to render it clearly and fully understood; and indeed, this is no wonder, because in this chasm lies the whole secret contrivance of King Edward to make himself master of this country. It appears clearly enough both from the Scotch and English historians, that John Balliol was all along most scandalously betrayed, and it was his misfortune to meet with no one author so much concerned for his character, as to endeavour doing him common justice. With the English writers of Chronicles, he is a false, perjured traitor; with the Scotch authors, he is a weak, mean-spirited, and cowardly Prince (59). Perhaps, after all, the unfortunate John Balliol might be a very worthy, good man, and we may really presume he was so, since the Pope, and many foreign Princes, notwithstanding all the evils that befel him, never left struggling for his liberty till they obtained it. In respect to this very transaction, a small degree of attention will enable us to discern, that he was deceived and abused; for laying things together, the truth appears to be this: King Edward, in the management of the whole affair of getting the kingdom of Scotland into his hands, made use of Dr Anthony Beak, Bishop of Durham; he it was, who, in the assembly at Norham, undertook to establish the King's right to the superiority and direct dominion over Scotland, he was employed to bring King John, in the submissive manner mentioned in the text, to King Edward, which he did on the seventh of July 1296, at which time, as we find it entered on record, he, by word of mouth, acknowledged himself heartily sorry for the unlawful confederacies he had made with Philip, King of France, against the King of England; he also then renounced all such confederacies and unlawful contracts, made in the name of himself, his son Edward, and the inhabitants of Scotland, against his due homage and fealty done to the King of England (60). This he performed in the presence of the Bishops of Durham and Hereford, and of other persons of quality, whose names are mentioned in the record; and we may fairly presume, that he thought this was all that would be expected from him; but being now a prisoner, together with his son, he was required to go much farther, nay, as far as it was possible for

him to go, and before a Publick Notary, to surrender his kingdom and royal dignity, which accordingly he did, and afterwards confirmed it by the following charter, which we promised to produce (61). It is found in many of our antient historians, in some of them we have it in Latin, in others in French, but in English it ran thus.

John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, To all that shall hear or see these present letters, greeting, Whereas we, by evil and false council, and our own simplicity, have greatly offended and provoked our Lord Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. to wit, for that being in his faith and homage, we have allied our self to the King of France, who then was, and is now his enemy, offering a marriage between our son and the daughter of his brother, the Lord Charles, and assisting him by war and other ways with all our power, and furthermore, by our evil counsell aforesaid, we defied our Lord the King of England, and put ourself out of his faith and homage, and sent our people into the kingdom of England, to burn, spoil, plunder, kill, and commit other mischiefs, fortifying the kingdom, (of Scotland) that is, his fee, (or feignory) against him, putting garrisons into the towns, castles, and other places; for which transgressions, our Lord the King of England, having entered Scotland by force, conquered and took it, notwithstanding all we could do against him, as of right he might, as Lord of the fee, seeing after we did homage to him, we rebelled against him: We being therefore yet free, and in our own power, do hereby surrender unto him the land of Scotland, and the whole nation with all it's homages. In witness whereof, we have caused to be made these our letters patents, dated at Brechin the tenth day of July, in the fourth year of our reign (62).

I cannot help mentioning a very singular circumstance upon this occasion, that has not been taken notice of before, and it is this, that notwithstanding all that has been said upon this subject, by our antient and modern historians, we find a very great variation in the copy of this instrument given us by Mr Rymer. He first exhibits it in French, which, he says, was taken from the very original, sealed with the great seal on white wax, hanging thereto by a parchment label,

(61) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Major. de Gest. Scot. fol. 74. Lest. de Rebus Gest. Scot. l. vi. Hecst. Boeth. Hist. Scot. l. xiv. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. viii.

(62) Prynn's Collections, Tom. III. p. 647. Nic. Trivet. Ann. p. 292, 223.

(59) See Holinhead's Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 208. Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation. Vol. I. p. 494. Prynn's Collections, Tom. III. p. 602, 603.

(60) Rot. Scot. 24 E. I. p. 8.

As soon as the Great-Seal of Scotland had been affixed to this strange charter, by which the King of Scots quitted his dignity, it was immediately broke to pieces, as a thing no longer of any use or consequence, King Edward being determined to take that kingdom into his own hands, and to govern it as he did the rest of his dominions. In order to perfect this design, the King resolved to march into the heart of Scotland, that he might see whether any of the people meant to dispute his authority, or pretend to adhere to a Prince who had quitted his dignity, and therewith all right to their allegiance. He moved on accordingly as far as Elgin in the shire of Murray, and finding every thing perfectly quiet, thought it needless to advance farther north (z). In his return he came to the abbey of Scone near Perth, from whence he thought fit to remove the famous stone, upon which the Kings of Scotland sat when they were crowned, as a monument of his conquest, and a mark of his having totally subverted that monarchy. This stone he caused to be conveyed to the abbey of Westminster, and directed it to be placed in a chair there, where it has ever since remained (w) [R]. He is charged by some of the historians of that kingdom, with having committed various acts of severity in this progress, such as burning their records, abolishing their old laws, altering the form of divine service, and obliging such amongst them as were distinguished for their learning, to remove out of their own country, in order to go and settle at Oxford, which facts, however, if they are not totally forged, may be very truly said to have been much exaggerated (x). From the abbey of Scone the King returned to Berwick, in the beginning of the month of August, where he held a Parliament for the kingdom of Scotland, to which most of the clergy, nobility, and freeholders repaired, and there did homage for their lands and possessions, and swore fealty to King Edward, as appears by four large rolls, still preserved amongst our records in the Tower, and which are intituled, *The Rolls, or the Oaths of Homage and Fealty made to Edward King of England, by every individual Freeholder of the Kingdom of Scotland* (y). At the same time he appointed a new Treasurer, a new Chancellor, and a new Chief-Justice for the realm of Scotland, into whose custody he delivered a new Great-Seal, which he had caused to be made for that kingdom, and having thus taken away all marks of a separate and independent

(v) T. Walsingham, Knyghton, Hemingford. Fordon. Major. Lest. Both. Buchan.

(w) T. Walsingham, Ypodig. Neufria.

(x) Fordon, Major. Both. Lest. Buchan.

(y) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 723.

(63) Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718.

(64) Ibid. p. 719.

(65) Fordon. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Walt. de Hemingford Hist. Edw. I. p. 96. Nicol. Trivet. Annal. p. 292.

(66) R. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 292. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angl. col. 2481.

(67) All our historians agree, that Balliol was at the castle of Forfar, when the Bishop went to treat with him, that he came from that castle to Montrose, to make his submission, and was sent by sea from thence to England.

label (63). He gives us next a Latin translation, but both are dated not on the tenth, but on the second of July, not at Brechin but at Kyncardyn. This is very strange, and though it is hard to argue against records, yet undoubtedly, these facts are not reconcilable to the current of our history; for first, with respect to the date; King Edward held the feast of St John the Baptist at Perth, from thence he went to Montrose and the castle of Brechin in his way to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 15th of July of Mr Rymer's own shewing (64). It was after the feast of St John the Baptist that the King began to treat with Balliol, and he gave him a fortnight's time to come in and make his submission. It is out of doubt, that the ceremony of appearing with a white wand in his hand, and renouncing his alliance with France, was different from, and prior to his resignation, and yet, according to this date, the whole must have been transacted in less than a week (65). Next we ought to consider, that the authors in which this charter is preserved, wrote some of them in, and all of them near, the time of Edward I, and that they agree in the date of the 10th of July, which makes the whole transaction of a piece, and suits exactly with the King's motions (66). But, secondly, as to the place, Kyncardyn lies in the fourth, and at a great distance from Brechin and Aberdeen, which makes it very improbable, that King John should be carried thither, or that, when the King was marching north, he should leave him behind him. But if, after all, the original is still extant, and dated as we find it in Rymer, then it must be supposed, that the Bishop of Durham, was left there to transact these matters in the King's name, and that all the historians who have mentioned these facts are most grossly mistaken (67).

[R] *Where it has ever since remained.* It is very manifest, that King Edward was now intent upon removing whatever might hinder his design of making himself absolute master of Scotland, and as he was resolved, that it should be no longer a separate monarchy, he was desirous of taking out of the way and fight of the Scots, whatever might put them in mind of their former conditions, and thereby excite them to insurrections and rebellions. In the castle of Edinburgh he found the crown and sceptre, and the rest of the Regalia, which he carried away; and knowing the Scots were very superstitious and had various *Palladia*, which they flattered themselves would contribute to the preservation of their government, he resolved to take these with him also, in order to convince them, that

Scotland was to be no more a distinct kingdom. Amongst these were two crosses kept in several monasteries which were very famous, the one called the Black-rod of Scotland, the other the Cross-Neytte, both which he transferred into England (68). But that which of all their antiquities they valued most, was the marble stone upon which their Kings sat at the time they were crowned, and of which we find a short description in Walter of Hemingford (69), this, as is said in the text, he caused to be removed to Westminster, where, by the King's direction, it was fixed under the bottom of a large wooden chair for the use of the Priest who officiated at divine service, but it has been since employed here, as formerly in Scotland, for the inauguration chair of our monarchs. Upon this stone there are engraved the following Latin verses.

*Ni fallat satum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem* (70).

In English thus.

If truth there be, in what old prophets say;
Where 'ere this stone is found, the Scots shall sway.

It may not be amiss to remark here, that there might be as much superstition in removing these ancient monuments by the English, as the Scots had shewn in preserving them; for if the reader will consult the old rhiming Chronicle of Robert of Brunne, published by Mr Hearne, he will find that this whole expedition of King Edward's was in those days thought to have been predicted by the famous Merlin, and that by assuming to himself the dominion of Scotland as well as Wales, King Edward was believed to have fulfilled his prophecy (71), neither will it appear at all improbable, to such as shall peruse King Edward's letter to Pope Boniface, in support of his title to the kingdom of Scotland, if we should suggest, that he was not altogether ignorant himself of this prophecy, or unwilling that it should be applied to him, since therein he goes as high as Brute, asserts him to have been sole Monarch of Albion, and that he gave that part of the island called Scotland, to his son Albanact, whence he infers the constant dependance of that kingdom upon the imperial crown of England (72).

(68) Abercromby, Vol. I. p. 496.

(69) Hist. Ed. I. p. 37.

(70) Tho. Walsingham, Ypodig. Neufria, A. D. 1296.

(71) Chron. p. 272.

(72) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 863.

independent state, he caused King John and his son Edward Balliol, to be transferred under a strong guard from Berwick to the Tower of London, to which they were committed prisoners, but were treated there with all imaginable decency and respect, and allowed as much liberty, as was consistent with King Edward's design of keeping them in safe custody (z). The King likewise thought proper, the better to prevent any new insurrections or disturbances in Scotland, to forbid any of the nobility, then prisoners in England, to pass the river Trent upon pain of death. And thus in the space of a few months, and with a very inconsiderable loss, the King made a total conquest of that country, and thereby completed, for the present, the great design he had in view (a). But how wise and prudent soever his measures might be in themselves, and notwithstanding that success which seemed to attend them, yet it very soon appeared, that tho' the Scots had submitted, they were not subdued, several insurrections breaking out the year following, under different leaders, which prevented them from coming to any great head, though it shewed that there still remained such a spirit of discontent, as could not fail of rendering his government uneasy (b). It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the solemn resignation of John Balliol, his title to the crown of Scotland was still owned by all that kingdom, who refused to submit to King Edward, as it likewise was by the Pope, the King of France, and other foreign Princes. But whether he kept any private correspondence in Scotland or elsewhere, does not very clearly appear, tho' the Scottish historians very positively affirm, that Sir William Wallace acted under his commission, which may be so far true, that as he owned him for his Sovereign, he might be said to act for him, and the same might be likewise said of Robert Bruce the elder, who, when in arms at first against King Edward, expressly owned King John, and in his name concluded several truces, or temporary cessations of arms with King Edward's officers, who were employed against him. But tho' they thus acknowledged King John, when in truth they had no other King to acknowledge, yet this is far enough from being a direct evidence, that King John acknowledged them, or authorized them to act by his commission. To say the truth, the contrary of this is more than probable, from the manner in which King Edward treated him, for though the war continued against his subjects, yet King Edward does not seem to have been at all apprehensive of King John, neither did he abridge him of any part of that liberty which he had granted him, though at the same time, he confiscated the estates of many of the nobility in Scotland, for being, as he styled it, in a rebellion against him. And indeed, considering the submissions they had made, and the engagements they had entered into towards King Edward, it might very well be styled so, tho' they themselves still maintained their independency, and when the French had consented to a truce, and afterwards to a peace, no pains were spared to include the Scots therein (c). This treaty was a long time in negotiating, under the special mediation of the Pope, who omitted no opportunity of interceding for John Balliol, or of endeavouring to dispose King Edward to grant him his liberty, for which King John was likewise soliciting, and that by a more effectual method, which was making a solemn declaration, that he neither desired to recover the kingdom of Scotland, nor to interfere in, or have any thing to do with, the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more (d) [S]. This it was, in all probability, that determined the King the next year

(z) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 203. says, he had liberty to go any where within twenty miles of London.

(a) Rob. Brunne. Walsingham, Hemmingford, &c.

(b) Fordun. Bæth. Buchan.

(c) Thom. Walsingham, Wals. Hemmingford, Robert Brunne's Chron. Abingd. Bæth. Leth. Buchan.

(d) Appendix to the third Volume of Brady's History, No. 37.

[S] Nothing to do with the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more.] Whoever considers the manner in which our antient histories were written, will very easily conceive, that there is little or nothing to be found in them, concerning the transactions of John Balliol, after he was brought over prisoner into England. Some indeed tell us, that he went to reside at Oxford, and Rapin very gravely and magisterially assures us, that he built a college there, and liberally endowed it (73). There is no wonder that he made this mistake who was a stranger, and who deserves to be commended, not only for his accuracy and diligence in writing the history of King Edward's wars in Scotland, but also for his candour and impartiality in recording the disputes between the two nations. But we may justly be surprized, that one of the best writers of the history of Scotland should lead him into this mistake, by affirming the very same thing (74, which shews how little credit is due to General Histories in matters of this nature, and of how great use works of this kind are, in detecting such errors and clearing up the truth. It has been observed in the text, that some writers have affirmed, King John was allowed the liberty of going abroad, which appears to be a matter of fact, though probably not without a keeper (75). We likewise find, that he still kept up a close correspondence with Dr Anthony Beak, Bishop of Durham, and that he made use of him chiefly to negotiate with King Edward, the terms upon which he was to obtain his liberty, all which we are able to prove, from a very extraordinary piece that remains still upon record, which we find often cited by our

English historians, but which, for any thing I know, has never yet appeared in English; and therefore I hope it will be very acceptable (as it is certainly one of the most curious papers relating to this article) if we produce it here.

' In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, on the first of April, in the house of the reverend Father Anthony Bishop of Durham, without London. The said Bishop discoursing of the state and condition of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants of the said kingdom, before the noble Lord John Balliol, the said John of his own proper motion, in the presence of me, the Notary, and the subscribing witnesses, amongst other things, said and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, that is to say, that while he the said realm of Scotland, as King and Lord thereof, held and governed, he had found in the people of the said kingdom, so much malice, fraud, treason, and deceit, that for their malignity, wickedness, treachery, and other detestable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly understood, they had, while their Prince, contrived to poison him, it was his intention, never to go or enter into the said kingdom of Scotland for the future, or with the said kingdom, or it's concerns, either by himself or others, to intermeddle, nor for the reasons aforesaid, and many others, to have any thing to do with the Scots. At the same time, the said John desired the said Bishop of Durham, that he would acquaint the Most Magnificent Prince, and his Lord, Edward, the Most Illustrious King of England, with his intention, will, and firm resolution in this respect,

(73) Histoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III. p. 58.

(74) Lefæus de Gestis Scotor. lib. vi. p. 253.

(75) Hector. Boeth. lib. xiv.

year to release him as he did, on the fresh instances made by the Bishop of Vicenza, the Pope's Legate then in France, to whom he was delivered at Whitford, by Robert de Bourgherth, Knt. Constable of Dover Castle, the King's proxy, upon Saturday before St Mary Magdalen's day, or the twentieth of July, upon condition that the Pope might direct and order what he pleased as to his person, and the estate he had in England, as King Edward might have done, if he had been personally with him in England; saving to him and his heirs Kings of England, the kingdom of Scotland, the people and inhabitants, with all the appurtenances to that kingdom. It being also there read, and rehearsed before his delivery, and in his own presence, and in that of the Bishop of Vicenza, that he had committed many inhuman trespasses and treasons against his sovereign Prince King Edward, contrary to his homage and fealty, &c. and that the Pope should not ordain or direct any thing in the kingdom of Scotland, concerning the people or inhabitants, or any thing appertaining to the same kingdom, on behalf of John Balliol, or his heirs, &c. And upon these terms the Bishop, in the name of, and as the Pope's Proxy, received him from the King's Commissioner, on the said Saturday abovementioned, A. D. 1299, and 27 Edw. I. (e). But notwithstanding this solemn act, by which in the fullest and plainest manner in the world, he divested himself of his regal character, and relinquished both his kingdom and the allegiance of his subjects; yet they continued to own him for their Sovereign, as appears by a very authentick act of the Lords Justices, or Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, who were William Bishop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the Younger, who by their letter to King Edward, dated from Torwood, November 13, 1299, owned themselves subjects to King John, and desire, in very submissive terms, a cessation of hostilities (f), which however, at that time, was not granted. Yet after all this, when King Edward in a better temper consented to such a suspension of arms, and to hear what they had to offer, they proposed the restoring of King John and his son, and offered to live under them as good subjects, which because of his resignation King Edward would not allow, but rejected those terms as unjust and unreasonable (g). After all this the Pope interposed, and, by his letters admonitory, undertook to shew King Edward, that he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland (b) [T]. This Bull had no effect upon the King, who was determined to maintain his title, and to continue the war against Scotland, which he did with various success, till in the year 1303, he made an absolute conquest of that kingdom, and in the succeeding year, he settled the affairs of it entirely, designing for the future, that the kingdom of Scotland should be represented by Commissioners sent to the Parliament of England (i). The next year the Scots took up arms again, under Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and then it was they threw off all regard to John Balliol, and placed the crown of their kingdom on the head of the nobleman beforementioned.

(e) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 848, 849.
Prynne's Collect. Vol. III. fol. 779.
Dracy's Appendix as before. No. 36.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 859.

(g) Vid Hemingf. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(i) Thom. Walsingham, Rob. Brunne, Walt. Hemingford, Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

'spect, &c. This act was signed and sealed by the Publick Notary, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham aforesaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, Constable of the Tower of London, and others, who heard this discourse (75).'

[T] That he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland. It is very extraordinary, that this Pope, Boniface VIII, should be able to enter so clearly and so fully into this dispute, and urge such cogent reasons against the pretensions of King Edward to a superiority over that kingdom, as in this monitory epistle we find he did, and therefore it may be reasonably presumed, that he was furnished with proper hints by some of the Prelates of Scotland, as the reader will readily judge, from the several heads upon which he insists. In the first place he observes, that Henry, the King's father, at the time he was distressed by his rebels, applied himself for assistance to Alexander King of Scotland, his son-in-law; granted him letters patents, declaring, that he did not demand this as due to him of right, but as an act of grace and favour. He takes notice next, that when the same King Alexander assisted at his the King of England's coronation, he demanded and obtained letters patents for the same purpose. He in the third place observes, that when King Alexander did homage to him for the lands of Tindale and Penrith, he publicly declared, that he did not either pay or owe him any homage as King of Scotland. His next remark is, that upon the death of the said Alexander, the custody of his grand-daughter and heiress Margaret, did not devolve to him, as it must have done had he been superior and direct Lord of Scotland, but to such as, by the Nobility of that kingdom, were appointed to that office. He goes on to observe, that when the King applied to the Holy See for a dispensation, in order to the marriage of his eldest son Edward, to the said Margaret, he set forth the consent of the Nobility of Scotland, that he had acknowledged it to be a free and independent kingdom, and had engaged it

should remain so, in case there was no issue of this marriage. To this he adds, that after the death of Margaret, when the dispute about the succession began, the Nobility of that kingdom apprehending their going beyond their own frontiers at his request, might prove detrimental to their right, he, by his own charter, secured them from that inconvenience, and from these premises he infers, that whatever had happened since was the effects of force and violence, and could not therefore confer any right whatever. To all these he subjoins an argument of another nature, that the Legates of the See of Rome to the Kings of England, could not enter Scotland in virtue of that commission, but were obliged to have special letters to the Kings of Scotland, as to all other Princes. But after all, there is one thing excessively wild and extravagant in this Bull, which is, that at the same time the Pope insists, that the crown of Scotland is not a fee of England, he insists no less positively, that the kingdom depended upon the See of Rome. This writing is dated the twenty-seventh of June, in the year 1299 (77). To this epistle two solemn answers were given, the first by the Nobility of England, in a great council assembled at Lincoln, dated the twelfth of February, 1301 (78). In which they assert, not only the King's right to the superiority and direct dominion over Scotland, but also the independency of his crown, and declare that they cannot allow any cause of this nature to be canvassed before, much less determined by, his Holiness. The other is by the King himself, dated at Kemeleye the same year, in which he enters into a long detail of his rights over the kingdom of Scotland, and absolutely denies many of the facts insisted upon in the Pope's letter; concluding with an absolute declaration, that he would maintain his title to, and possession of, the kingdom of Scotland, as a right descended to him from his ancestors, Kings of England, which, whatever that Pope thought of it, was tacitly acknowledged by his successors (79).

(76) Prynne's Collections, Tom. II. p. 865.

(77) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(78) Walt. de Hemingford. Hist. Edw. I. p. 186.
Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 873.

(79) Walt. Hemingford. Hist. Edw. I. p. 177.
Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 863.

beforementioned (k). All this time John Balliol lived quietly as a private man, on his own estates, which were very considerable in France (l). His son Edward remaining some years a prisoner, as some say, as others will have it, a hostage here, but at length he was sent over to his father, nor does it appear, that either of them interfered at all with the affairs of Scotland, but contented themselves with the enjoyment of what was left of their private fortunes. Some writers say, that John Balliol lived till he was blind, which, if true, must have been the effect of some disease, or of some accident, since it is certain that he died A. D. 1314, when he could not be above fifty-five at most (m). His son Edward Balliol afterwards set up a title to the kingdom of Scotland, invaded and recovered it, but held it not long, and dying afterwards without issue, the family failed (n) [U]. Thus, with much labour and difficulty, we have in a great measure cleared one of the most perplexed periods of our history, and set a multitude of material facts in a clear light, from the comparison of our antient historians, and correcting their relations by our records, which was one of the principal points proposed in the compiling this work.

(k) Fordun. Major. Boëth. Leñ. Buchan.

(l) De Serres, Mazarin, Daniel, &c.

(m) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. III. p. 506.

We have before shewn he was born about 1260.

(n) Walt. Hemmingford. Hist. Edw. III. p. 505.

[U] *And dying afterwards without issue, the family failed.* In order to render this article as complete as possible, and to shew the end, as we have already explained the beginning of the contest, between the houses of Balliol and Bruce, for the crown of Scotland, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the fortunes of this Edward Balliol. At the time of his father's decease, which was in the year 1314, he was in England, and King Edward II, wrote to the King of France, to desire that he might have possession given him of his father's estates in that country (80), which it seems was done, and he lived there quietly as a private person for many years, and without thinking, as far as from his story we can learn, of renewing the pretensions of his family to the crown of Scotland. But in the year 1331, an English servant of his having killed a Frenchman, and he taking pains to send this servant out of the reach of justice, he was himself imprisoned, and his estates seized, till on the Lord Beaumont's coming from England, he was, at his intercession, released, and this Lord Beaumont it was, that advised him to come over to England, and set up his claim to the crown of Scotland (81). King Robert Bruce being dead, and David his son having succeeded him in the kingdom, he had married the sister of Edward III King of England, who for that reason would not assist Balliol openly and directly against his brother-in-law, though he suffered him to raise men privately in Yorkshire, with which he invaded that kingdom in 1332, with such success, that he got himself declared King, but not long after was driven out again, when King Edward resolved to assist him, having first quarrelled with the Scots for not delivering up Berwick. This war was carried on with such success, that Balliol was again fixed upon the throne, and King David was forced to fly to France. Balliol by his charter acknowledged himself homager to King Edward III, as his father had done to King Edward I, for that kingdom, and besides this, in consideration of his expence in restoring him, he gave and granted to King Edward of England, Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns, and the countries depending upon them (82), which so alienated the hearts of the Scots, that he never had any quiet in that kingdom afterwards, though, by the assistance of the English, he kept up the war for many years, till at last in the year 1356, being quite tired out with the opposition given him by that nation, he

surrendered his title to King Edward of England, in consideration of a pension of two thousand pounds a year, to be paid him quarterly (83), which he enjoyed to the year 1363, when he died at Doncaster in Yorkshire, without issue. Yet upon the death of King David Bruce, William Earl of Douglas is said to have set up a title to the crown of Scotland, which he is also said to have founded upon that of the Balliols, but this title of his is very obscure, at least as it is set forth by one who ought to have understood it (84). He says that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, Dornagilla or Dervorgilla, who married John Balliol father to King John, and Mary, who married John Comin, from whom William Earl of Douglas was descended. It is true indeed, though most of our historians say otherwise, that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, viz. Christina and Dervorgilla, so that this last was not the elder but the younger daughter, however she was sole heiress to her father, her elder sister dying unmarried (85). By this means therefore no title could accrue to the Earl of Douglas, but however a title he had, and a title from the Balliols, which arose thus, John Comin married Margery (86), daughter to John Balliol by Dervorgilla his wife, sister to King John Balliol, by whom he had that John Comin who was killed by Robert Bruce, who left a daughter Dornagilla, who was married to Archibald Douglas, father to William Earl of Douglas (87), who claimed the crown, but the States of Scotland declared Robert Stuart, son of Margery Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce, and sister to King David, the lawful heir of the crown (88). To this William Earl of Douglas assented, and the new King Robert gave his eldest daughter Euphemia, to James Douglas the Earl's son, and thus this contest ended (89). If the judicious and inquisitive reader is displeased with the conciseness of this note, which stands in the place of another article, once intended of Edward Balliol, he may have recourse to other articles in this work, in which this history is pursued (90); and he is also desired to observe, that the reason we chose to omit that of Edward Balliol, and confine these circumstances relating to him within such narrow bounds, was to avoid repetitions, and thereby keep ourselves within the smallest compass, that a due regard to accuracy, and the importance of the subjects of which we treat, will possibly allow.

(83) Rot. Scotiæ 29 E. III. m. 12. Rob. de Avesbur. Hist. Ed. III. p. 229.

(84) Hume's History of the Douglasses, p. 84.

(85) This appeared from John Balliol's petition setting forth his claim to the crown.

(86) Liber Cœnob. de Balmerinoch. penes dom. de Balmerinoch.

(87) History of the Douglasses, p. 54.

(88) Joan. Major. de Gest. Scotor. lib. vi. p. 113. b.

(89) Buchan. Hist. Scot. p. 316.

(90) See BRUCE (ROBERT) and BRUCE (DAVID).

(80) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. III. p. 506.

(81) Caxton's Chronicle, A. D. 1331.

(82) Tyrrel's History of England, Vol. III. p. 381.

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxoniens. Vol. I. col. 635, 637.

(b) Rich. Baxter's Unusuary Volume of Mr John Crandon's anatomized. Lond. 1654. Sect. i. p. 6.

B A L L (JOHN), a Puritanical Divine in the XVIIth century (a), was born, in the year 1585, of an obscure family, at Cassington or Cherfington, near Woodstock in Oxfordshire. He was educated in grammar learning at a private school, under the Vicar of Yarnton, a mile distant from Cassington; and was admitted a student of Brazenose college in Oxford, in 1602. He continued there about five years, in the condition of a fervitor, and under the discipline of a severe Tutor; and from thence he removed to St Mary's Hall, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1608. Soon after, he was invited into Cheshire, to be Tutor to the Lady Cholmondeley's children; and here he became acquainted with some rigid Puritans, who gained so far upon his affections, that he went over to their party. About this time, having got a sum of money, he came up to London, and procured himself to be ordained by an Irish Bishop, without Subscription. Soon after, he removed into Staffordshire, and became curate of Whitmore, a chapel of ease to Stoke. Here he lived in a mean condition, upon a salary of about twenty pounds a year, and the profits of a little school. Mr Baxter tells us (b), he deserved as high esteem and honour, as the best Bishop in England; yet looking after no higher things,

things, but living comfortably and prosperously with these. He has, among the Puritan writers, the character of an excellent School-Divine, a painful preacher, and a learned and ingenious author; and, though he was not well affected to ceremonies and Church discipline, yet he wrote against those, who thought these matters a sufficient ground for separation. His works are mentioned in the remark [A]. He died the 20th of October 1640, aged about fifty-five, and was buried in the church of Whitmore.

[A] His works.] I. *A Short Treatise concerning all the principal grounds of the Christian Religion, &c.* Fourteen times printed before the year 1632, and translated into the Turkish language by William Seaman, an English traveller. II. *A Treatise of Faith, in two parts; the first shewing the Nature, the second the Life of Faith.* London, 1631 and 1637, 4to. There is a commendatory preface to it, written by Richard Sibbes. III. *Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modest Dispute touching the Unlawfulness of stined Liturgy and set Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Assemblies, and the primitive Subject and first Receptacle of the Power of the Keys, &c.* Cambridge, 1640, 4to. A rude and imperfect draught of this book was first made for the satisfaction of Mr Richard Knightly, and afterwards, at the request of several Ministers and others, enlarged into this treatise. IV. *An Answer to two Treatises of Mr John Can, the first intitled, A necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformist's Principles; the other, A Stay against Straying; wherein, in Opposition to Mr John Robinson, he undertakes to prove the Unlawfulness of bearing the Ministers of the Church of England.* London, 1642, 4to. Published by Simeon Ash. The epistle to the reader is subscribed by Thomas Langley, William Rathband, Simeon Ash, Francis Woodcock, and George Croft, Presbyterians. After our author had finished this last book, he undertook a large ecclesiastical treatise, in which he proposed to lay open the nature of Schism, and to handle the principal controversies relating to the essence and government of the visible Church. He left fifty sheets of this work finished. Notwithstanding all this (says Anthony Wood) yet, by what our author hath written in his answer to John Can, and in his *Friendly Tryal*, some dividing spirits of his own party censured him, as in some degree declining from his former professed conformity, in deserting the Nonconformist's cause

and grounds, being too much inclined (especially in the last of these two) to favour the times in ceremonies and the service-book: Yet, if you will give credit to what these men deliver, they will tell you that he lived and died a strict forbearer, and constant opposer of all those pretended corruptions, which the Nonconformists had commonly in their public writings disallowed in the Church of England. So that they of his own persuasion would willingly have it believed, that, altho' he was in these his pieces against aggravating and multiplying conceived corruptions, and that these were not of so great weight, as to enforce the unlawfulness of our set forms, or warrant a separation from our churches and public worship in regard thereof, yet he acknowledged some things blame-worthy in the English Liturgy, which he designed to have evidenced (as these men tell us) in some public treatise, had he lived but a little longer. For all this he died abundantly satisfied in the justness of that cause, which he so well defended against Separation. V. *Trial of the new Church-way in New-England and Old, &c.* London, 1644, 4to. VI. *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace.* London, 1645, 4to. Published by his great admirer Simeon Ash. VII. *Of the power of Godliness, both doctrinally and practically handled, &c.* To which are annexed several treatises, as 1. *Of the Affections.* 2. *Of the Spiritual Combat.* 3. *Of the Government of the Tongue.* 4. *Of Prayer, with an Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, &c.* London, 1657, fol. Published by the aforesaid Simeon Ash. This Ash, it seems, had been of the university of Cambridge, Chaplain to the Lord Brook, and afterwards to the Earl of Manchester. In 1644, he became Minister of St Michael Bassishaw, and afterwards of St Austins, in London, and died the 20th of August 1662. VIII. *A Treatise of Divine Meditation.* London, 1660, 120. published also by the said Ash (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxoniens. Vol. I. col. 637, 638.

BALLENDEN or BELLENDEN (Sir JOHN), an elegant Scottish writer of the XVIth century. He was descended from an antient and very honourable family in that kingdom, and his father, Mr Thomas Ballenden of Auchinoul, was Director to the Chancery, A. D. 1540, and Clerk-Register in 1541 (a). It does not appear when our author was born, or where educated, but from his writings, (frequently intermixed with words of Gallick derivation) I am inclined to believe in France (b). In his youth he served in the Court, and was in great favour with King James V, as himself informs us, which he might very probably owe to his fine vein in poetry, that Prince being a great admirer, as he was also a great proficient in that kind of learning (c). Having so good interest with his Prince, he attained extraordinary preferment in the Church, being made Canon of Ros, and Archdeacon of Murray, to which last dignity perhaps he opened his passage, by taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne (d). He likewise obtained his father's employment of Clerk-Register, which was very considerable, in the minority of the King beforementioned, but was afterwards turned out by the struggle of factions, in the same reign (e). We have no direct authority, to prove that he had any share in the education of King James V, but from some passages in his poems, and from his addressing many of them to that King, one would conceive he was in some measure particularly attached to his person, and from one of them more especially, that he had an interest beyond that of bare duty, in forming a right disposition, and giving wholesome instructions to that Prince (f) [A]. But the work which gave him highest

(a) Mackenzy's Hist. of Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 595.

(b) See this more fully explained in note [C].

(c) See his Proëm to his Cosmography.

(d) Dempster, lib. ii. p. 107.

(e) See his Proëm to his Cosmography.

(f) See the account of his Works in note [C].

[A] Giving wholesome instructions to that Prince.] It is always requisite in writing the lives of men distinguished by their writings, to read them carefully, and not to take upon the credit of others, what may with more certainty be learned from themselves. I have taken some pains to procure, and have enjoyed a great deal of pleasure in reading, some of our author's works, and from them I clearly discern, that he was put about King James V in his nonage, which is a circumstance worth regarding, since he was one of the best bred Princes of that age, and a great encourager of learning and learned men, which reflects much ho-

nour on those who had the care of his education, of whom, I conceive, our author to have been one, and to have merited his church preferments that way (1). His genius was truly poetick, and he usually wrote in the Lyrick way, in Stanza's much after the manner of Spencer, and chiefly too, like him, on allegorical subjects. It is a great misfortune to us, that his epistles to King James are not extant, for if they were, they would probably inform us, as to many points of which we are now totally ignorant. As it is, we know, that he was thrown out of his employment, and driven from court, by the mischievous effects of envious slanders (2),

(1) There are many curious collections of pieces of this age in the hands of gentlemen of this country, and in all of them some of our author's, which shews how much his writings were esteemed.

(2) Vertue and Vyce, Stanz. iv. but

highest reputation, and has transmitted the name of our author to posterity, is his translation of Hector Boëthius, or, as his countrymen call him, Hector Boeis's History, out of Latin into the Scottish tongue, which he performed at the command of his royal master admirably, but with a good deal of freedom, departing often from his author, but generally for the sake of truth, and sometimes also adding circumstances, which perhaps might not be known to Hector Boeis. (g). However, his version, as he called it, was very well received both in Scotland and England, and soon became the standard of that History [B]. It does not appear either from his own writings or otherwise, how he came to lose his office of Clerk-Register, but he certainly recovered it in the succeeding reign, was likewise made one of the Lords of Session, and had credit then at Court, perhaps from his zeal in respect to his religion, for he was a very warm and inflexible Romanist, and not satisfied with persisting in his own sentiments, laboured assiduously, in conjunction with Dr Laing, to hinder the progress of the Reformation (b). It may with great probability be conjectured, that the disputes into which he plunged himself on this subject, made him so uneasy, that he chose to quit his native country, to go and reside in a place, where that disposition, instead of being an hindrance, would infallibly recommend him. This (as it is supposed) carried him to Rome, where, as Demster tells us, he died, A. D. 1550 (i). He was unquestionably a man of great parts, and one of the finest Poets his country had to boast. It is true, the language is now so altered, that to attempt giving (as some have done) specimens, would be ridiculous; it is sufficient to say, that so many of his works remain, as fully prove this, inasmuch as they are distinguished by that noble enthusiasm which is the very soul of Poesy (k) [C]. It is a great misfortune, that

(g) Nicholson's Scottish Library, p. 10.

(b) Coan, de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 167.

(i) Lib. ii. p. 107.

(k) See the account of his Works in note [C].

but receiving the King's command, to put the Latin history of Boëthius, into the common language of Scotland, this afforded him some hope, and that he might rise the sooner in the King's favour, he composed a Poem intitled, VERTUE and VICE, addressed to the Monarch of the Scots, JAMES V. This we find the title in MSS, but Dr Mackenzy tell us very positively, it is prefixed by way of Proëm to his Cosmography: So very possibly it may be, though the Poem has nothing in it, that has the least relation to that subject; but the Doctor is absolutely in the wrong, for supposing them to be mistaken who filed it a dream, since certainly it is so (3): Our author very ingeniously feigns, that walking in a garden to amuse himself after the labour of translating, and musing on the disgrace he had suffered at Court, which to prevent any offence to the King, he suggests might be owing to the pernicious influence of his ill stars, oppressed by melancholy, and not able to solve these doubts to his satisfaction, his cares at length wearied him into a deep sleep, in which he beheld a very handsome young Prince on a throne, to whom two ladies, lovely in their persons, and splendid in their equipage, applied themselves, contending for his love. He makes DELIGHT speak first, and place all pleasure in the company of women: VIRTUE speaks next, and maintains, that the only bestows real and lasting pleasure, and leads men to the acquisition of immortality. Having thus set both before the King, he tells us, he awoke, that he might not be constrained to violate truth, in describing the King's choice.

[B] And soon became the standard of that history.] This great work of our author appeared in folio at Edinburgh, A. D. 1536, under this title (4), viz. *The History and Chronicles of Scotland, compiled and newly corrected and amended by the reverend and noble Clerk Mr Hector Boeis, Chanon of Aberdene, translated lately by Mr John Ballenden, Archdene of Murray, and Chanon of Rosse, at command of James the fyfte, King of Scottis, imprinted in Edenburgh by Thomas Davidson, dwelling fornems the Fryere-Wynd.* This translation, as has been observed in the text, was very far from being close, our author taking to himself the liberty of augmenting and amending the history he published as he thought proper. He likewise distinguished it into chapters as well as books, which was the only distinction employed by Boëthius, which plainly proves, that it was this translation and not the original, that Richard Grafton made use of in penning his Chronicle, which Buchanan could not but know, though he never misses any opportunity of falling upon Grafton, as if he had corrupted and falsified this author, in order to serve his own purposes and abuse the people of Scotland (5); which however has been shewn to be, as in fact it is, a barbarous and groundless charge (6). Our author's work was afterwards taken into the largest of our British histories, of which the Bishop of Carlisle (7) has given us the following account. 'R. Holinshed published it in English, but was not the trans-

lator of it himself, his friend began the work and had gone a good way in it, but did not, it seems, live to finish it. In this there are several large interpolations and additions out of Major, Lesley, and Buchanan, by Fr. Thinne, who is also the chief author of the whole story after the death of King James the first, and the only penman of it from 1571 to 1586; towards the latter end, this learned Antiquary occasionally intermixes cataloges of the Chancellors, Archbishops, and Writers, of that kingdom.' We learn from the very industrious John Bale (8), that our author, whom he calls John Balantyne, not only translated it but continued it also down to 1536, that his countrymen might have their history as complete, as it was in his power to give it in their own language; and the pains he took in this respect, appears to have been very well bestowed, since almost all who had written after him upon this subject, have, in a manner, transcribed his labours. He translated also Hector Boëthius's description of Scotland; and besides that, wrote a description of his own, under the title of a Description of Albany, which Bale had seen, and of which he gives us the beginning (9): In all probability he was moved to every one of these works, either by the command of King James (10), or with a view to recommend himself to that Prince's favour. As to the Epistles directed by him to that Monarch, which are now lost, they were certainly published, since Bale had seen them likewise (11), and perhaps, they may be some time or other recovered. Since it is certain, that many of his writings are in the hands of persons of distinction in Scotland, who are careful preservers of such kind of curiosities.

[C] By that noble enthusiasm which is the very soul of Poesy.] He wrote, as both Demster and Bale inform us, many other pieces which are now buried in oblivion, such as Visions, Miscellanies, Proëms to his prose works, and, as I conceive, an explanation of the Pythagorick Y. Dr Mackenzy indeed, is for correcting his principal author Demster (12), and reading *de vita Pythagoræ*, or, of the life of Pythagoras, instead of *de litera Pythagoræ*, or, of Pythagoras's letter; but as it stands so likewise in Bale, and is to the full as good sense this way as the other, I see no cause to make this alteration. In the large collection of Scottish poems made by Mr Carmichael, there were some of our author's on various subjects, and Mr Lawrence Dundas had also several, whether in MS or printed I cannot say. The mode of that age was chiefly allegory and fable, after the manner of the Italians, whom all the English and Scottish writers followed, as the great standards of elegance and politeness: This appears not only by our author's poems, but from those of his contemporaries, such as Dunbar, who wrote *the Thistle and the Rose*, in honour of the marriage of James IV, with Margaret, daughter to King Henry VII of England, and the *Golden Target*, was written, if I mistake not, by the same author. This last, beyond controversy, is one of the finest poems in the

(8) Scriptor. Brittan. Cent. xiv. p. 65.

(9) I suspect however, that there is some mistake about these two books, which cannot be corrected without seeing those pieces.

(10) See the notes [A] and [C].

(11) He gives us the beginning of one of them.

(12) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 597.

(3) Mackenzy's Lives and Characters of the most eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 596.

(4) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 463.

(5) Ret. Scot. Hist. lib. viii. p. 258.

(6) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 298.

(7) Scottish Library, p. 38.

that the History of the learned men of this part of our island, has not exercised the pen of some writer equal to the task, and who would have patience to enquire after, and peruse the works of those he celebrates, and thereby furnish us with facts and dates, instead of publishing his own thoughts under the sanction of their names.

Scottish language, a beautiful moral allegory, well conducted, and the verse so far, as at this distance of time we can judge, numerous, and full of harmony. I the rather mention this, because we find therein most ample commendations of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, which shews that their works were exceedingly admired in Scotland. But the great Poet of this age and country, to whom very probably King James himself, and our author likewise stood indebted for their proficiency in verse, was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King at Arms, who we are sure had the care of James V, in his nonage, and who in his writings boasts of this Prince's early respect for the Muses. He wrote, amongst other excellent poems, one called *the Testament and the Complaint of King James's PAPINGO*, and in the preface to this performance, he gives a pleasant account of all the Scots Poets to his own time, in the close of which, he gives this encomium of our author, the brightness of the character still shining, even through the rust and obscurity of the language.

But now of late, has start up heastily,
A cunning Clerk, which writeth craftily,
A plant of Poets, called *Ballantin*,
Whose ornat writs, my wit cannot desyne ;
Get he into the court authority,
He will precel *Quintin* and *Kenedy* (13).

(13) Preface to the Complaint of the Papingo.

This poetical elogy of Ballenden brings me back to my subject, and enables me to say somewhat in excuse for this digression. We have already seen this article appear more than once in our literary histories, but never so as to be read with any tolerable satisfaction, for want of shewing the state of literature at that time in Scotland, so that all the particulars of his life were concealed, that could possibly interest an English

reader in his favour. But now when it is observed, that after the marriage of Queen Margaret to King James IV, there was a constant intercourse between the two courts, and more especially between the wits of the two courts, who wrote then very nearly in the same language; the case alters, and Arch-deacon Ballenden does not appear so much a stranger. Besides, Grafton and Harrison, having already naturalized his book, and incorporated his history with that of England, there is the more reason for knowing something about him. It is true, that with all our pains we can learn but very little of him; still however, it is a little more than others have discovered upon this subject, it is enough to prove, he has a right to a place here, and makes what is said of him both pleasant and useful. There are indeed, many that slight all memorials of such as lived in these times, as an eminent Poet of the last age could never be brought to relish Chaucer, but this is mere laziness, or want of taste; laziness, if we will not take the pains of acquiring the language of our ancestors, for the sake of understanding what they have left us worth the reading; and want of true taste, if while we account it laudable to be well acquainted with the writings of Petrarch and Ronfard, because their fame is established, we despise the application to our own old Classics, that have equal merit, though, from the negligence of their countrymen, their worth is less known. We do not often find points of this kind so freely treated, or truths of this nature, stated with so little reserve: The memoirs of men who have made some figure in the world, are transcribed by one author from another, with very little improvement; whereas, a due acquaintance with antiquity, and the subjects we have treated, will always afford a man of tolerable application, the means of making any article agreeable.

X

B A L S H A M (HUGH DE) or de Bedesale, or Belesale, the tenth Bishop of Ely, and founder of St Peter's college, otherwise Peter-House, in Cambridge (a), was in all probability born at Balsam in Cambridgeshire (from whence he took his surname) towards the beginning of the XIIIth century [A]. He was at first a Monk, and afterwards Sub-prior of the Benedictine monastery at Ely (b). In 1247, November 13, he was chosen, by his convent, Bishop of Ely, in the room of William de Kilkenny, deceased. But King Henry III, who had recommended his Chancellor Henry de Wengham (c), being extremely angry at the disobedience of the Monks, refused to confirm the election; and, moreover, he felled the woods, spoiled the ponds, and otherwise wasted the manors and estates belonging to the Bishoprick. He endeavoured at last to persuade the Monks to proceed to a new election; alledging, that it was not fit, so strong a place as Ely [B] should be intrusted with a man, that had scarce ever been out of his cloister, and who was utterly unacquainted with political affairs. Balsam finding he was not likely to succeed at home; went to Rome, in order to be confirmed by the Pope (d), who, through the plenitude of his apostolical power, pretended to dispose of all ecclesiastical preferments in Christendom [C]. In the mean time, Boniface, Archbishop

(a) Historia Cantabrigie, apud X Academie A. J. Caio. Lond. 1574. 4to, p. 54. Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, Lond. 1655. fol. p. 12.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Matt. Paris, Hist. Major. edit. 1640. p. 936.

(d) Fr. Godwin, de Presulibus, edit. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 314.

[A] Was born — towards the beginning of the XIIIth century.] This I infer from the time when he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, which was in 1257, and from his death, which happened in 1286, as will be shewn presently. So that in all likelihood he was born about the year 1210 or 1215. — And that it was very customary, in former times, for people to take their surnames from the place of their birth, is so very certain as not to need any proof.

[B] So strong a place as Ely.] It is a place of very great natural strength, as being an isle, and all the country round covered with water in the winter-time. And therefore, several persons revolting against King William I. in 1070, they retired to Ely, as a place of the greatest safety, in eadem pro castro et loco tuto morantes, and there endured a long siege or blockade (1).

[C] Pretended to dispose of all ecclesiastical preferments.] The Pope taking an advantage of the frequent appeals made to him, upon any controverted elections, came by degrees to render himself master of

most preferments; and to maintain, that he had an incontestable right to dispose of them as he thought convenient. Accordingly, he usurped the collation of almost all the church-preferments, not excepting the bishopricks and archbishopricks, contrary to the rights of the King, the Chapters, and the Patrons. This encroachment grew at length to that height, that there was not a benefice, great or small, in England, but what the Popes disposed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be masters of all the collations. Sometimes, pretending not to like, or finding an objection against, the person recommended to them for confirmation, they set him aside and nominated another. One while, by the plenitude of the apostolical power, they reserved to themselves all the Benefices which should become void by translation. Another while, such as should be vacant by death, or any other way whatever. And finally, they bestowed the bishopricks, and other benefices, even before they were vacant, by way of Provision (2).

(2) See M. Paris in many places. Ryley's Placita Parliam. p. 376. and Rapin's Hist. of Engl. Vol. II. fol. p. 476, 477.

(1) Sim. Dunelmensis, apud X Scriptorum, Lond. 1652, col. 203. Chron. J. Bromton, ibid. col. 969.

[D] They,

Archbishop of Canterbury, used his utmost interest at Rome to obstruct Hugh de Balsam's confirmation, tho' he could alledge no one fault against him; and recommended Adam de Maris, a learned Minorite Frier, as a fit person to be promoted to the bishoprick: but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful. As to Wengham, having been recommended by the King without his own desire and knowledge, he did not stir in the least to get himself elected by the Monks; but rather, out of an uncommon excess of modesty, declined the honour, alledging that the two others (Balsam and Maris) were more worthy of it, and more deserving than himself. This matter remained in suspense for above ten years, and was at length determined in favour of Hugh de Balsam. For Wengham being promoted to the bishoprick of London, upon Fulk de Basset's decease; the Pope confirmed Hugh de Balsam's election, on the 10th of March 1257, and he was consecrated the 14th of October following. Being thus fixed in his See, he applied himself to works of charity, and particularly, in the year 1257 (e), or 1259 according to some (f), put in execution what he had designed, if not begun, before; that is, he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, the first college in the university of Cambridge. He built it without Trumpington gate, near the church of St Peter, (since demolished) from whence it took its name; and on the place where stood Jesus Hostel, or *de penitentia Jesu Christi*, and St John's hospital (g), which he purchased and united. At first, he only provided lodgings for the scholars, who were before obliged to hire chambers of the townsmen at an extravagant rate (h); and they, and the secular brethren of St John the Baptist, lived together till the year 1280 [D]. Then the Monks passing over to him their right to the hospital abovementioned, he endowed his college, on the 30th of March of the same year (i), with maintenance for one Master, fourteen Fellows, two Bible-clerks, and eight poor scholars, whose number might be increased or diminished, according to the improvement or abatement of their revenues. And he appointed his successors, the Bishops of Ely, to be honorary Patrons and Visitors of that college (k). The revenues of it have since been augmented by several benefactors [E]. The munificent founder had not the satisfaction to see all things finished before his decease (l). He died at Dodington June 16, 1286, and was buried in the cathedral church of Ely, before the high altar (m).

(e) T. Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 12.
 (f) J. Caii Hist. Cantebri. Acad. P. 54.
 (g) T. Fuller, ubi supra, p. 26.
 (h) Idem. p. 30.
 (i) J. Caii Hist. ubi supra, p. 54. Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8vo, p. 34.
 (k) T. Fuller, ubi supra, p. 20.
 (l) The Foundation of the University of Cambridge, &c. Lond. 1631, 4to, p. 3.
 (m) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 315. J. Caius says he died June 15, ubi supra, p. 54.

[D] They, and the secular brethren of St John the Baptist, lived together till the year 1280.] I follow J. Caius in fixing the endowment of this college at the year 1280, tho' he seems to imply afterwards, that it was not done till 1282 (3). T. Fuller places it in the same year (4), and others say, the founder settled not the endowment till the year 1284 (5). Perhaps, the whole difference between them consists in this, that there might be a space of some few years between his beginning to endow, and his finally settling the endowment. He removed the secular brethren mentioned above, to his new college; having before separated them from the regulars, whose monastery stood near All-saints church, and translated them to the place where he founded his college. St Peter's church, which stood near it, falling down, the church of St Mary's *de Gratia*, or of Grace, was built where it now stands, from whence the college came to be commonly stiled

for an hundred years together, the college of St Mary's of Grace (6).

[E] The revenues of it have since been augmented by several benefactors.] The chief of them have been Simon de Montacute, Simon Langham, and John Fordham, Bishops of Ely. Thomas de Castro, John Holbroke, Thomas Lane, John Warkworth, Thomas Denuan, Henry Hornby, William Burgoyne, John Edmunds, Andrew Perne, Masters of that house. And William Martin, Ralph Walpool, Bishop of Norwich, ——— Lownde, John Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Shorton, Edmund Hanson, Robert Gilbert, ——— Skelton, Mrs Elizab. Wolfe, Edward Lord North, Thomas Smith, Henry Willshaw, Lady Mary Ramley, Robert Warden, Thomas Warren, Mrs Margaret Dean, William Herne, Robert Slade, John Blith, &c. This college consists at present of twenty two fellows, thirty four bible-clerks, and eight poor scholars.

(6) Ibid.

BAMBRIDGE or BAINBRIDGE (CHRISTOPHER) Archbishop of York, and Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church, was born at Hilton near Appleby in Westmorland, and educated at Queen's college in Oxford. Having taken holy orders, he became Rector of Aller in the diocese of Bath and Wells. He enjoyed three Pretends successively in the cathedral church of Salisbury; that of South-Grantham in 1485, that of Chardstock the same year, and that of Horton in 1486. He was elected Provost of Queen's college in 1495, and about the same time created Doctor of Laws. On September the 28th 1503, he was admitted Prebendary of Strenshall in the cathedral church of York, void by the consecration of Jeffrey Blyth to the See of Lichfield and Coventry; and on the 21st of December following, he was installed in the deanery of that church, in the room of the said Blyth. In 1505 he was made Dean of Windfor, and the same year Master of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy-Council. In 1507, he was advanced to the See of Durham, and received the temporalities the 17th of November. The next year he was translated to the archbishoprick of York, and received the temporalities the 12th of December (a). Pits assures us, that Bambridge had been very intimate with Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and shared in that Prelate's sufferings during the usurpation of Richard III: after whose death, his affairs took a more prosperous turn; for he was appointed Almoner to King Henry VII, and employed by that Prince on several embassies to the Emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII King of France, and other potentates of Europe (b). But he distinguished himself chiefly by his embassy from King Henry VIII to Pope Julius II, who created him a Cardinal [A], with the title

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1, col. 631, 652.

(b) Pits, de illust. Angl. Scrip. tor. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

[A] He was sent Ambassador from King Henry VIII to Pope Julius II, who created him a Cardinal.] The occasion of this embassy, according to M. Aubery (1), was as follows. Henry VIII, King of England, being jealous

(1) Histoire Generale des Carreaux, edit. Parif. 1645, T. III. p. 264.

(3) Ubi supra, p. 54.

(4) Hist. ubi supra, p. 30.

(5) The Foundation of the Univ. of Cambridge, with a Catalogue of the Founders, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to.

(c) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hist. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651, l. xxviii. p. 4. and Aubery, Histoire Generale des Cardinaux, edit. Paris, 1645. T. III. p. 164.

(d) Aubery, ib. p. 165.

(e) Id. ib. p. 166.

(f) Vol. XIII, p. 376, 379.

(g) Aubery, ib. p. 166, 167.

title of *St Praxede*, in March 1511 (c), and, eight days after, appointed him Legate of the ecclesiastical army, which had been sent into the Ferrarese, and were then besieging the fort of Bassia (d). In return for which marks of honour, our new Cardinal and Legate prevailed with the King his master, to take part with his Holiness against the King of France [B]. Nor was he less zealous in the service of that Pontiff during his life, than in honouring and defending his memory after his death (e). There are extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (f) two letters; one from Cardinal Bambridge, during his residence at Rome, to King Henry VIII [C], concerning the Pope's Bull giving him the title of *Moss Christian King*; and another from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King [D], acquainting his Highness that he had delivered that instrument to Cardinal Bambridge. This Prelate died at Rome, the 14th of July 1514, being poisoned by one of his domestics, in revenge for some blows he had given him [E]; and was buried there in the English church of St Thomas (g) [F]. Pits commends him (h) for his great learning, and tells us, he wrote many things in the Civil Law, and some accounts of his own embassies, nothing

(h) Ubi supra.

jealous of the honour, which the King of France, his neighbour, was acquiring in Italy, and the considerable advantages his most Christian Majesty every day gained over the Venetians, against whom a league of the most powerful princes of Europe had been lately formed at Cambrai; dispatched the new Archbishop of York, Ambassador to Rome, with express orders to favour as much as possible the party of the Venetians, and to endeavour, by all means, to reconcile them to the Pope: An employment (adds our author) truly worthy of so great a Prelate, and an embassy highly becoming an Archbishop, if Christian charity alone, and a desire of promoting the general peace of Europe, had been the motive of this illustrious mediation, and not rather a secret passion in the English King to extinguish the war in Italy, in hopes of seeing it break out again in France. To effect which, our Ambassador, who mingled his own interests with those of his Prince, and had his eye upon the red hat, carried on his negotiations at first with so much artifice and disguise, that the real intentions of his master were not presently discovered. But the league against the Venetians being broken, and the Pope having picked a quarrel with the King of France, his Holiness, in order to gain over the King of England to his side, caressed his Ambassador more than ever, and not only created him a Cardinal, but gave him likewise the precedence, which belonged of right to the Archbishop of Siponto, as being the eldest Prelate of the eight or nine, who were promoted in the same creation. An historian of our own (2) tells us, the Pope solicited King Henry VIII, by putting him in mind of the glory of his ancestors, and offering him the honour to be, *Caput Fœderis Italici*, head of the Italian league; whereupon our King sent Christopher Bambridge, Archbishop of York, to reside at Rome, and treat of these matters. In his epitaph (3), it is said, he was created a Cardinal for his eminent services done to the Holy See; but, if M. Aubery has set the affair in a true light, the red hat was rather the motive to, than the consequence of, his merit; rather the bribe, than the reward, of his services.

[B] He prevailed with his master to take part with the Pope against the King of France.] The observation in the close of the last remark is farther confirmed by what Polydore Vergil tells us, that Cardinal Bambridge sent dispatches to the King, to acquaint him, that the Pope expected assistance from England; and as he was sensible of the great obligations he lay under to that Pontiff, for the honour of the Cardinalate conferred upon him, he was the more urgent with the King to undertake his Holiness's cause, and not to suffer a Pope, who had so strenuously asserted the liberties of Christendom, to fall a sacrifice to his enemies. The Cardinal's zeal upon this occasion influenced the King to lay the affair before his Council; in which, after long debates, it was resolved to undertake the war. *Legatus interea Anglus Christophorus Cardinalis literis et nuntiis significabat Henrico Regi, Julium Pontificem auxilia ab Anglia expectare, et quo magis sciebat se Pontifici ob delatum sibi Cardinalatus honorem debere, hoc impensius obtestabatur, rogabatque regem, ut ejus salutis rationem haberet, ac neququam Pontificem, de reipublicæ Christianæ libertate optimè meritum, pateretur ab improbis hominibus oppressum iri — Christophori studium ita Henricum permovit, ut res ad Concilium delata sit. Multæ et variæ sententiæ in utramque partem dictæ sunt. — Ita bellum esse suscipiendum, decretum est (4).*

(4) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvii. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 67.

[C] A Letter from Cardinal Bambridge to King Henry VIII.] In this letter there is mention of a certain brief of Julius II, committed to the keeping of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, in order to be delivered to King Henry, after he had vanquished the enemies of the Church. In all probability, this was a brief, by which Julius transferred to Henry, the title of *Moss Christian King*. Cardinal Bambridge having demanded it of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, after the battle of Guinegate, and the taking of Terouane, the latter answered, That he could not deliver it without an express order signed by the King's own hand. It appears by this letter, that there was some formality wanting in the Pope's brief, and that it was apprehended, there would be a difficulty in getting it confirmed by Leo X, who succeeded Julius. Cardinal Bambridge's letter is dated at Rome, Sept. 12, 1513 (5).

[D] A letter from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King.] It is dated at Rome, Oct. 14, 1513 (6). He therein gives the King the title of *His most Christian Majesty*; which is a confirmation of the conjecture in the last remark. To which may be added, that Lord Herbert, who had seen the original contract of the capitulation of Toumay, dated Sept. 23, 1513, expressly tells us (7), That the citizens therein gave King Henry the title of *Roy très Chrétien*, that is, the *Moss Christian King*.

[E] He was poisoned by one of his domesticks.] M. Aubery informs us (8), that the Cardinal, being one day in a violent passion, to which he was naturally subject, fell upon his *Major-Domo*, one Renaud of Modena, and beat him excessively; and that the enraged domestic revenged the beating with a dose of a poison, which he found means to administer to his master; for which being apprehended and imprisoned, he prevented the execution of publick justice by hanging himself. That whimsical author Dr Fuller says upon this occasion: *Herein something may be pleaded for this Cardinal out of the Old, sure I am, more must be pleaded against him out of the New Testament, if the places be paralleled:*

PROV. xxix. 19.	1 TIM. iii. 3.
A servant will not be corrected by words, &c.	A Bishop must be no striker, &c.

But grant him greatly faulty, it were uncharitable in us to beat his memory with more stripes, who did then suffer so much for his own indiscretion (9).

[F] He was buried in the English church of St Thomas.] On his tomb was the following epitaph (10).

CHRISTOPHORO. ARCHIEPISCOPO. EBORACENSIS. S. PRAXEDIS. PRESBYTERO. CARDINALI. ANGLIÆ. A. JULIO. II. PONTIFICE. MAXIMO. OB. EGREGIAM. OPERAM. S. R. ECCLESIAE. PRÆSTITAM. DUM. SUI. REGNI. LEGATUS. ESSET. ASSUMPTO. QUAM. MOX. DOMI. ET. FORIS. CASTRIS. PONTIFICIIS. PRÆFECTUS. TUTATUS. EST.

In English.

In memory of Christopher, Archbishop of York, and Cardinal Priest of St Praxede; created by Pope Julius II, for the eminent services done by him to the Holy Roman Church, during his embassy from his own nation, and afterwards defending the same, both at home and abroad, as Legate of the Papal army.

[C] A

(5) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Vol. XIII. p. 376.

(6) Ib. p. 379.

(7) *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII*, ubi supra, p. 17.

(8) Ubi supra, p. 166, 167.

(9) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Westmorland, p. 136.

(10) Aubery, ib.

nothing of which has come down to us. But a foreign author has given us a very different idea of this Cardinal's abilities [G]. The abovementioned writer (i) is mistaken (i) Pits, *ibid.* in giving him the name of *Christopher Urswic* [H].

[G] *A foreign author gives us a very different idea of the Cardinal's abilities.*] This author is Paris de Grassi, who relates (11), that Bambridge, before his advancement to the purple, being one day to return thanks to the Pope and the Sacred College, for the honour done to the King his master in sending him the *Golden Rose*, was forced to break off his speech, and to quit the Confistory in great confusion. And the like disgrace befel him when Cardinal, a few days after his promotion; for it being his lot to thank the Dean of the Sacred College, in the name of all the new Cardinals, he was again at a loss, and, what was still worse, spoke directly contrary to the instructions given him by the Master of the Ceremonies; which

were, to divide his speech into four points, to magnify, under the first, the dignity of the Cardinalate; to lessen, in the second, the merit of himself and his associates; in the third, to extol the goodness and condescension of the Pope; and to end with compliments of thanks, and offers of their most humble service.

[H] *Pits is mistaken in giving him the name of Christopher Urswic.*] *Christophorus Urswicicus*, says he (12), *quem alii Bambriggum, alii Branbridge, cognominant, &c.* But Anthony Wood assures us (13), that Christopher Urswic was the Cardinal's predecessor in the deanery of Windfor.

(12) De illustr. Angl. Script. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 652.

BANCROFT (RICHARD), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of King James I, was son of John Bancroft, Gentleman, and Mary daughter of Mr John Curwyn, brother of Dr Hugh Curwyn, Archbishop of Dublin (a); and was born at Farnworth in Lancashire in September 1544. After being severely trained up in grammatical learning, he was entered a student of Christ-college in Cambridge, where, in 1566-7, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b); and from thence he removed to Jesus-college, where, in 1570, he commenced Master of Arts (c). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to Dr Cox Bishop of Ely, who, in 1575, gave him the rectory of Tevertham in Cambridgeshire (d). The year following, he was licensed one of the university Preachers (e); and, in 1580, was admitted Bachelor of Divinity (f). September the 14th, 1584, he was instituted to the rectory of St Andrew, Holbourn, at the presentation of the executors of Henry Earl of Southampton (g). In 1585, he commenced Doctor in Divinity; and the same year, was made Treasurer of St Paul's cathedral in London (h). The year following, he became Rector of Cottingham in Northamptonshire, at the presentation of Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord-Chancellor, whose Chaplain he then was (i). February the 25th 1589, he was made a Prebendary of St Paul's (k); in 1592, advanced to the same dignity in the collegiate church of Westminster (l); and, in 1594, promoted to a stall in the cathedral of Canterbury (m). Not long before, he had distinguished his zeal for the Church of England by a learned and significant Sermon, preached* against the Puritans at St Paul's Cross [A]. In 1597,

(b) Ib. p. 107.

(i) Le Neve, *ubi supra*, p. 73.

(k) Newcourt, *ib.* p. 119.

(l) Ib. p. 927.

(m) Le Neve, *ib.* p. 74.

* Febr. 9, 1593.

[A] *He preached a sermon against the Puritans at St Paul's cross.*] We will give the reader an extract of this discourse, as it is made by one of our historians. The Sermon itself is prefixed to the Archbishop's *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline* — His text was: *Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they be of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world:* 1 John iv. 1. In prosecuting this text, he gave a strong image of the Puritans, and painted them in glowing colours. He set forth their intemperate language against Bishops, described their ambition, and such other indirect motives, that pushed them to mutiny and publick disturbance. Among other things, he charges the party with covetousness; he laments that *slimy lucre* was frequently made the pretence of *Reformation*; and that the prospect many persons had of plundering Bishopsricks, seizing the endowments of cathedrals, and scrambling for the remainder of the church revenues, was the principal cause of nonconformity and schism in this Church. He adds, that had not clear evidence drove him to this censure, he should have forborn the imputation. To explain himself farther upon this head, he divides the *Nonconformists* into Clergy and Laity, and considers their pretensions apart. Their Clergy make a warm demand of all the livings settled upon the establishing Church. These estates, they pretend, ought to be conveyed to their *Presbyteries*. And, for fear of being underfurnished, they put in a claim to the abbey-lands. To this purpose, in a petition to the parliament exhibited in the name of the Commonalty, they lay it down for a maxim in Divinity, that things once dedicated to religious uses, are unalienable from their original intendment: When they are thus enclosed by vows, and solemn conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the world. The Lay-Nonconformists were of a quite different sentiment, and ran boldly to a scandalous extrem. For this he quotes a pamphlet, called, *An Admonition to the people of England*. Our preachers, say these *Lay-Puritans*, ought to live by the example of Christ and his Apostles.

Now no one was more unprovided with conveniencies than their master: *He had no place where to lay his head: Luke ix.* And as for the Apostles, their predecessors, *Silver and gold they had none: Acts iii.* Now why should these men, whose industry and merit are less, be better accommodated? Why should those, who are so much inferior to the Apostles in their qualifications, exceed them in figure and preferment? There is no coarfeness in eating or drefs, which men of their profession ought to repine at. Alas! their dignities and promotions do but hinder them in their business, and disserve their character. And, to turn these men's artillery upon themselves, and ruin them by their own reasoning, he borrows some of the principles of the German Anabaptists. And here he directs his discourse to the poorer sort of the audience in this manner: 'My brethren, says he, these gentlemen of the laity use you extremely ill. The children of God, you know, are heirs of the world: *The earth is the Lord's, and the Saints are to inherit it.* The wicked therefore do but usurp the blessings of Providence, and hold their estates by a wrong title. You have an equal share with those of the best distinction in the kingdom of heaven: Why then will you suffer yourselves to be thrown out of your property upon earth, and acquiesce under so unequal a distribution? In the Apostles times, the faithful had all things common. Then those who had estates sold them, and laid the purchase money at the Apostles feet, and every one had his share in proportion to his necessity. And since the Christian religion is still the same, why is the usage so very different? But, alas! so it is; you are but little better than beasts of burthen to the wealthier sort. Your landlords make no scruple to rack your rents, to grind your faces, and exhaust your bodies. And to what end is all this oppression in liberty and livelihood? 'Tis to maintain an unnecessary equipage, to humour their pride, and feed their luxury: 'Tis to supply their pockets for gaming, and furnish their diversions of hawking and hunting. And are these warrantable motives

(11) *In Vit. Joh. II. apud Aubery, ubi supra.*

(a) Wood, *Fasli Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 178.

(b) Newcourt, *Repertorium, &c.* Vol. I. p. 28.

(c) Le Neve's *Lives and Characters, &c. of the Protestant Bishops, &c.* p. 71.

(d) Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 48.

(e) *Registr. Acad.*

(f) Newcourt, *ubi supra.*

(g) *Id. ib.* p. 275.

(n) Strype, ubi supra, p. 515.

(o) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Lancashire, p. 112.

(p) Strype, ib. p. 518.

(q) Camden's *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, apud *Complete Hist. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 625, 648.

1597, Dr Bancroft, being then Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Dr Richard Fletcher, and consecrated at Lambeth the 8th of May (n). From this time he had, in effect, the archiepiscopal power; for the Archbishop, being declined in years, and unfit for business, committed the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs to Bishop Bancroft (o). Soon after his being made Bishop, he expended 1000 marks in the repair of his house in London (p). In the year 1600, he, with others, was sent by Queen Elizabeth to Embden, to put an end to a difference between the English and Danes: but the embassy had no effect (q). This Prelate interposed in the disputes between the Secular Priests and the Jesuits, and furnished some of the former with materials to write against their adversaries [B]. In the beginning of King James's reign, Bishop Bancroft was present at the conference held at Hampton-Court [C], between the Bishops and the Presbyterian Ministers (r).

(r) Fuller's *Cb. History*, Cent. xvii. lib. ix. p. 7-21.

The

‘ motives to keep the greatest part of the world low and uneasy? To make them wear out their lives in labour and poverty? Why don't you push for redress of these grievances, and revive the practice of the Apostles times? To attempt something of this kind would be charity to your wealthy neighbours, no less than yourselves. For these bulky estates of theirs do but pamper their pride, abate their zeal, and check their progress in virtue. Indeed, unless you make them primitive Christians in their fortunes, they will never be so in their lives; unless you reduce them to evangelical poverty, and rescue them from their riches, they must be undone.’ Dr Bancroft here puts the question to the wealthier part of the audience, how they like this doctrine? And, if they are unwilling to have it practised upon themselves, they should take care not to urge it against the Clergy: Thus much for covetousness. To make the text bear upon the *Dissenters* in other respects, he shews on what a weak foundation they erected their discipline: That there were no traces of this scheme from the Apostles time down to Calvin: That the parity these men are so earnest to bring into the Church, was made a mark of infamy in the *Arian* heretics. Farther, he represented the great danger, which must inevitably follow, if private men should contest the constitutions of the Church, and presume to over-rule that which had been settled by so considerable an authority. And, as to their complaint of the rigour of forcing them upon subscription of articles, he endeavours to justify this imposition by the precedent of Geneva, and some other Reformed Churches in Germany. The Doctor proceeds to insist upon the excellency and unexceptionableness of the *Common-Prayer-Book*; shews what commendation had been given it by foreign Divines; how it was approved by Bucer, Alesius, and Fox, and by the Parliaments and Convocations of this realm; how Archbishop Cramer had defended it against the Papists, and Bishop Ridley against Knox, and others. And here he argues from the absurdity of extemporary prayers, and how often such unpremeditated devotions slide into indecency and irreverence. Next, he maintains the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters, argues for the civil supremacy, and alarms the audience with the danger they had reason to apprehend from the practice and principles of the Disciplinaryans (1). This sermon was managed with great learning and strength of argument, and in all likelihood made an impression. And of this the *Act of Grace*, at the breaking up of the parliament, seems something of a proof. For those, who did not come to church, hear divine service, and conform to the ecclesiastical establishment, were excepted from the benefit of this act (2).

(1) Collier's *Ecclesiast. Hist. of Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 609, 610.

(2) 31 Eliz. c. 16.

[B] He furnished some of the Secular Priests with materials to write against the Jesuits. The reader is to know, that there were great misunderstandings at that time between the Secular Priests of the Romish Clergy and the Jesuits. And it is probable, the assistance Bishop Bancroft lent the former, was, partly to keep up the division, and partly to encourage the honest side. For, that the Seculars, notwithstanding their difference in religion, were men of loyal principles, appears by a paper signed by several of them about that time, and by themselves delivered into Bancroft's hands: A copy of it may be seen in the above-cited historian (3).

(3) Collier, ubi supra, p. 664, 665. *Ez. Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.*

[C] He was present at the conference held at Hampton-Court. The reader may see an account of this famous conference, which was held in the King's presence, in a piece entitled; *The Sum and Substance of the Conference held at Hampton-Court*. By William

Barlow, *Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of Chester*. Printed in 1604. We shall only take notice here of what particularly relates to the Bishop of London's behaviour upon this occasion. In the first day's conference, the King having desired the Bishops to satisfy him in three things, namely, about *Confirmation*, *Ab-solution*, and *Private Baptism*, as practised in the Church of England; Bishop Bancroft seconded Archbishop Whitgift in giving his Majesty the satisfaction he required. With respect to *Confirmation*, he alleged, that it had not only the practice of the Primitive Church, and the testimony of the Fathers, in it's defence, but that it was likewise an Apostolical institution, and a part of the doctrines expressly mentioned in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ch. vi. ver. 2. He added, that Calvin expounded that passage in this sense; and earnestly wished the custom might be revived in those Churches, which had suppressed it. As to the point of *Ab-solution*, the Archbishop having cleared the practice of the Church of England from all abuse and superstition, and appealed for this to the *Confession* and *Ab-solution* in the beginning of the *Communion-Book*; the Bishop of London, stepping forward, told the King, that in the *Communion-Book* there was another particular and personal form of *ab-solution*, prescribed in the *Visitation of the Sick*; adding withal, that not only the *Confessions* of Augs-burgh, Bohemia, and Saxony, retained it; but that Calvin approved such a general *Confession* and *Ab-solution* as is used in the Church of England. The form being read, the King liked it extremely, and called it an *Apostolical Ordinance*. In regard to *Private Baptism*, the Archbishop having endeavoured to satisfy his Majesty, that the administration of baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed by the Church of England; and the Bishop of Worcester having allowed that the words of the office were ambiguous, and might be construed so as to permit such a practice; the Bishop of London, not satisfied with this discourse, replied, that the learned and reverend compilers of the *Common-Prayer* had no intention to mislead the people by perplexed and double-meaning expressions, but really designed a permission to private persons for baptizing in cases of necessity; and for this he appealed to their letters, some passages of which were read. He proceeded to prove, that this permission was agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church; and to this purpose he urged the text in the second of the *Acts*, where three thousand are said to have been baptized in one day; alledging, that it was impossible, or at least improbable, that the Apostles could administer that sacrament to such numbers in so short a time; and that, in those early days of Christianity, there were no Bishops or Priests besides the Apostles. He likewise cited the authorities of Tertullian and St Ambrose. And here he laid open the absurdity and impiety of supposing no necessity of baptism. In the second day's conference, the Bishop of London, perceiving, that the design of the Presbyterians was entirely to overthrow the Ecclesiastical Constitution, humbly moved the King, first, that the ancient canon, *Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*, might be remembered: Secondly, that, if any of the Agents for the Nonconformists had subscribed the *Communion-Book*, and yet exhibited a remonstrance against it, they might be set aside, pursuant to an antient Council, in which it is decreed, that no man shall plead against his own act and subscription. But the King interposing, ordered the Bishop to reply to the exceptions made by Dr Reynolds, one of the Nonconformist Delegates. This gave the Bishop occasion to declare his

opinion,

The same year, 1603, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for regulating the affairs of the Church, and for perusing and suppressing books, printed in England, or brought into the realm without publick authority (s). A Convocation being summoned to meet March 20, 1603-4, and Archbishop Whitgift dying in the mean time, Bishop Bancroft was, by the King's writ, appointed President of that assembly (t). October 9th 1604, he was nominated to succeed the Archbishop in that high dignity, to which he was elected by the Dean and Chapter Nov. 17, and confirmed in Lambeth chapel Dec. 10 (u). Sept. 5, 1605, he was sworn one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council (w). This year, in Michaelmas-term, Archbishop Bancroft exhibited certain articles, to the Lords of the Council, against the Judges [D]. In 1608 he was declared Chancellor

(s) Strype, ib. p. 577.

(t) Id. ib. p. 533.

(u) Registr. Bancroft.

(w) Ibid.

opinion, first, with respect to *Predestination*: This proposition, *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved*, he called a desperate doctrine. He alledged, that it was a contradiction to orthodox belief; that in the points of *Predestination*, we should rather infer *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, that is, we should conclude our *Election* from the regularity of our lives, rather than rest our happiness upon any absolute irrelative decree; and that if God has ordained us to happiness, no habits or degrees of wickedness can make us miscarry. From hence the Bishop went on to acquaint his Majesty with the doctrine of the Church of England touching *Predestination*. Secondly, Reynolds having objected the inconvenience of reserving *Confirmation* to the Bishop alone, it being impracticable for the Diocesan to examine all who came to be confirmed; Bancroft replied, that it was the custom of the Bishops, in their visitations, to appoint either their Chaplains, or some other Ministers, to examine those who came to be confirmed; and that they seldom confirmed any, unless their qualifications were certified by their own Parsons or Curates. To the opinion, his answer was, that none of the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm, under the order of Bishops; and that even St Jerome (tho' otherwise no friend to the episcopal superiority) confesses, the executing this function was solely lodged with the Bishops; tho' with this qualifying expression, *ad bonorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*. However, this Father owns, the Bishops ought to have a power paramount to the rest of the Clergy; and that, without this prerogative, the unity and well-being of the Church could not subsist. In this conference, Reynolds having moved for several alterations in doctrine and discipline, Bishop Bancroft addressed the King kneeling, and humbly desired, that since it was a time for moving petitions, he might have leave to put up two or three. First, he requested, that care might be taken for a *Praying Clergy*: For notwithstanding there are many serviceable branches in the sacerdotal function, such as absolving penitents, praying for the people, pronouncing the blessing, and administering the sacraments, it is now (said he) come to that pass, that some men conceive the duty of a parish Priest is wholly confined to the *Pulpit*; where, God knows, they sometimes manage with a very slender share either of learning or discretion; that preaching has such an ascendant in their fancy, that the celebrating divine service is scandalously neglected; that some Ministers chose rather to walk in the church-yard 'till sermon time, than join in publick prayer. He confessed, that for missionaries in unconverted countries, where a Church was planting, preaching was most necessary; but, where Christianity had been a long time settled, he thought pulpit-harangues were not the only business of a Pastor, and that this exercise ought not to be followed to the neglect of other parts of his office. This motion was highly approved by the King. The Bishop's second request was, that 'till men of learning and sufficiency might be procured for every congregation, godly *Homilies* might be read, and their number increased; and that those men, who had decried these instructions, would retract their censures, and endeavour to bring them into credit. The Bishop's reason for recommending the homilies was, because every clergyman that could pronounce well had not a talent of composing. Both the King and the Agents thought this request very reasonable. The Lord Chancellor taking occasion here to argue against pluralities, and expressing his wishes, that some Clergymen might have *single coats* before others had *doublets*, adding that himself had managed in this manner in bestowing the benefices in the King's gift; the Bishop of London replied, *I commend your honour-*

able care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather. The Bishop of London's last motion was, that pulpits might not be turned into batteries, and every malecontent allowed to play his spleen against his superiors from thence. The King received this complaint very graciously, and advised, in case of any misconduct in Church-officers, not to let fly personal reflexions from the pulpit, but to appeal in the first place to the Ordinary, then to the Archbishop, from thence to the Lords of the Council; and if all these applications fell short of a Remedy, then to bring the grievance before his Majesty himself. The King chalked out this method, upon the Bishop of London's suggesting, that in case he left himself open to receive all complaints at the first instance, neither his Majesty would be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded; for the criminal, when pressed with discipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his complaint before the King. Thus much it was thought proper to set down of the conference at Hampton-Court, in which Bishop Bancroft bore so considerable a share.

[D] He exhibited articles to the Lords of the Council against the Judges.] They were entituled, *Certain Articles of Abuses, which are desired to be reformed, in granting Prohibitions.* To this remonstrance, in Easter-term following, all the Judges in England gave in their answers signed to the Council-Board; which unanimous resolution, Sir Edward Coke calls the *Highest Authority in Law* (4). Upon which Mr Collier has the following remark: 'This case being a complaint of encroachment, and a contest for jurisdiction between the temporal and ecclesiastical Judges, by the principles of equity the controversy ought to be decided by neither side. That this learned Gentleman (Sir Edward Coke) was clearly of this opinion, when competition and conquest was not in his view, appears from his report of Dr Bonham's case. *Coke's Rep. lib. 8. fol. 117, &c.* The Censors of the College of Physicians had imprisoned this Dr Bonham for practising in London without their licence. Bonham brings an action of false imprisonment against the College. In reporting this, Coke cites the judgment of Warberton, Chief-Justice, and Daniel, another of the Justices, that the Censors of the College of Physicians could not to be judges and parties, *Quia aliquis non debet esse Judex in propria causa*; and that no body can be Judge and Attorney for any party. *Dyer 3. Ed. VI. fol. 65. 38 Ed. III. 15. 8 Hen. VI. 19, 20, 21. Ed. IV. 47, &c.* This in the opinion of these reverend Judges is so fundamental a maxim of reason and common-law, that even an act of parliament shall be over-ruled by it. Thus for the purpose: If a statute impowers any person to have cognizance of all manner of pleas, arising within his manor, notwithstanding such an act, he shall hold no plea of any matter where himself is a party: The reason assigned is, *iniquum esse aliquem suæ rei esse Judicem*. In the close of the argument, Coke, then Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, where the cause was tried, declares the College no Judge in the present dispute: And, in short, judgment was given for the plaintiff. By this Report 'tis plain the Judges resolution upon Bancroft's Articles are so far from being the *Highest Authority in Law*, that they are no authority at all. What they deliver is in favour of their own jurisdiction and interest: And thus, by being deeply parties, they are by this Report disabled from pronouncing in the cause (5). The reader may see the articles exhibited by Bancroft, together with the answers given in by the Judges, transcribed at length from the Record, in the historian just cited (6).

(4) Coke's Institut. Part II. fol. 601.

(5) Collier, ubi supra, p. 688.

(6) Vol. I. p. 510 to 524.

(x) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* i. ii. p. 433.

Chancellor of the university of Oxford [E], in the room of the Earl of Dorset deceased (x). In 1610, this Archbishop offered to the Parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the clergy [F], but without success. One of our historians (y) pretends, that Archbishop Bancroft set on foot the building a college near Chelsea [G], for the reception of Students, who should answer all Popish and other controversial

(y) A. Wilson, in his *Life and Reign of King James I.* apud *Complete Hist. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 63.

[E] He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford. In the time of his chancellorship, a dispute was determined between the University and New College. By a composition entered into between William of Wickham, founder of that college, and the University, it was agreed, that the fellows thereof should be admitted to all degrees in the University, without asking any grace of the congregation of masters, or undergoing any examination for them in the publick schools, provided they were examined in the college according to the form of the University, and had their graces given them in like manner by the government of the house. But in process of time, the other students of the University envying this privilege, it began to be disputed by the Regent-Masters in 1607; and the affair was brought before the Chancellor, who adjudged the controversy in favour of the college (7).

(7) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* i. ii. p. 433.

(8) From the Paper-Office.

[F] He offered to the parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the Clergy. The heads of the scheme are as follows (8). I. That all Predial Tythes of Benefices with Cure may be paid in kind hereafter. II. That Personal Tythes may be urged upon Oath, being confessed to be due by Law. III. That as Oblations are due by Law to Parsons and Vicars that have Cure of Souls, they may accordingly be paid unto them as heretofore hath been accustomed; viz. at Marriages, Burials, and upon solemn Feast-days, as Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsunday, Allhallows-day, and at the Times of receiving the Holy Communion, &c. IV. That all Abbey-Lands now exempted may pay Tythes in kind to the Parsons and Vicars, in whose Parishes they lye. V. That all lands altered within these sixty years past from tillage may pay Tythes according to the value they formerly paid. VI. That all Parks and Warrens, made within these sixty years last past, may pay Tythes, either according to their former value when they were in Tillage, or according to some reasonable rate by the Acre. VII. That Parks disparked within these sixty years may pay Tythes in kind. VIII. That the Occupiers of Lands of such parishes that have been within these sixty years past utterly depopulated, and do now pay no Tythes at all, may hereafter pay all their Tythes in kind to the next poor Parsons adjoining. IX. That small benefices near adjoining may be so united, as they may be holden by one man. X. That Parsons and Vicars may have right and freedom of Common with the rest of the Parishioners. XI. That the antient ecclesiastical Constitution in England for paying of Tythe-Lambs, and Wool, may be renewed and established. Lindewood de Decimis. § Quoniam. XII. That all persons may hereafter be discharged, which are not paid to ecclesiastical Persons. XIII. That Ministers in cities and towns incorporate, and other great towns, may have their tythes according to the Rents of Houses, after the rate of London. XIV. That the Landlords of such houses in every city incorporate, and great towns, may be chargeable with such payments to their Ministers, and not their Undertenants. XV. That Parsons and Vicars may have Tythe-wood duly paid to them, according to the Constitution of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury. Lindewood, de verborum significatione. XVI. That an order may be taken for the settling of Glebe-Lands, which are by strong hand detained from divers Parsons and Vicars, by some Commissions for survey upon oaths; and that it may be provided, that no Patron, or Lord of any Manor in any parish, may hereafter have the Glebe in farm. XVII. That in Chapels of ease the Cure may be maintained hereafter by them that have ease thereby, without diminishing the Parson's or Vicar's tythes. XVIII. That it may be lawful hereafter for any well-disposed man or woman to give, purchase, or lay Tenements, Rents, Lands, or Annuities in fee, to the Glebe of the Church, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain. XIX. That all Lay Patrons, when they present any Minister to an ecclesiastical Living, may take the like oath against Simony that Ministers do; or else that they may forfeit their Patronage for ever to the King, when it shall be proved, that they have com-

mitted Simony upon any such presentation. XX. That it may be held Simony to sell Advowsons as well as Presentations; or that all Advowsons to be made hereafter may be utterly void. XXI. That the Tythes of Oade, Hops, Roots, Coals, and other Minerals, and likewise of Lime Kilns and Brick-kilns, may be truly paid to the Parson or Vicar that hath Cure of Souls. XXII. That it may be lawful for spiritual persons to purchase and take leases for Lives or Years, as other of his Majesty's subjects may do, notwithstanding any Statutes made to the contrary. XXIII. That all Lands, that have been either won from the Sea, or otherwise drained and recovered from surrounding, may be laid to some Parishes adjoining; and that the Owners or Occupiers, and all others that have any benefit of such Lands, may pay their tythes in kind to the Parsons or Vicars of those parishes, whereunto the said Lands are laid. XXIV. That a Subsidy may be granted for the redeeming of Improvements, and that the same redeemed may be of the Bishop's patronage, in whose Diocese they lye. XXV. That if the last motion may not now be entertained, then there may be a free passage given to the Law yet in force, (as it is supposed) that all Improvements may be declared void, and become Presentatives, which have no endowment for Vicars. XXVI. That where there are Vicaridges endowed, which do belong to Improvements, but yet are no competent Living for a sufficient Minister, Bishops may have authority in their Dioceses, where such Vicaridges are, to allot some farther portions for their better maintenance out of the said Improvements. XXVII. That some Order may be set down for the repairing of Chancels of Churches impropriate, which are every where in wonderful decay. XXVIII. That Mortuaries may be restored. Here Bancroft's project seems to have ended, though the subject is continued upon a break with these initial letters,

The L. S.

By this scheme (tho' the attempt failed of success) the Archbishop's care for the interest of the Clergy, and his capacity in suggesting measures, are sufficiently discovered.

[G] It is said, he set on foot the building a college near Chelsea. Let us hear what Wilson says of this affair: 'It was he (the Archbishop) that first brought the King to begin a new college by Chelsea, where in the choice and ablest scholars of the kingdom, and the most pregnant wits in matters of controversies were to be associated under a Provoost, with a fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thousand pounds a year, whose design was to answer all Popish books, or others, that vented their malignant spirits against the Protestant religion, either the heresies of the Papists, or the errors of those that struck at Hierarchy; so that they should be two-edged fellows, that would make old cutting and slashing; and this he forwarded with all industry during his time; and there is yet a formal act of parliament in being for the establishment of it: But after his death, the King wisely considered, that nothing begets more contention than opposition, and such fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than quench the heat that would arise from those embers: For controversies are often (or for the most part) the exuberancies of passion; and the Philosopher saith, men are drunk with disputes, and in that inordinateness take the next thing that comes to hand to throw at one another's faces: So that the design fell to the ground with him; and there is only so much building standing by the Thames side, as to shew, that what he intended to plant, he meant should be well watered; and yet it withered in the bud (9).' The Editor of the *Complete History of England* tells us, Wilson is mistaken about the original of this intended college at Chelsea. He says, it was one Sutcliffe*, Doctor in Divinity, that procured a patent from King James for erecting this College, to consist of a Provoost and twenty Fellows, to be chosen by the Archbishop

(9) Life and Reign of King James I. apud *Complete Hist. of England.* Vol. II. p. 63.

* He was Dean of Exeter.

controversial writings against the Church of England. This Prelate died, Nov. 2, 1610, of the stone, in his palace at Lambeth (z). By his will he ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church [H]; and, besides other legacies, left all the books in his library to the Archbishops his successors for ever [I]. Archbishop Bancroft was a rigid disciplinarian, a learned controversialist (aa), an excellent preacher, a great statesman, and a vigilant governor of the Church; and filled the See of Canterbury with great reputation [K].

Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two universities for the time being; which college he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own money, and the free contributions of others. He was the first Provost himself, and died either after Archbishop Bancroft, or about the same time; for there were three Provosts after him successively, whereof the learned Dr Feathly was one. Now (adds he) how far Archbishop Bancroft might encourage Sutcliffe's design, I know not: But if it had been originally Bancroft's own, it is not probable King James would have discouraged it afterwards as he did; or that his next successor but one, Archbishop Laud, would have utterly neglected a foundation laid by a Prelate, whose memory he held in the highest veneration, and whose maxims and character he made it his business to imitate (10).

[H] He ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church. He likewise ordered, that his body should not be opened, but be buried within forty or fifty hours after his decease; that all needless expences should be avoided; and that, upon some Sunday within a month after his death, the then Bishop of London (Abbot), or the Bishop of Chichester (Harriet), or one of his Chaplains, should be desired to preach in Lambeth church, and to make such mention of him, as might tend to God's glory (11). On a flat stone over his grave, is the following inscription (12).

Volente Deo,

Hic jacet Richardus Bancroft, S. Theologiae Professor, Episcopus Londinensis primo, Deinde Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, et Regi Jacobo a secretioribus Consiliis. Obiit Secundo Novembris An. Dom. 1610. Ætatis suæ 67.

Volente Deo.

[I] He left his library to the Archbishops his successors for ever. He left it conditionally, that his successor should give security, that he would leave it entire and without embezzlement; but upon refusal of such security, he bequeathed it to Chelsea college, then building, on condition it should be finished in a certain term of years after his decease; but if not, he gave it to the University of Cambridge (13). Whether his successors, Abbot and Laud, gave the security demanded, appears not; however, the books continued at Lambeth till the approach of the troublesome times, when (Chelsea college having failed, and the order of Bishops being voted down) Mr Selden suggested to the University of Cambridge their right to the said books; and accordingly, by order of parliament, not only Bancroft's books, but those likewise of his successor Abbot, were delivered into the possession of the university, and by them kept till after the Restoration, when Archbishop Juxon demanded them back; and he dying in a short time, his successor Sheldon pursued the same demand so effectually, that to him they were restored (14).

[K] He filled the see of Canterbury with great commendation. Camden gives Archbishop Bancroft the character of a person of singular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the discipline and establishment of the Church (15). Lord Clarendon, in his character of Archbishop Abbot (16), tells us, he was promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr Bancroft, that Metropolitan, who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists, by, and after the conference at

Hampton-Court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the Clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva; or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overall, or any man, who understood, and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled. Wilson (17) does not speak so favourably of him; he calls him a person severe enough, whose roughness gained little upon those who deserted the ceremonies. Dr Fuller (18) treats him as a great Statesman, and Grand Champion of Church discipline, and tells us, he met with much opposition. Aud 'No wonder (adds this author) if those who were silenced by him in the Church, were loud against him in other places. David speaketh of poison under men's lips. This Bishop tasted plentifully thereof from the mouths of his enemies, 'till at last (as Mithridates) he was so habited to poisons, they became food unto him.' Hereupon Fuller tells us this story: 'Once a Gentleman coming to visit him, presented him with a libel, which he found past on his door; who nothing moved thereat, Cast it (said he) to an hundred more, which lye here on a heap in my chamber.' His enemies accused him of covetousness; but this asperion (the same author lets us know) was confuted by the estate which he left, small in proportion to his great preferment.' He cancelled his first will, in which he had bequeathed much to the Church, which occasioned the following invidious distich on him;

He who never repented of doing Ill,
Repented that once he made a good Will.

whereas indeed (says the Doctor) suspecting an impression of popular violence on cathedrals, and fearing an alienation of what was bequeathed unto them, he thought fit to cancel his own, to prevent others cancelling his testament.' This Prelate governed with great vigour, and pressed a strict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without the least allowance for latitude and different persuasion. This conduct was censured as too rigorous by those, who favoured the Nonconformists. The author of the *Altar of Damascus* reports, that three hundred preaching Ministers were either silenced or deprived for refusing to pass this test. But this narrative swells the number to a romantick bulk; for by the rolls delivered in by Bancroft not long before his death, it is evident there were but forty nine deprived upon any account whatever: Now this, in a kingdom of about nine thousand parishes, was no very tragical number. However by animadverting upon some few of the principals, he struck a terror into the rest, and made their scruples give way. In short, Bancroft's unrelenting strictness gave a new face to religion: The service of the Church was more solemnly performed; the fasts and festivals were better observed; the use of copes was revived; the surplice generally worn; and all things in a manner restored according to their first establishment under Queen Elizabeth. Some, who had formerly subscribed in a loose reserved sense, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close, unequivocal, terms. For now the 36th canon obliged them to declare, that they did willingly and ex animo subscribe the three articles, and all things contained in the same. So that now there was no room left for scruples and different persuasion (19). Whether our Archbishop did not carry the point of Church discipline too far, must be left to the reader's own judgment.

BANCROFT (JOHN), Bishop of Oxford in the reign of King Charles I, and nephew of the preceding Dr Richard Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury (a), was
VOL. I. N^o. XL. 6 C born

(a) For he was son of Christopher Bancroft, eldest son of John Bancroft of Farnworth in Lancashire. See the preceding article.

(10) Iud. Note.

(11) In Cur. Prærog. Wingfield 96.

(12) Stowe's Survey, &c. p. 790.

(13) In Cur. Prærog. ib.

(14) Le Neve, Lives and Characters, &c. of the Protestant Bishops, &c. p. 37.

(15) Britannia, published by Bishop Gibson. Vol. I. col. 242.

(16) History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. P. I. p. 88.

(17) Life of King James, ubi supra.

(18) Ubi supra.]

(19) See Collier, ubi supra, p. 637.

born at Aftell or Eftwell, a small village between Whitney and Burford in Oxfordshire, and admitted a student of Christ Church in Oxford in 1592, being then about eighteen years of age. Having taken the degrees in Arts, and entered into holy orders, he became a preacher for some years in and near Oxford. In 1609, being newly admitted to proceed in Divinity, he was, through the interest and endeavours of his uncle, elected Head of University-college, in which station he continued above twenty years; during which time, he was at great pains and expence, in recovering and settling the antient lands belonging to that foundation. In 1632, he was advanced to the See of Oxford, upon the translation of Dr Corbet to that of Norwich, and consecrated about the 6th of June. This Prelate died in 1640 [A], and was buried at Cudeſden in Oxfordshire, the 12th of February, leaving behind him, among the Puritans or Presbyterians then prevailing, the character of a *corrupt, unpreaching, Popish Prelate* (b). This Bishop Bancroft built a house or palace, for the residence of his successors, at Cudeſden aforeſaid [B].

(b) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 739, 740.

[A] He died in 1640.] Anthony Wood ascribes his death to the effects of fear. In 1640, says he (1), when the Long Parliament began, and proceeded with great vigour against the Bishops, he was possessed so much with fear, (having always been an enemy to the Puritans) that with little or no sickness he surrendered up his last breath in his lodgings at Westminster.

[B] He built a palace at Cudeſden, for the residence of the Bishops of Oxford.] Our Antiquarian informs us (2), that, before Bancroft's time, the Bishops of Oxford had no house left belonging to their see, either in city or country, but dwelt at their parsonage-houses, which they held in commendam; tho' Dr John Bridges, who had no commendam in his diocese, lived for the most part in hired houses in the city. For though at the foundation of the bishoprick of Oxford, in the abbey of Osney, Gloucester college was appointed for the Bishop's palace, yet, when that foundation was inspected into by King Edward VI, that place was left out of the charter, as being then designed for another use. So that from thence forward the Bishops of Oxford had no settled house or palace, till Bancroft came to the see; who, at the instigation of Archbishop Laud, resolved to build one. In the first place, therefore, in order to improve the slender revenues of the bishopric, he suffered the lease of the impropriate parsonage of Cudeſden aforeſaid, five miles distant from Oxford (which belonged to the Bishop in right

of his see) to run out, without any more renewing. In the mean time, the vicarage of his own donation, becoming vacant, he procured himself to be legally instituted and inducted thereunto; and afterwards, thro' the Archbishop's favour, obtained an annexation of it to the episcopal see, the design of the impropriation's falling in still going on. Soon after, with the help of a large quantity of timber from the forest of Shotover, given him by the King, he began to build a fine palace, which, with a chapel in it, was completely finished in 1634. The summer, after it was visited out of curiosity by Archbishop Laud, who speaks of it in his *Diary* thus: *September the second, An. 1635, I was in attendance with the King at Woodstock, and went thence Cudeſden, to see the house, which Dr John Bancroft, then Lord Bishop of Oxford, had there built, to be a house for the Bishops of that see for ever; he having built that house at my persuasion.* But this house or palace (which cost 3500 l.) proved almost as short-lived as the founder. For, in the latter end of 1644, it was burnt down by Colonel William Legg, then Governor of the garrison of Oxford, to prevent it's being garrisoned by the Parliament forces. It lay in ruins till 1679, when Dr John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, at his own expence, and with the help of timber laid in for that purpose by Dr William Paul, one of his predecessors, rebuilt it upon the old foundation, with a chapel in it, as at first.

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(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 243, edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) *Idem Faſti.* Vol. I. col. 109.

(c) Wood, *Athen. ubi supra.* His *Historie of Man, &c.* is dated from Nottingham.

(*) *Stowe's Survey of Lond. with Strype's Addit.* Vol. I. book iii. p. 99.

(d) Chap. ix. and vi.

BANISTER (JOHN) a Physician of good repute in the XVIIth century, was born of honest and wealthy parents (a). He studied for a time in the university of Oxford; but without taking a degree in Arts, he entered upon the Physic line, and applied himself entirely to the study of that faculty, and to Chirurgery. In July 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Physic; and was admitted to practise (b). Being settled about that time at Nottingham, he lived there many years in great esteem, and was very much followed by all sorts of people, for his successful practice in Physic and Chirurgery (c). He was author of several books [A]. The time of his death is unknown: But there was a long Memorial of him, in the church of St Olave, Silver-street, London (*).

There was another Physician, named *Richard BANISTER*, who writ, 'A Treatise of one hundred and thirteen Diseases of the Eyes and Eyelids;' commonly called *Banister's Breviary of the Eyes*. And, 'An Appendant part of a Treatise of one hundred and thirteen Diseases of the Eyes and Eyelids, called *Cervisia Medicata*, Purging Ale, with divers Aphorisms and Principles [B]. From this book it appears (d), that the author was living in 1617, and 1619, and probably in 1622, when the second edition was published.

(1) It is a book of Anatomy, compiled chiefly from the Writings of Galen, Vesalius, Cul-lumbus, Fuch-sius, Fernelius, &c.

[A] He was author of several books.] I. A needful, new, and necessary Treatise Chirurgery, briefly comprehending the general and particular curation of Ulcers. Lond. 1575, 8vo. II. Certain Experiments of his own Invention, &c. III. The Historie of Man, sucked from the Sappe of the most approved Anatomistes, &c. (1) in 9 books. Lond. 1578. in a thin folio. IV. *Compendious Chirurgery*, gathered and translated especially out of Wecker, &c. Lond. 1585, 12mo. V. *Antidotary Chirurgical*, containing Variety of all sorts of Medicines, &c. Lond. 1589, 8vo. Several years after his death, his works were collected into six books, and published in this order.

4. Of Fractures and Luxations. 5. Of the Curation of Ulcers. 6. The Antidotary before-mentioned. Lond. 1633, 4to.

[B] *An appendant part of a Treatise of one hundred and thirteen diseases of the eyes and eye-lids, &c.*] When it was first published, cannot be found. But the second edition was printed at London in 1622, 12mo. And the same year, 'The Treatise of the one hundred and thirteen Diseases, &c.' was reprinted. — In Chapter IV. of the 'Appendant part, &c.' he says, 'In my Treatise of the Eyes I have named the best Oculists that have been in this land for fifty or sixty years, who were no Graduates either in Cambridge or Oxon (2).'

(2) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 243.

1. Of Tumours
 2. Of Wounds
 3. Of Ulcers
- } in general and particular.

BANKES (Sir JOHN) Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of King Charles I. He was descended from a good family seated at Keswick in Cumberland, where he was born in A. D. 1589 (a). The first part of his education he received at a grammar-school in his own county, whence, in 1604, he removed to Queen's-college in Oxford, being then about fifteen, and there for some time pursued his studies. He left the university without a degree (b), and taking chambers in Gray's-Inn, he applied himself to the Law, in which science he quickly became eminent (c). His extraordinary diligence in his profession, his grave appearance, and excellent reputation, recommended him early to his Sovereign Charles I, by whom he was first made Attorney to the Prince (d). He was next year, 1630, Lent-Reader at Gray's-Inn, and in 1631, Treasurer of that society (e). In August 1634, he was knighted, and made Attorney-General, in the place of Mr Noy deceased (f). He discharged this arduous employment, in those perilous times, with great reputation, till in Hillary term 1640, he was made Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas (g), in the room of Sir Edward Littleton, made Lord-Keeper. In this high station he acted also with universal approbation, remaining at London after the King was compelled to leave it, in order to discharge the duties of his office (h). But when he once understood that his continuance amongst them was looked on by some, as owning the cause of the Parliamentarians, he retired to York (i). So just an idea the King had of this act of loyalty, that when he had thoughts of removing the Lord-Keeper, he at the same time was inclined to deliver the Great-Seal to the Lord Chief-Justice Bankes, whose integrity was generally confessed, but was by some suspected (tho' wrongfully as it afterwards appeared) in point of courage (k). He subscribed the declaration made June 15, 1642, by the Lords and Gentlemen then with his Majesty at York (l), and yet his conduct was so free from aspersions, that even the Parliament in their proposals to the King, in January 1643, desired he might be continued in his office (m). Before this, viz. January 31, 1642, the university of Oxford, to manifest their high respect for him, created him Doctor of Laws (n). His Majesty also caused him to be sworn of his Privy Council, and always testified a great regard for his advice (o). In the summer circuit he lost all his credit at Westminster, for having declared from the bench at Salisbury, that the actions of Essex, Manchester, and Waller, were treasonable, the Commons voted him and the rest of the Judges in that sentiment traitors (p). In the mean time, Lady Bankes with her family being at Sir John's seat, Corfe-castle in the Isle of Purbeck in Dorsetshire, the friends of the Parliament, who had already reduced all the sea-coasts but that place, resolved to reduce it likewise. The courageous Lady Bankes, though she had about her only her children, a few servants and tenants, and little hopes of relief, yet refused to render the fortress, (q). Upon this Sir W. Earl, and Thomas Trenchard, Esq; who commanded the Parliament forces, had recourse to very rough measures. Thrice they attempting the place by surprize, and as often were repulsed with loss, though the first time Lady Bankes had but five men in the place, and during the whole time her garrison never exceeded forty. Then they interdicted her the markets, and at length formally besieged the house with a very considerable force, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition. This forced the little town dependant on the castle to surrender, which inclined the besiegers to think the business done; but Lady Bankes taking advantage of their remissness, procured a supply of provision and ammunition, which enabled her still to hold out. At last the gallant Earl of Carnarvon, having with a considerable body of horse and dragoons, cleared a great part of the West, came into the neighbourhood of Purbeck, whereupon Sir W. Earl raised his siege, August 4, 1643, precipitately, that he left his tents standing, together with his ammunition and artillery, all which fell into the hands of Lady Bankes's household (r). There is no question but this action was very pleasing to the King at Oxford, where Sir John continued in the discharge of his duty, as a Privy-Counsellor, till the last day of his life, viz. December 28, 1644 (s). But that he ever had any other preferment, much less was Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench, as some have affirmed, is certainly false [A]. He was interred with great solemnity in the cathedral of Christ-Church, and a monument erected to his memory, the inscription on which we have preserved in the notes, because, though more than once printed before, yet it has never appeared correctly, or with it's dates, the most material part

(a) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

(b) Wood's Fast Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(c) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers for Charles I, p. 536.

(d) Lloyd, ubi supra.

(e) Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Lloyd, ubi supra.

(g) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(h) Lloyd, ubi supra.

(i) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 211.

(k) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 571.

(l) Id. ibid. p. 655.

(m) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 121.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 205.

(p) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 54.

(q) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(r) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 335.

(s) See note [B].

[A] As some have affirmed, is certainly false.] The author of this article in the General Dictionary says, "In 1640, he, i. e. Sir John Bankes, was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, and soon after following his Majesty, when he was obliged to leave Westminster, he was chosen one of his Privy Council at Oxford, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas." Of all which facts not one is true, Sir John Bankes never was Chief Justice of the King's-Bench. He did not follow the King to Oxford but to York, where he was of the Council, and he was Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas before the King left London. It is true, all these errors are religiously copied by this Gentleman from

Anthony Wood (1), who cites Dugdale as his authority (2), but still they are errors, and palpable errors, which shews the danger of trusting to Wood entirely. Could any man living suppose, that Sir John Bankes being solemnly interred in the cathedral of Christ-church, and having a monument erected there to perpetuate his loyalty, no notice should be taken of his chief dignity in the inscription placed thereon? But then, as to Sir William Dugdale there is no fault to be found with him: His accounts of Sir John Bankes's preferments are very just and accurate, as appears by comparing them with the Registers at Grays-Inn. In his *Origines Juridicales* (3), he has given us a series of the Judges of the court of Common-Pleas, and therein we find Sir John

(1) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 20.

(2) Chron. Ser. A. D. 1640.

(3) Second edit. p. 49.

(t) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(u) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

parts of such pieces [B]. He left behind him a numerous posterity, both males and females, of whom his eldest son, Sir — Bankes, paid 1974 pounds; his eldest daughter's husband, Sir John Bulace, 3500 pounds; and his widow for herself and seven younger children, 1400 pounds (t). By his will, the Lord Chief-Justice Bankes gave various sums to pious uses, particularly thirty pounds *per annum*, to the town of Kewick in Cumberland, for the support of a manufacture of coarse cottons, then lately set up in this town (u), and which had been lost but for that supply.

(4) Dugdale's Origin. Juridic. P. 303.

(c) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 26.

(6) Chr. Ser. A. D. 1660.

John Bankes promoted to the dignity of Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, 16 Car. I. xv Hill. and that he continued so till xv Mart. 20 Car. I. which is the last return in the Michaelmas term preceding his death. Again in the Chronica Series, A. D. 1640, cited by Wood, there is no mistake but the entry is *Job. Bankes Miles, constit. Capit. Justic. 29 Jan.* in the column of Judges of the Common-Pleas. Farther still, his arms with this inscription, are in one of the windows in the hall at Grays-Inn (4). How Mr Wood fell into this error of supposing him to have been Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, or how it came to pass, this error has never been corrected till now, I am not, strictly speaking, bound to inquire: But as I have some reason to believe I can give a fair account of both, I presume the reader will gladly hear what I have to offer. I conceive, Anthony Wood must have trusted some body to make these collections relating to the Judges from Sir William Dugdale's book, because they are all false, as well as that relating to Sir John Bankes. For example, it is there said (5), Sir Robert Forster, Knt. after the King's Restoration, was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, 31 May 1660; and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas in October following, and for this Dugdale is also cited. But he says (6), 31 May 1660, Sir Robert was restored to his place of Justice of the Common-Pleas, from which he had been expelled by the parliament, and on the 22 Octob. 1660, he was made Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, so he never was Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, any more than Sir John Bankes of the King's-Bench. These mistakes are within ten lines of each other in the same column. Now that they have not been corrected, I imagine is owing, 1. To their want of knowledge in the history of the Law, who revised Wood's book, and 2. To the respect, paid to the Dugdale's authority.

(7) Page 587.

(8) In the note to this article.

(a) MS. from J. F.

[B] *The most material parts of such pieces.* In Lloyd's Memoirs (7), we have a very imperfect copy of the following inscription without it's dates; and in the General Dictionary another, not altogether free from omissions (8). This is copied exactly from the monument, by a Gentleman curious in such studies as relate to British antiquities (9).

(a) Bal. Script. Ilustr. Maj. r. Brit. Cent. ix. num. 66, p. 723. edit. Basil. 1557.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

BARCLAY, BARCLEY, BARKLAY, or de BARKLAY (ALEXANDER) an elegant writer in the XVIth century. It is a point strongly disputed, whether he was English or Scotch by birth (a), nor is there any clear proof on either side [A]. The most probable opinion however seems to be, that he was born in Somersetshire, where there is both a village called Barclay, and an ancient family of the same name (b) [B]. But of whatever country he was, we know nothing of his family or fortune,

(1) Balus de Script. p. 723.

(2) Relat. Histor. de Reb. Anglic. P. 745.

(3) Lives and Characters of Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 86.

[A] *Any clear proof on either side.* This was the judgment of Bale, who was his contemporary. Some, says he, reckon him a Scot, while others believe him to have been born in England (1). Pits is positive that he was an Englishman, and says, that it is probable he was born in Devonshire (2), but he is not so kind as to tell us why. On the other side, Dr Mackenzey is as positive that he was a Scot; and in order to prove it, enters into the genealogical history of the ancient family of Berkeley in Scotland, which, at the most, only tends to shew, that he might be of that country (3). From all therefore that has been said, either by these writers or by Wood (4), there is nothing that can incline us to decide in favour of either opinion, or so much as absolutely to determine, which has the greatest appearance of truth; a question however that shall be handled in the next note.

[B] *An ancient family of the same name.* I must confess, it seems to me a little strange, that in those days, a Scot should obtain so great reputation in England, especially if it be considered from whence our

P. M. S.
Hoc Loco in Spem
Futuri Sæculi depositum jacet
JOHANNIS BANKES.
Qui Reginal' Collegii in hac Academia
Alumnus,
Eques Auratus ornatissimus,
Attornatus Generalis,
De Communi Banco Cap. Justiciarius,
A secretioribus Consiliis Regi CAROLO,
Peritiam, integritatem, fidem
Egregiè præstitit.
Ex Æde Christi, in Ædes Christi
Transiit mensè Decembris die 28
Anno Domini 1644.
Ætatis suæ 55.

Non Nobis Domine, Non Nobis,

Sed Nomine tuo sit gloria *

On a small stone underneath the Monument.

Hic Situs est
J. B.
1644.

In English thus.

Here lies interred in hopes of a future Resurrection, the Remains of John Bankes; who was a Student in Queen's College in this University, a worthy Knight, Attorney-General, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and a Privy Counsellor to King CHARLES, distinguished by his Knowledge, Integrity, and Fidelity. He passed from Christ's Church to the Church (triumphant) of Christ, December 28, A. D. 1644. Of his age 55.

* All the epitaph he desired was,

Not unto us, LORD, not unto us: but unto thy name be Glory. E

author's rose, viz. from his enriching and improving the English tongue. Had he written in Latin or on the sciences, the thing had been probable enough, but in the light in which it now stands, I think it very far from being likely. In the next place, it is pretty extraordinary, that Barclay himself, in his several addresses to his patrons, should never take notice of his being a stranger, which would have made their kindness to him the more remarkable; whereas the reader will quickly see, that in his address to the young Gentlemen of England, he treats them as his countrymen (5). Farther still it makes strongly against this opinion, that the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Kent were Barclay's principal patrons, who are known to have been the fiercest enemies to the Scots. These, I say, are probable reasons why we should not believe him of that country. On the other hand, his patrons and preferments both sprung from the West, which would seem to shew him of that part of the island, and inasmuch as there is a village in the hundred of Frome in Somersetshire, of the

(5) It was very customary for the writers of that age to mention their countries, especially if they wrote out of their own.

fortune, before his coming to Oriel-college in Oxford, which might be about the year 1495, when Thomas Cornish was Provost of that house (c). Having distinguished himself there, by the quickness of his parts, and his great affection for learning, he went over into Holland, and travelled thence into Germany, Italy, and France, where he applied himself assiduously to the learning the languages spoken in those countries, and to the study of the best authors in them, wherein he made a wonderful proficiency, as appeared after his return home, by many excellent translations which he published (d). His patron was now become Bishop of Tyne, and Suffragan under the Bishop of Wells, who first made him his Chaplain, and afterwards appointed him one of the Priests of St Mary, at Ottery in Devonshire, a college founded by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (e). After the death of this patron of his, he became a Monk of the order of St Benedict, and afterwards, as some say, a Franciscan (f). These are circumstances of his life commonly known, but that he was a Monk of Ely, is a point, as to which, all our Biographers are silent, and yet it is more certain, than almost any thing they have told us about him (g) [C]. Upon the dissolution of the monastery at Ely, which happened A. D. 1539, he was left to be provided for by his patrons, of which his works had gained him many. He seems to have had, first, the vicarage of St Matthew at Wokey, in Somersetshire, bestowed upon him, on the death of Thomas Eryngton, and afterwards was removed from that small living to a better, if indeed he received not both at the same time. However, certain it is, that on the seventh of February 1546, being then Doctor of Divinity, he was presented to the vicarage of Much-Badew, or, as it is commonly called, Baddow-Magna, in the county of Essex and diocese of London, by Mr John Pascal, on the death of Mr John Clowes (h); neither were these, as Wood imagines, his last preferments, for the Dean and Chapter of London upon the resignation of William Jennings, Rector of Alhallows Lombard-street, on the thirtieth of April 1552, presented him to the said living (i), which he did not however enjoy above the space of six weeks at most. He was admired in his life-time for his wit and eloquence, and for a particular fluency of writing, unattained by any author of that age. This recommended him to many noble patrons, though it does not appear that he was any great gainer by their favour, otherwise than in his reputation. He lived to a very advanced age, and died at Croydon in Surrey, in the month of June 1552, and was interred in the church there (k). Bale has treated his memory with great indignity, he says, he remained a scandalous adulterer under colour of leading a single life (l). Pits again assures us, that he employed all his study in favour of religion, and in reading and writing the lives of the Saints (m). There is probably a strong tincture of partiality in both these characters, but that he was a polite writer, a great refiner of the English tongue, and left behind him many testimonies of his wit and learning [D], cannot be denied

(c) Hist. & Ant. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 105.

(d) Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gen. Scot. lib. ii. p. 106.

(e) Pits, Relat. Histor. de Reb. Angl. num. 939. p. 745.

(f) Mackenzys Lives and Characters of the most eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(g) Thomas Hearnes MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX, p. 179.

(h) Willis's Hist. of Mitred Abbies, Vol. I. p. 276. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 25. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

(i) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 254.

(k) Bal. ubi supra. Dempster, ubi supra. Pits, ubi supra.

(l) His Words are, *caelibatus Juco sedus Adulter perpetuo mansit.*

(m) Pits, ubi supra.

the name of Barclay, and not one, but several families of the same name in that neighbourhood, it seems to me pretty evident, that he was a native of this shire (6), at least, I think this opinion more probable than either of the other two; for that a Scot should have so general an acquaintance in the West of England, especially considering he was some years abroad, is not easy to be accounted for; and then, as to his preferments in Devonshire, we know very well to whose favour he owed them, and therefore they conclude nothing as to his birth in that county, where, I think, it cannot be proved there ever was any considerable family of this name.

[C] *They have told us about him.* This appears from a small folio of his publishing, which was long in the custody of the famous Thomas Rawlinson, Esq; the title, prologue, and colophon of which, as they are great curiosities in their kind, deserve the intelligent reader's notice. The title runs thus, *Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyse, intituled the Mirrour of good Manners, conteyning the IV Vertues called Cardynall, compyled in Latyn by Domynyke Mancyn; and translate into Englyshe at the desyre of Sir Gyles Alyngton, Knight, by Alexander Berclay, Prest and Monke of Ely.* A wooden cut of a nobleman sitting in a chair, and a Monk kneeling before him, presenting him a book, and two standing by, one seems to be a Lay-Brother, the other a servant beside his Lord. Afterwards follows, *The Prologue of Alexander Barclay, &c. to his ryght honorable Mayster Gyles Alyngton, Knight, &c.* In the end thus: *Rede this lyttel treatyse, O juwent of Englande, as Myrroure of good Maners; ye chesely of London stande, and when ye it redyng shall perfyte understande, gyve ye laude and thankes to Gyles Alyngton, Knight, at whose precept this treatyse was begon. If this do you profyite that shall my mynde excyte of mo frutefull matters after this to awryte. Finis. Thus endeth the ryght frutefull matter of the foure Vertues Cardynall: Imprinted by Rycharde Pynson, Prynter unto the Kynges noble Grace; with his gracious pryvylege, VOL. I. No. 40.*

the which boke I have prynted at the instance and request of the ryght noble, Richard, Yerde of Kent (7).

[D] *Many testimonies of his wit and learning.* His books were very numerous, inasmuch that we have no perfect catalogue of them any where, and what contributes much to this, is the translating his English titles into Latin, to mention however a few. I. *His Eclogues on the Miseries of Courtiers* (8). It appears that all the Writers who have mentioned these, did it without consulting them, and have fallen into many errors about this performance. They were printed at London by Richard Pynson, in quarto, without date under this title: 'Here begynneth the Egloges of Alexander Barclay, Prest, whereof the first three containeth the Myseries of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in generall. The matter whereof was translated into Englyshe, by the said Alexander, in fourme of dialoges, out of a booke in Latin, named Miserie Curialium, compiled by Eneas Silvius, Poete and Orator, which after was Pope of Rome and named Pius.' These on the Miseries of Courtiers make three, the whole number of eclogues in this volume making five. The fourth eclogue is, 'Of the Behaviour of riche Men anent Poetes.' At the end of this there is an elegy, intituled, 'The discription of the Towre of Vertue and Honour, into whiche the noble Hawarde (9) contended to entre by worthy actes of Chivalry.' The fifth is, 'Of the Citizen and Uplandishman.' In his poetical preface the author mentions ten eclogues, perhaps the other five were those he translated from Mantuan, of which hereafter; it may not however be amiss, before we quit this part of his writings, to observe the pages of his book are not marked, or his verses numbered. II. *A Treatise against Skelton*, he was Poet Laureat, and a great enemy to Priests, which we may presume, turned our author's pen against him. *The Life of St George* from Baptist Mantuan. *The Life of St Catherine*. *The Life of St Margaret*. *The Life of St Ethelreda* (10). III. *Five Eclogues* from the Latin

(7) Thomas Hearnes MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX, p. 179.

(8) Bale, Pitts.

(9) Henry Earl of Surrey, one of the most accomplished Noblemen of his time, beheaded, Jan. 19, 1546-7.

(10) Dempster Bale, Pitts.

(6) Remarks on the Lives of eminent Men, by some reputed English, by others Scots, a MS. formerly communicated by Dr Knipe of Christ-Church, p. 195.

denied, but what ought most to be lamented is, that we are able to say so very little of one, in his own time so famous, and whose works ought to have transmitted him to posterity, with much greater honour.

- (11) Bale, Pits. of Mantuan (11). IV. *Of the French Pronunciation* (12). V. *The Bucolic of Codrus* (13). VI. *The Castle of Labour* (14), translated from the French into English. VII. *A Treatise of Virtues* written originally by D. Mancini, of which we have given an account in the preceding note. VIII. *The Figure of our Mother Holy Church oppressed by the French King* (15), printed at London in quarto by Richard Pynson. IX. *Navis Stultifera, or the Ship of Fools* (16), the most celebrated of all our author's writings. It consists partly of verses of his own composition, and in part of translations from the Latin, French, and Dutch. It is indeed a kind of version of a book written under the same title by Sebastian Brantius, but then it is translated with great freedom and with considerable additions. It is adorned with a great variety of pictures, printed from wooden cuts; we may judge of the high

esteem this book was in not only from its being often cited, but also from its various editions. It was first printed at London by Richard Pynson in 1509 in small folio, again in the same size in 1519, and in quarto in 1570, it was dedicated by our author to his patron, Dr Thomas Cornilh, Bishop of Tyne. X. *The History of the Jugurthine War*, translated from the Latin of Sallust. This was printed in quarto in 1557, five years after the author's death, and at the end of the book there is this note. *Thus endeth the famous Chronicle of the warre whyche the Romaynes had against Jugurth, Usurper of the kyngedome of Numydie, whyche Chronicle is compyled in Latin by the renowned Romayne Salust; and translated into English by Syr Alexander Barkeley Priestle, at Commaundement of the ryght, hyghe, and mighty Prince, Thomas Duke of Northfolke, and imprinted at London in Forster-lane, by John Waley* (17).

(17) Heyrne's Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 705, 706.

C & E

BARCLAY (ROBERT) justly esteemed the best writer among the Quakers, and one of the most considerable persons of his time. He was descended from an antient and honourable family in Scotland by his father's side, who was Colonel David Barclay of Mathers, a man universally esteemed and beloved, and by his mother Mrs Katharine Gordon, daughter to Sir W. Gordon, from the noble house of Huntley, so that if his principles had not led him to slight the advantages of birth, few gentlemen could in that particular have gone beyond him (a). He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1648, and as he grew up, the troubles of his country, in which also his family had a share, induced his father, Colonel Barclay, to send him, while a youth, to Paris, where his brother was at that time Principal of the Scots college, who taking advantage of the tender age of his nephew Robert, drew him over to the Romish religion (b). His father being informed of this, thought fit to send for him home, and accordingly he returned to Scotland in the year 1664, as accomplished, as at his age, which was scarce sixteen, the most sanguine of his relations could expect. He had a competent knowledge of the sciences, understood the French and Latin tongues perfectly, for the latter he wrote and spoke with wonderful facility and correctness, and afterwards attained Greek and Hebrew. The principal authors that have attempted to give the world the history of the people called Quakers, assure us, that our author's father had embraced their doctrine, before the return of his son from France (c): but against this we have the express testimony of our author himself, who fixes the time of his father's joining himself to the Quakers, to the year 1666 (d), which we are told by others, was chiefly owing to the persuasions of one Mr Swinton, a man of great credit among those people, and who had for some time after the Restoration, been confined with Colonel David Barclay, in the castle of Edinburgh, where by long and frequent conversations, he drew him over to his opinions [A]. It was not long

(a) See his article in Collier's Dictionary, Vol. I.

(b) Histoire des Trembleurs, p. 76.

(c) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, London, 1722, fol. p. 472. Croese's History of the Quakers, p. 151.

(d) See his Testimony concerning his father, at the end of his Works.

[A] *Frequent conversations to draw him over to his opinions.* It may not be amiss to give some account here, of the first preaching those doctrines maintained by the people called Quakers in Scotland, and of the manner in which they were so wonderfully propagated in so short a space, as between their first appearance and their being embraced by Colonel David Barclay. George Fox, the elder, who is looked upon as the author and founder of this sect, began to preach publicly about the time of our author Robert Barclay's birth, and was soon followed by great numbers who adhered to the opinions he taught them, in spite of the most violent persecutions; to which, notwithstanding the regularity of their lives, they stood exposed, while the Presbyterians especially were at the helm, who were zealous from principle for church-power, which the Quakers little regarded (1). In 1657, George Fox went himself a kind of pilgrimage into the north, and being informed that the number of Friends (which is the name used by these people when speaking of their sect) was greatly increased in Scotland, he went thither to visit them; which proved a means of enlarging their Church, especially in the Northern parts of the kingdom about Aberdeen and Elgin; and soon drew a heavy persecution upon them from the Clergy (2). But it was not here that this gentleman, who converted Colonel Barclay, received these opinions. There is something so singular in his history, that tho' we have not particulars enough to form an article, yet the circumstances of his conversion may very well justify their appearing in a note. John Swinton of Swinton, Esq; was of a very good

(1) General Hist. of the Quakers, by Gerard Croese, London, 1696, 8vo, p. 29, 98, 99.

(2) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 170; 171, 172.

family, and had as good education as almost any man in Scotland, which, joined to very strong natural parts, rendered him a most accomplished person. He shewed himself very ill affected to King Charles II when in Scotland, laboured to serve the English and heighten their interest, which at last, rendered it necessary to send for a party of Cromwell's soldiers to carry him away prisoner into England; notwithstanding which ingenious artifice, practised at his own house near the borders, the Scots parliament held at Stirling in 1651, attainted him of high-treason (3). At this time the act affected him little, the King's affairs growing soon after desperate, but so soon as the Restoration was brought about, Mr Swinton was seized in London, and sent down, as the Marquis of Argyle had been, to be tried in Scotland, or rather called to his former judgment (4). It was universally believed that his death was inevitable, as it was notorious that Oliver Cromwell had trusted him more than any body, and that almost every thing had been done in Scotland by his advice: Yet Mr Swinton lived cheerfully in the castle of Edinburgh where he was prisoner, and seemed much more concerned to spread the principles of Quakerism than to defend his own life. He had embraced these opinions in England, went into them sincerely, and being a person of learning, very taking in his behaviour, and naturally eloquent, he not only defended his notions vigorously when attacked, but brought over many to his sentiments while in confinement (5). He was at length brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, to which the Earl of Middleton was Commissioner in 1661, and there called upon to shew cause, why he should

(3) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. 1. p. 127. Croese's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 142.

(4) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. 1. p. 127.

(5) Croese's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 142.

long before Robert Barclay likewise joined himself to the Quakers, not so much moved thereto, either by the solicitations or example of his father, as by the dictates of his own mind, for though he was but eighteen years of age when he took this step, yet he had considered it very attentively, and having a genius wonderfully solid, he appears to have made as clear a judgment, even at that early season, of the cause in which he engaged, as at any time during his whole life (e). He soon distinguished himself by his zeal in the cause of the Quakers, in which, from the beginning, he discovered that strength and power of reasoning, that perspicuity and accuracy of language, for which his writings have been, and in all probability ever will be, admired. His first treatise in defence of the principles he professed, appeared at Aberdeen in the year 1670, and, as occasion required, he supported what he had delivered by his subsequent writings, which very soon shewed him much an over-match for his antagonist (f) [B]. In these discourses of his, our author chiefly

(e) Sewell and Croese, ubi supra.

(f) See the Preface to our author's Works, printed at London, A. D. 1692.

should not receive sentence upon his former attainer. It is certain, that he might have avoided the force of that law by two pleas, either of which would have saved him: For, *first*, he might have denied that any such act had passed, and the contrary could not have been proved, as the record of his attainer, with all that passed in that parliament at Stirling, had been lost. His *second* plea might have been still stronger in point of law; for all the proceedings in that parliament having been rescinded and annulled by the parliament, before which he was now called in question, they were no longer of any authority. So that the record of his attainer could not be found, or if found, could not be urged against him (6), and yet he took advantage of neither of these pleas; but answered entirely consonant to his religious principles, that he was at the time these crimes were imputed to him in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that, God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life. His speech was, tho' modest, so majestic, and, tho' expressive of the most perfect patience, so pathetick; that, notwithstanding he had neither interest nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impression made by his discourse on that illustrious assembly was such, that they recommended him to the King as a fit object for mercy, at the very time they were in an extreme degree severe, against some who were not at all more obnoxious than he (7). This strange escape of Swinton's was ascribed by those of his own persuasion (very naturally) to the special interposition of Providence; by men of another turn, to the irresistible force of true eloquence, and by the refined politicians, to the scheme of the King's Lord Commissioner, the Earl of Middleton, who, knowing the Earl of Lauderdale had begged his estate, resolved to save both that and his life, to spite a man he hated, as well as to raise his own character (8). Such was the person who is said to have drawn to his principles the father of our author, and indeed it is probable, that he might have some hand therein, though about 1663 there were many persons of good sense and unspotted integrity, who joined themselves to the Quakers; and it was in 1666 that Colonel David Barclay declared himself, as his son informs us (9). He found himself very soon exposed to persecutions and sufferings on the score of his religion, for tho' there was no express law against the Quakers, yet the Council found them within the construction of an act against conventicles, and thence assumed a power of calling them to answer, imprisoning and fining them, and all, but chiefly the last, Colonel David Barclay, suffered more than once. Yet a Church historian, who is continually clamouring against the persecution of the Presbyterians by the Bishops, seems to be displeas'd that the same rigour, or a greater, was not exerted against the Quakers; by which (he says) they grew as well as took root, he is particularly chagrined that the Laird of Swinton (as he calls him) was neglected; which is a proof that the government was not very severe against them at this time (10). But after the battle of Pentland hills, when Scotland was in some confusion, Colonel Barclay was confined for some time, though no just reason was assign'd for it; his principles binding him to be a good subject. On his humble petition, however, he was first suffer'd to return home, on giving security for his appearance, and soon after he was discharged entirely (11). He was a man, venerable in his appearance, just in all his actions, had shewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his

fortitude, in bearing with all the hard usage he met with in Scotland with cheerfulness as well as patience (12). The acquisition of so considerable and so respected a person, was of no small use to those of his persuasion, as appeared plainly by the daily additions to their sect in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, more especially after his son Robert began to appear, and to display such a strength of reasoning, and such an extent of learning in support of this cause, as placed the controversy with the Quakers on a new foot, and shewed they were far enough from being frantick, half-witted enthusiasts, who had little or nothing to say for themselves (13). In this manner, with great comfort to himself, Colonel Barclay spent the last twenty years of his life, being all along blessed with sound health and a vigorous constitution. He died on the 12th of October 1686, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, at his own house not far from Aberdeen; and though he gave express directions (agreeable to his principles) that none but persons of his own persuasion should be invited to his funeral, yet the time being known, many gentlemen, and those too of great distinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and publick spirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties. His son (according to the custom of those of his sect) has left us an ample testimony, in his works, to his father's dying as well as living in hopes of salvation through *JESUS CHRIST*.

(12) Croese's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 144.

(13) See the account of Robert Barclay's first Writings in note [B].

[B] Which very soon shewed him to be much an over-match for his antagonist.] It very rarely happens that an author's first performance, is written with as much correctness as vigour, which however may be affirmed of this book of Robert Barclay's, the title of which runs thus: *Truth cleared of Calumnies, wherein a book intituled, a Dialogue between a Quaker and a stable Christian (printed at Aberdeen, and upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchell, a Preacher near by it, or at least, that he had the chief hand in it) is examined, and the Disingenuity of the Author in his representing the Quakers is discovered; here is also their Case truly stated, cleared, demonstrated, and the objections of their Opposers answered according to Truth, Scripture, and right Reason.* The preface to this treatise is dated from our author's house at Ury, the 19th of the second month 1670, and therein he give us a very clear account of the controversies that had been for some time carried on between the Clergy and the Quakers; in which he complains of great disingenuity, and of their taking pains, first, to make themselves masters of the true principles and opinions of the Quakers, and afterwards studying to misrepresent, that they might find it the more easy to answer them, which he affirms to be the case of the author in this work which he had chosen to refute; and therefore, the business of this book is to shew, that they had been extravagantly abused by their adversaries, who sometimes would have them pass for people distracted, and at other times, for men possessed by the devil, and practising abominations, under pretence of being led to them by the spirit, as denying the existence of Christ, the reality of a heaven and a hell, the being of angels, the resurrection of the body, and the day of judgment. He shews upon what slight pretences these notions were taken up, how consistent all the doctrines of the Quakers were with the gospel in respect to these points, and how unjust the persecution they had sustained for maintaining what the Apostles maintained, *the light of CHRIST JESUS shining in the mind of man* (14).

(14) Barclay's Works, p. 1.

(6) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 127.

(7) Croese's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 143. Burnet, ubi supra. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 97.

(8) Idem. ibid.

(9) See Rob. Barclay's Testimony concerning the death of his father, at the end of his Works.

(10) Woodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 226, 227.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 313. But he calls him, by a mistake, Col. Rob. Barclay.

chiefly laboured to remove the prejudices against, and throw such light on the real sentiments of the people whom he espoused, as might silence the calumnies thrown out against them, and which he was satisfied, were the true grounds of that hatred which was borne them. He succeeded so thoroughly therein, as to procure for them a fair hearing from the more sensible part of the nation, and very soon raised both their credit and his own so high, that they were much better treated by the government than before that time they had been. But with all this coolness and moderation, which might tempt one to think, he rather attempted to frame a new system of religion, than to support that which had been preached by the Quakers, he was as obedient to the spirit as any of his party, inasmuch, that he tells us himself, that feeling an impression from God, to pass through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes, and to preach the necessity of faith and repentance to the inhabitants, he accordingly performed it; his mind suffering the greatest agonies, till such time as he had fulfilled this command (g). This demonstrated his sincerity and simplicity of heart, for without being thoroughly satisfied in his own conscience, it is impossible to conceive, how so wise and good a man, as it is universally agreed he was, should bring himself to do such an action. To propagate the doctrines, as well as to maintain the credit he had gained for those of his way of thinking, he, in 1675, published a regular and accurate discourse, in order to explain and defend the system of the people called Quakers, which as it appeared absolutely a new kind of writing, and was so excellently compiled, to shew clearly the good sense and great learning of its author, was universally well received [C]. He was very sensible, that such as disliked those of his profession, often took occasion to confound them with, or at least impute to them as Quakers, the opinions maintained by another sort of people, who held indeed some of the tenets of the Quakers, but were, in other respects, of a very contrary spirit; to remove this scandal effectually, and to manifest the difference between those of his persuasion, and this other sect who were styled *RANTERS*, he wrote a very curious and instructive work, in which, he, with much solidity and perspicuity, laid open the causes,

(g) Barclay's Works, p. 105, 106.

His second treatise had this title, *Some things of weighty Concernment, proposed in Meekness and Love by way of Queries, to the serious Consideration of the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, which also may be of Use to such as are in the same mind with them elsewhere in this Nation*. This was added by way of appendix to the former treatise, and contains twenty questions, relating chiefly to the persons who had taken so much pains to represent the Quakers in ridiculous lights, when if that kind of language had been allowed among this sort of people, they might themselves have been rendered far more ridiculous. These writings made Mr W. Mitchell so uneasy, and rendered it so apparent, that either he was in the wrong, or wanted abilities necessary to prove himself in the right; that he immediately had recourse again to the press, in order to return an answer to Robert Barclay, which produced our author's third book upon this subject, in which he effectually silenced that angry and impatient writer (15).

(15) See an Account of this matter in the Preface before Barclay's Works, p. xi.

The title of this third treatise was, *W. Mitchell unmasked, or the staggering Instability of the pretended stable Christians discovered, his Omissions observed, and Weakness unveiled, in his late faint and feeble Animadversions by way of Reply to a Book intitled, Truth cleared of Calumnies; wherein the integrity of the Quakers Doctrine is the second time justified and cleared from the re-iterate Clamours, but causeless Calumnies of this cavilling Catechist*. The preface to this discourse is likewise dated from Ury, the 24th of December 1671. In this treatise, our author discovers an amazing variety of learning, which shews how good use he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a master he was of the Scriptures, Fathers, and Ecclesiastical History, and with how much skill and judgment he applied them, so that we need not wonder he was much too hard for a country Clergyman in that part of the world, who, very probably, had not the same advantages of education, and was evidently a man of much less temper. The author of the preface before our author's works, has given a very fair account of this performance, and therefore we will make use of his words: 'In this rejoinder, says he, the dispute rises high, and the contest seems sharp and close, but to every impartial reader, the advantage evidently runs upon our author's side, who appears rather zealous than heated, and sharper on his enemy's matter than person; for he rather pities his enemy than triumphs over his weakness and envy; here, as in an exact draught, the reader has an account of the fabulous principles given under our names, and those that we really profess; and the pleasure even men pretending to religion take to render a poor,

' self-denying people that which they are not; as if they feared we should be in the right, or hold principles nearer to what they profess themselves to believe, than is convenient for their interest with the people to allow; least that, together with the sobriety, their worst enemies confess to be so conspicuous among them, should give them too great a credit with their hearers (16).

[C] *Was universally well received.* The writings of our author had been hitherto only controversial, but now he judged it expedient to publish somewhat systematical, that their opinions might appear with more regularity and connection than they had hitherto done, and that it might be seen they held nothing inconsistent with the Scriptures: The title of this book was, *A Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the General Assembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Christ himself chief Speaker in and among them, which containeth a true and faithful Account of the Principles and Doctrines which are most surely believed by the Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the Name of Quakers, yet are found in one Faith with the Primitive Church and Saints, as is most clearly demonstrated by some plain Scripture Testimonies (without Consequences or Commentaries) which are here collected and inserted by way of Answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar, Questions, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest Capacities. To which is added, an Exposition with an Appeal to all other Professors by R. B. a Servant of the Church of Christ*. The author in his Preface dated from Ury, the eleventh of the sixth month (August) 1673, endeavours to prove, that Quakerism is the very perfection of the Reformed Religion, and that other Protestant Churches, so far as they differ from the Quakers, were inconsistent with themselves, and returned in part at least, to those superstitions for which they held it necessary to separate from the Church of Rome. According to him, the scripture only ought to be regarded as the foundation of truth, and no doctrines ought to be received as Christian, which cannot be proved by the express words of scripture, which, he asserts, might be alledged in maintenance and support of all things delivered by the Quakers, notwithstanding the insinuations of their enemies, that the Quakers vilified and denied the scriptures, in order to set up their own imaginations instead of them: 'To disprove which, says he, addressing himself to the reader, this Catechism and Confession of Faith is compiled and presented to thy serious and impartial view; if thou lovest the scripture indeed,

(16) See the Preface before cited, p. xi.
(17) See this in the Preface before mentioned.

causes, and displays the consequences of Superstition on one hand, and Fanaticism on the other, clearing the Quakers from both [D]. These endeavours of his, to vindicate and bring

indeed, and desire to hold the plain doctrine there delivered, and not those strained and far-fetched consequences which men have invented, thou shalt easily observe the whole principles of the people called Quakers, plainly couched in scripture words without addition or commentary, especially in those things their adversaries oppose them in, where the scripture plainly decideth the controversy for them without niceties and school distinctions, which have been the wisdom by which the world has not known God, and the words which have been multiplied without knowledge, by which counsel hath been darkened. In answer to the questions, there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the express words of scripture; and if in some of the questions there be somewhat subsumed of what in my judgment is the plain and naked import of the words, it is not to impose my sense upon the reader, but to make way for the next question for the dependance of the matter's sake. I shall leave it to the reason of any understanding and judicious man, who is not biased by self-interest (that great enemy to true equity) and who, in the least measure, is willing to give way to the light of Christ in his conscience, if the scriptures do not pertinently and aptly answer to the questions. As I have, upon serious grounds, separated from most of the confessions and catechisms heretofore published, so, not without cause, I have now taken another method. They usually place their confession of faith before the catechism, I judge it ought to be otherwise; in regard, that which is easiest, and is composed for children, or such as are weak, in my judgment, ought to be placed first; it being most regular to begin with things that are easy and familiar, and lead on to things that are hard and intricate. Besides, that things be more largely opened in the catechism, and diverse objections answered which are proposed in the questions, the reader having passed through that first, will more perfectly understand the confession, which consisteth mainly in positive assertions. Not long after I had received and believed the testimony I now bear, I had in my view both the possibility and facility of such a work, and now, after a more large and perfect acquaintance with the holy scripture, I found access to allow some time to set about it, and have also been helped to accomplish the same (17).

[D] Displays the consequences of Superstition on one hand, and Fanaticism on the other, clearing the Quakers of both.] This learned and excellent treatise, which contains as much sound reasoning as any book of it's size in our's, or perhaps in any modern language, is called, *The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other pretended Churches equally refused and refuted, in a two-fold Apology for the Church and People of God called in derision Quakers, wherein they are vindicated from those, who accuse them of disorder and confusion on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other; shewing, that as the true and pure principles of the gospel are restored by their testimony, so is also the antient apostolick order of the Church of Christ, re-established among them, and settled upon it's right basis and foundation.* He observes in his preface to this work, that the people to whom he had joined himself had been abused in a most barbarous manner, and charged with very different offences; some treating them as foolish, mad creatures, while others reputed them as deep, and subtle politicians, in many of the books written against them, they are stiled illiterate, ignorant fellows, yet in others, they are affirmed to be learned, cunning Jesuits, and pensioners of the Pope, while the Papists themselves abhorred and persecuted them, as the worst kind of Hereticks. But, he says, that these people have laboured all they could to follow the example of the primitive Church in all things, and he observes, that the two following points, did, in those times, contribute much towards the edification of the Church. Viz.

I. The power and authority which the Apostles had given them by Christ, for gathering, building up, and

governing of his Church, by virtue of which power and authority they also wrote the holy scriptures.

II. That privilege given to every Christian under the gospel, to be led and guided by the spirit of Christ, and to be taught thereof in all things.

But he farther remarks, that since that time the harmony of these two principles has been destroyed, and the authority and power which resided in the Apostles, is annexed and entailed on an outward ordination, and succession is made use of to cover all manner of abuses, even the height of idolatry and superstition. For by virtue of this succession, these men, claiming the like infallibility that was in the Apostles, will oblige others to agree to their conclusions, however different from, or contrary to, the truths of the gospel, and in respect of the Clergy's arrogating to themselves so great a power in this, and in declaring the sense of the scripture, he professes, that he thinks both Protestants and Papists have gone aside from the right way. As to the second point, which more immediately concerns his subject, he speaks thus, 'On the other hand, some are so great pretenders to inward motions and revelations of the Spirit, that there are no extravagancies so wild which they will not cloak with it, and so much are they for every one's following their own mind, as can admit of no Christian fellowship and community, nor of that good order and discipline, which the Church of Christ never was, nor can be, without. This gives an open door to all libertinism, and brings great reproach to the Christian faith, and on this hand have foully fallen the German Anabaptists, so called, John of Leyden, Knipperdoling, &c. (In case these monstrous things committed by them be such as they are related.) And some more moderate of that kind have been found among the people in England, called Ranters, as it is true, the people called Quakers have been branded with both of these extremes. It is as true, it hath been, and is, their work to avoid them, and to be found in that even and good path of the primitive Church, where all were (no doubt) led, and actuated by the holy Spirit, and might all have prophesied one by one, and yet there was a subjection of the prophets to the spirits of the prophets. There was an authority some had in the Church, yet it was for edification, and not for destruction; there was an obedience in the Lord to such as were set over, and a being taught by such, and yet a knowing of the inward anointing, by which each individual was to be led into all truth; the work and testimony the Lord hath given us, is to restore this again, and to set both these in their right place, without causing them to destroy one another; to manifest how this is accomplished, and accomplishing among us is the business of this treatise, which, I hope, will give some satisfaction to men of sober judgments and impartial and unprejudicate spirits, and may be made useful in the good hand of the Lord, to confirm and establish friends against their present oppressors (18).'

This treatise exposed him to a great many inconveniences, for we find him obliged to write a *Vindication* of it in the beginning of the year 1679, when, it seems, that he was in prison at Aberdeen; and indeed, at that time, the persecution of the Quakers in Scotland was very warm, and therefore considering the figure he made, it is no wonder that he had a share in it (19): But without question, his sufferings of this sort did not give him near so much concern, as the disputes in which he was involved, by the publication of this treatise, with his brethren; chiefly thro' the obstinacy of one William Rogers, who wrote against him, and spread his objections privately, notwithstanding the author had taken pains to satisfy him in a conference. The account which the author of the preface before his works gives of this matter, is worth reading: 'This discourse, says he, touching the tender place both of those that exercise a coercive authority over conscience on the one hand, and of those that, to avoid that extreme, run into an absolute personal independancy in point of order and government on the other hand, both sorts were not a little disgusted; but the latter more especially, that thought them-

(18) See his Preface to that Treatise in the Collection of his Works.

(19) This appears from the date of this Treatise, which runs thus: Aberdeen Prison, 6th of the first month 1679. We are in this note, in order to connect like things, obliged to trespass a little upon time, otherwise this vindication must have been spoke of afterwards.

(17) See this in the Preface before-mentioned.

bring the Quakers into reputation with people of sense, moderation, and learning, brought various disputes upon his hands, and one particularly, with some considerable members of the university of Aberdeen, an account of which was afterwards made publick (b). But though it might be conceived, that so many undertakings within so narrow a compass of time, must have wholly taken him up, and left him not so much as a moment to spare; yet it is certain, that at this very time he was meditating his great work, which he intitled, *An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached, by the People called in scorn Quakers*; since the epistle prefixed thereto, and addressed to King Charles II, is dated the twenty-fifth of November 1675 (i). This was indeed a painful and laborious performance, and therefore our author took, with great prudence and sagacity, such precautions as he thought necessary, with respect to its publication. It was with this view, that the *Theses Theologicae* (k), which were the ground-work of this elaborate treatise, were sent abroad some time before the book itself, in Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, and English, addressed to the clergy of what sort soever, and that his candour, impartiality, and sincere love of truth, might be still more manifest, he sent them to the Doctors, Professors, and Students in Divinity, both Popish and Protestant, in every country throughout Europe, desiring they would seriously examine them, and send him their answers. As soon as the *Apology* was finished, he sent two copies of it, to each of the publick Ministers then at the famous Congress of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and respect, and the knowledge, charity, and disinterested probity of its author, justly applauded (l). In 1676 it was printed in Latin at Amsterdam, and two years after, he published an English translation of it, which made it more generally known and read here, by which the end of it was effectually answered, since it was universally allowed to surpass every thing of its kind, and to set the principles of the Quakers in the fairest light possible [E]. It was quickly

(b) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers. See also note [G].

(i) See that Epistle in both the Latin and English editions of the Apology.

(k) See a further account of this in note [E].

(l) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 257.

‘ selves chiefly concerned in the author's intention and labour, and indeed the rise and ground of the discourse, was the dissatisfaction of some that professed to be of the same society, about the methods of proceeding as a christian community, for the honour of our holy profession. Some mistook him, others too designedly inveighed against him; the animosity rose so high in some few leading persons of that dissent, as to question his sincerity to the profession he made of religion in general, whispering him to be popishly affected, if not a Papist, and perhaps a graduated one too: And why? First, because he was bred in France at school, under an uncle who was a Papist, if not a Priest. Secondly, because he maintained Church authority, at as high a rate, at least upon the same principles: But for the first, his father who was always a zealous Protestant, coming heartily to embrace the communion of the despised Quakers, and shewing himself an exemplary member of their society, commanded his son over, being yet a child, and only sent thither for the advantage of a relation, and of learning French and Latin together, and that upon the pressing importunity of his father's own brother, that was President of the Scotch college, where the learning common at our schools, as well as at the universities, is daily taught (20).’ After having set this matter in its proper light, he proceeds to refute the second argument used by the objectors, in which he defends the author's use of Popish reasoning in support of his own cause, with the greatest strength and clearness, and as to Robert Barclay's own vindication before-mentioned, he tells us, that it was drawn from him to clear his former discourse from the mistakes and scruples of such as did not understand it, or seemed however offended both with him and it, and that it is dedicated to the communion in general he was of; written with a serious and clear mind, and hearty love to those that were his opposers.

[E] To set the principles of the Quakers in the fairest light possible. The title of this famous book in the English edition of it runs thus: *An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers, being a full Explanation and Vindication for their Principles and Doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right Reason, and the Testimonies of famous authors both antient and modern, with a full answer to the strongest Objections usually made against them: Presented to the King. Written and published in Latin for the information of Strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his Countrymen.* The account given us, by the author of the preface to Barclay's works, of the nature of this work, and the reasons upon which he

published it, is so candid, and withal so clear and so concise, that I believe, it would be very hard to give a better (21): ‘ It was, says he, the most comprehensive of all his pieces, published in Latin, Dutch, and English: It came out at the close of a long and sharp engagement between us of this kingdom, and a confederacy of adversaries, of almost all persuasions: It was his happiness both to live in a more retired corner, and to enjoy at that time a space of quiet above his brethren, which, with the consideration of their three or four years toil, and a sense of service in himself, put him upon undertaking and publishing this discourse, as an essay towards the prevention of future controversy: It first lays down our avowed principles of belief and practice, distinguished from what our enemies are pleased to say in our names, who, by making us erroneous, give themselves the easier tasks to confute us, and then triumph: After he has stated our principles, he has put the objections which he had collected out of our adversaries books, or that he did apprehend might be made to these principles, and answers them; and lastly, cites divers authors both antient and modern, especially some of the primitive Ages, for further illustration and confirmation of our said belief and practice.’ The address of this book is as material as curious, and as extraordinary as any part of it, and has been justly admired both by our own countrymen and strangers, it runs thus: *Unto Charles II, King of Great-Britain, and the dominions therunto belonging, Robert Barclay, a servant of Jesus Christ, called of God to the dispensation of the gospel now again revealed, and after a long and dark night of apostacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wiseth both health and salvation.* After having opened his discourse with a very becoming observation, that the lives of Kings are more observed than those of other men, and what relates to them, or passes under their observation, more regarded, he goes on with great freedom and yet with much decency in the following manner: ‘ But among all these transactions, which it hath pleased God to permit, for the glory of his power and the manifestation of his wisdom and providence, no age furnisheth us with things so strange and marvellous, whether with respect to matters civil or religious, as these that have fallen out within the compass of thy time, who, tho' thou be not yet arrived at the fiftieth year of thy age, hast yet been a witness of stranger things than many ages before produced; so that, whether we respect these various troubles wherein thou foundest thyself engaged, while scarce got out of thy infancy; the many different afflictions wherewith men of thy circumstances are often unacquainted, the strange and unparalleled fortune that beset thy father, thy own narrow escape

(21) The same Preface, p. xxi.

(20) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. xiv.

quickly translated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spanish (m). It might

be (m) Sewell's and Croese's Histories of the Quakers, and the preface before Barclay's Works, p. xxi.

cape and banishment following thereupon, with the great improbability of thy ever returning; (at least, without very much pains and tedious combatings) or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accomplish such a design, considering the strength of those that had possessed themselves of thy throne, and the terror they had inflicted upon foreign states, or the contrivance and work of human policy; all these so sufficiently declare, that it is the Lord's doing, which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, so it will justly be a matter of wonder and astonishment to generations to come, and may sufficiently serve, if rightly observed, to confute and confound that atheism wherewith this age doth so much abound: As the vindication of the liberty of conscience (which thy father, by giving way to the importunate clamours of the Clergy, the answering and fulfilling of those unrighteous wills has often proved hurtful and pernicious to Princes, fought in some part to restrain) was a great occasion of the troubles and revolutions, so the pretence of conscience, was that which carried it on and brought it to the pitch it came to; and tho' (no doubt) some that were engaged in that work designed good things, at least in the beginning, (albeit, always wrong in the manner they took to accomplish it; viz by carnal weapons) yet so soon as they had tasted that sweet of the possessions of them they had turned out, they quickly began to do those things themselves for which they had accused others; for their hands were found full of oppression, and they hated the reproof of instruction, which is the way of life; and they evilly intreated the messengers of the Lord, and caused to beat and imprison his prophets, and persecuted his people, whom he had called and gathered out from among them, whom he had made to beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and not to learn carnal war any more; but he raised them up and armed them with spiritual weapons, even with his own spirit and power, whereby they testified in the freets, and highways, and public markets, and synagogues, against the pride, vanity, lusts, and hypocrisy of that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, tho' often cruelly intreated therefore; and they faithfully prophesied and foretold them of their judgment and downfall which came upon them, as by several writings and epistles delivered to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, the Parliament, and other then powers, yet upon record doth appear. Tho' it was evident enough from this language that the author did not intend by this address to depart at all from his principles, yet he thought it requisite to affirm this still more expressly, and to shew his meaning in this address more clearly, in the following paragraphs: 'As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me to use this epistle as an engine to flatter thee, the usual design of such works; and therefore, I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to present it to the world, or be more hopeful of it's success; to God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters spiritual, and therefore to him alone, and to the service of his truth, I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me, to whom only the praise and honour appertain, whose truth needs not the patronage of worldly Princes, his arm and power being that alone by which it is propagated, established, and confirmed: But I found it upon my spirit to take occasion to present this book unto thee, that as thou hast been often warned by several of that people who are inhabitants of England, so thou mayest not want a seasonable advertisement from a member of thy ancient kingdom of Scotland, and that thou mayest know (which I hope thou shalt have no reason to be troubled at) that God is raising up and increasing that people in that nation; and the nations shall also hereby know, that the truth we possess is not a work of darkness, or propagated by stealth, and that we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because as we know it to be the power of God to salvation, and that we are no ways inconsistent with government, nor such disturbers of the peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have sought

to make the world believe we are; for which to thee I dare appeal, as a witness of our peaceableness and Christian patience. Generations to come shall not more admire that singular step of divine providence, in restoring thee to thy throne without outward bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this truth without all outward help, and against so great opposition, which shall be none of the least things rendering thy memory remarkable: God hath done great things for thee, he hath sufficiently shewn thee, that it is by him Princes rule, and that he can pull down and set up at his pleasure; he hath often warned thee by his servants, since he restored thee to thy royal dignity, that thy heart might not wax wanton against him, to forget his mercies and providences towards thee, whereby he might permit thee to befoothed up and lulled asleep in thy sins by the flattering of court parasites, who, by their fawning, are the ruin of many Princes.' But what follows in that dedication, is still much stronger and more extraordinary, shewing clearly the spirit of the author, and how much truth there was in his assuring the King, that he did not write in order to flatter him: 'There is no King in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness, neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians, which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations filled with slavish and superstitious souls. Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity, thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled, as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne, and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know, how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man: If after all those warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity, surely, great will be thy condemnation.' As to the book, it is entirely methodical, and contains a logical demonstration of the propositions sent abroad in his *Theses Theologicae*, and these, in few words, were as follow: I. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge. II. Concerning immediate revelation. III. Concerning the scriptures. IV. Concerning the condition of man in the fall. V. & VI. Concerning the universal redemption by Christ, and also the saving and spiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened. VII. Concerning justification. VIII. Concerning perfection. IX. Concerning perseverance, and the possibility of falling from grace. X. Concerning the ministry. XI. Concerning worship. XII. Concerning baptism. XIII. Concerning the communion, or participation, of the body and blood of Christ. XIV. Concerning the power of the civil magistrates in matters purely religious and pertaining to the conscience. XV. Concerning salutations and recreations, &c. He discourses very largely and learnedly upon these heads, and yet with wonderful ease, and with the greatest plainness imaginable; which may be esteemed one great reason, why this book of his was so universally read and esteemed by all ranks and degrees of people, and even by such as opposed his doctrines with the greatest zeal. His conclusion is remarkably pathetick, and he therein states, with as much brevity and perspicuity as is possible, the doctrines owned by, and those imputed to Quakers by their adversaries; which, as it contains a great deal of matter in a very narrow compass, the reader will probably, not be displeas'd to see: 'Thus, says he, because we have desired people earnestly to feel after God, near and in themselves, telling them, that their notions of God, as he is beyond the clouds, will little avail them, if they do not feel him near: Hence they have sought maliciously to infer, that we deny any God except that which is within us. Because we tell people, that it is the light and the law within, and not the letter without, that can truly tell them their condition and lead them out of all evil: Hence they say, we vilify the scriptures, and set up our own imaginations above them; because we tell them, that it is not their talking or believing of Christ's outward life, sufferings, death, and resurrection; no more than the Jews crying, the temple

be naturally supposed, that a performance of this nature could not remain long unattacked, and accordingly we find it has been over and over answered, as well abroad as at home, which has only contributed to make it more read and more esteemed, while very few of these answers have been hitherto much regarded, though many of them fell from the pens of men, who had before gained considerable reputation in the learned world [F]. Our author

of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, that will serve their turn, or justify them in the sight of God, but that they must know Christ in them, whom they have crucified, to be raised, and to justify them, and redeem them from their iniquities; hence, they say, we deny the life, death, and sufferings of Christ, justification by his blood, and the remission of sins through him. Because we tell them, while they are talking and determining about the resurrection, that they have more need to know the just one whom they have slain, raised in themselves, and to be sure they are partakers in the first resurrection, and that if this be, they will be the more capable to judge of the second; hence, they say, that we deny the resurrection of the body. Because, when we hear them talk foolishly of heaven and hell, and the last judgment, we exhort them to come out of that hellish condition they are in, and come down to the judgment of Christ in their own hearts, and believe in the light and follow it, that so they may come to fit in the heavenly places that are in Christ Jesus: hence, they maliciously say, that we deny any heaven or hell but that which is within us, and that we deny any general judgment; which slanders, the Lord knows are foully cast on us, whom God hath raised for this end, and gathered us, that by us he might confound the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nought the understanding of the prudent.* These citations will afford the reader, a very clear notion of the general scope of this work, and of the spirit and stile of this author, to which end they were absolutely necessary, since his manner of thinking and writing, have in them something so peculiar, that it is not possible to give the reader a just view of them any other way. It is said by Mr Voltaire, that Barclay's Address and book had a proper effect upon King Charles II, and put a stop to that persecution, to which the people called Quakers had been so much exposed for many years (22): This, however, is very far from being well founded, for after this book was published, the Quakers were treated with as great or greater severity than before; and, which comes still closer to the point, both Colonel David Barclay, our author's father, and our author himself, had their share therein, which plainly proves this fact could not be true; yet the King, perhaps, might be in some measure excused, for the heats of party in those times were so violent, that it was not in his power to hinder the law, under colour of which the Quakers were persecuted, from being put in execution. The suspicion he lay under of favouring Popery, put it out of his power to shew any indulgence to Dissenters of any denomination, and the enemies of the Quakers had so much address as to throw a suspicion of Popery even on them, tho' the writings of their most considerable men, and particularly those of Robert Barclay, are not only penned with as much warmth, but are to the full as conclusive against the doctrines of Popery, as any published by Protestants of what denomination soever (23). But tho' our author's apology had not this effect of stopping the persecution against the people in whose cause it was written; yet it answered a more important end, by shewing, that the pretences upon which they were persecuted were false and ill grounded; and that those, who, on one side, represented them as concealed Papists, and such, as, on the other hand, denied their being Christians, were equally in the wrong, and equally misled by their prejudices; and this sufficiently justifies what we have said in the text, of the great service our author's work did to those of his persuasion.

[F] Gained considerable reputation in the learned world.] The author's design in writing this book, was not to shew his learning, though very great, or to magnify the cause he maintained, but to come at truth. It was with this view, he first sent abroad the *Theses Theologicæ*, containing the propositions which he intended to maintain, and a short explanation of their sense, and this he did, that he might obtain from such learned men as examined them, the objections to which they thought them liable. He next published the work it-

self in the Latin tongue, that it might again pass the examination of those who had read his first scheme, or draught of it; and after this, he translated it himself into English, for the general use of his countrymen. There could not certainly be a better or a fairer way found of bringing the sentiments he defended to the test of reason and scripture; and accordingly we find, that upon the first appearance of his propositions, they were examined by a person of great note amongst foreign Divines, one *Nicholas Arnold*, Professor in the university of Franeker (24), who had gained a great character by his polemical writings, and who undertook to deliver his sentiments of our author's work in a *Theological Exercitation*; and our author stated and answered all his objections in his book so fully, that nothing more was heard from him upon that subject. The next who appeared in this controversy was Mr John Brown, a Presbyterian Divine in Scotland, of whose performance we shall speak more particularly in the next note. The third answer to the Apology fell from the pen of *John George Bojerus* of the Lutheran Church, Doctor in, and Professor of, Divinity at Jena (25). He wrote a large piece on the subject of the *Beginning of the true and saving Knowledge of God*, in which he very confidently attacks our author's *Theses and Apology*, intermixing some very harsh and injurious expressions, with what little he has in his book of argument; as for instance, he pretends that many of Barclay's expressions are improper, others absurd, and some unintelligible, but he was answered by Mr George Keith, who was then our author's great friend; because at that time, Barclay's thoughts were so taken up with other concerns, that he had not leisure to write himself: This answer of Mr Keith's was so full, and, with respect to the learned world, so satisfactory, that the Professor in Divinity never thought fit to reply to it (26). But it was not long before the Apology was attacked again by a Divine of the Augsburg Confession, one *Christopher Holubusius* (27), a famous Preacher at Francfort, whose work has received great commendations, and by some is represented as unanswerable, and a clear confutation of Barclay: But the book being penned in the German language, is perhaps the best reason for its having remained so long without an answer, and if its merit was really so great as is pretended, one would think, that some or other of the German Divines would have put it into Latin, that, in this respect, it might have stood upon a level with the Apology, and the Answer be as universally read as the book itself. When our author's old friend and fellow-labourer *George Keith*, deserted the Quakers, he thought he could not do a greater service to the cause he had embraced, than by writing against the Apology, and accordingly he published an answer to it, under the title of *the Quakers Standard examined*, of which we shall give an ample account in another place (28). But besides these large works, which were written expressly against our author's Apology, there were others penned against particular parts of it. As for instance, Barclay, having in that work attacked, in his first, seventh, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth theses, the Lutherans, their sentiments were defended by one Mr Reifer, a native of Augsburg, who being driven from that city for his religion, retired to Hamburg, and there became Pastor of the church of St James (28). The title of his book was, *Anti-Barclaius, id est, Examen Apologie, quam non ita pridem Robertus Barclaius, Scoto-Britannus, pro Theologia vere Christiana edidit, institutum in gratiam Evangelicorum, a L. Anton. Reifero Augustiano, nunc Pastore ad D. Jacobi Hamburgensis*. That is, 'Barclay refuted, or an Examination of the Apology not long ago published by Robert Barclay, a Scotman, for the true Christian Divinity, in defence of the Lutherans, &c.' We have a large account of this work in the Literary Journal of Leipzig, and a shorter in Baillet. This author is reputed a man of learning and ability, but however, he gives his antagonist a good deal of hard language, charging him with many absurdities and various contradictions, yet, upon

(24) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

(25) G. Creech's Hist. of the Quakers, p. ii. p. 90.

(26) Histoire des Trembleurs, p. 150.

(27) History of the Quakers, p. ii. p. 91.

(28) See his article in this Dictionary.

(29) Acta Eruditior. A. D. 1683, p. 553.

(22) Letters on the English Nation.

(23) See his Catechism, his Apology, his Vindication of his Apology, and other Tracts, as to the points controverted between Protestants and Papists.

author was not in the least elevated by the surprizing success of his writings, or the high veneration expressed for his abilities, even by the warmest of his adversaries. On the contrary, he went on in his former method, and in the space of two or three years following, published several other pieces, in support of the doctrine delivered in that book, and thereby maintained the credit he had gained, and did incredible service to those of his persuasion all over Europe[G]. He travelled likewise with the famous Mr William Penn, through

upon the whole, he freely acknowledges, that the Lutherans, in whose defence he writes, have some defects in their discipline, which the wisest and most pious men amongst them wish to see corrected. The Journalists of Leipsick, in speaking of this work, give a very high character of our author Barclay and his performance, and Baillet also acknowledges, that the Apology was looked upon as a most extraordinary book in it's kind, and in which, the defence of the Quakers was carried as far as it was possible (29). The famous Mr Thomas Bennet, who fought to raise his character, by attacking all who differed from the Church of England, published in 1705, a large work against the Quakers, which was very highly commended: The title of it ran thus, *A Confutation of Quakerism, or a plain proof of the falsehood of what the principal Quaker Writers (especially Mr R. Barclay in his Apology and other works) do teach, concerning the necessity of immediate Revelation in order to a saving Christian Faith, the being, nature, and operation of the pretended universal Light within, it's stirring with men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the ministry, regeneration, sanctification, justification, salvation, and union of God, the nature of a Church, the rule of faith, water-baptism, and the Lord's Supper; diverse questions also concerning Perfection, Christ's Satisfaction, the judge of controversies, &c. are briefly stated and resolved.* In this, as in all his other writings, Mr Bennet discovers a great deal of heat and acrimony, but at the same time he confesses, that our author's Apology is the exactest piece that ever was written in defence of Quakerism. His book was answered by several persons, and some of them treated him very roughly, as the reader will see in it's proper place (30). The famous Mr Trenchard (31), has likewise written with as much reason and good sense, and much greater decency against our author, than any of his opponents, and he allows, that Christian Divinity as stated in his Apology, is a most masterly, charitable, and reasonable system, but his exception lies against the first principle of our author's doctrine, which is immediate Revelation, and which, this great man would willingly exchange for human reason, and this done, he says, he could have readily subscribed to a great part of his system; we shall see hereafter what our author said to a very great man, who, in his life-time, proposed the very same difficulty, and thereby engaged him to write largely upon this subject, which pieces of his it is very probable Mr Trenchard never saw. The last antagonist of his that I shall mention, is the famous Mr Thomas Chubb, who, in the year 1726, published a short discourse, occasioned by the remarks of Mr Trenchard before-mentioned, which was called *An Examination of Mr Barclay's Principles with regard to man's natural ability since the Fall, as laid down in his book, intitled an Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached by the people, called, in scorn, Quakers. Wherein is shewn, that the said principles are erroneous, and in which human nature is vindicated from the burthen and reproach he has loaded it with; in a Letter to a friend, occasioned by the great commendation given to Mr Barclay's performance in the British Journal, No. XXXI. and now offered to the consideration of the people called Quakers.* In the very beginning of this treatise the author declares roundly, that in his opinion, Mr Barclay's book contained, a confused, absurd scheme of religion, in which God was considered as dealing with his creatures, not according to the moral fitness of things, but from arbitrary pleasure. This induced one Mr Bevan to write a treatise against his, which was intitled, *Supernatural influences necessary to Salvation, being a vindication of the fourth proposition of R. Barclay's Apology;* to which Mr Chubb replied in a treatise intitled, *Human Nature vindicated,* as he likewise did to a letter written by Dr Thomas Morgan of Bristol, in support of our author Barclay's opinion, and after this he wrote two

other pieces against the same adversaries, in which he pursues his argument against the Apology with his usual vehemence (32). Thus we have given the reader a short account of the answers to the Apology, in case he should be inclined to examine this controversy to the bottom, but at the same time we must put him in mind, that even the most bitter of his antagonists have constantly owned, that our author was a man of great candour and charity, one who loved truth sincerely, and did not make use of his great learning and abilities, in order to impose, by the strength of them, his own opinions on weaker minds.

[G] *Incredible service to those of his persuasion all over Europe.* In the text some notice was taken of a dispute managed by our author against some students of Aberdeen: It made a great stir in the world, and the more because both sides claimed the victory, and therefore it was thought necessary to print a full account of it, which was accordingly done under the following title. *A true and faithful account of the most material passages of a dispute, between some Students of Divinity (so called) of the University of Aberdeen, and the People called Quakers, held in Aberdeen in Scotland, in Alexander Harper his close (or yard) before some hundred of witnesses, upon the fourteenth day of the second month called April 1675, there being John Lelly, Alexander Sberreff, and Paul Gellie, Master of Arts, Opponents; and Defendants upon the Quakers part, Robert Barclay, and George Keith, Præses for moderating the meeting chosen by them, Andrew Thompson, Advocate, and by the Quakers, Alexander Skein, some time a Magistrate of the City: Published for preventing Mis-reports by Alexander Skein, John Skein, Alexander Harper, Thomas Merser, and John Corvie; to which is added, Robert Barclay's offer to the Preachers of Aberdeen, renewed and reinforced.* This was soon after followed by another piece in support and defence of the Apology, or rather of the principles laid down in the Apology, which are likewise those of the former dispute, occasioned by the students publishing a book, in which this whole controversy was very unfairly stated. The title of this treatise, in which our author was, as the reader will see, assisted by one of the Brethren, ran in the following terms; *Quakerism confirmed, or a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the People called Quakers, from the Arguments and Objections of the Students of Divinity (so called) of Aberdeen, in their Book intitled Quakerism canvassed; by Robert Barclay, and George Keith.* But besides these formal challenges from the Students, our author and his friends were exposed to some attempts of another sort, such as the large book written by Mr John Brown against our author's Apology, in which he labours to prove, that the principles of Quakerism, instead of leading to Christian perfection, were like to lead people into heathenism; and that, in short, it was a system raised out of private men's opinions, who had such high conceits of their own notions, as to fancy them all suggested by the Holy Spirit. This book came out soon after our author's was published in Holland, in the Latin tongue, and Mr Barclay quickly wrote a reply to it, which however he did not publish till some years afterwards, that is, he did not send it abroad till his first and great work, the Apology, came out, in English; that the generality of readers might have before them the whole controversy in one language. This vindication was esteemed by many (33), and particularly, by William Penn, to be equal in every respect to his Apology, and we do not find that either Brown, or any of his friends, offered any thing by way of rejoinder to this reply of our author's, who gave it the following title, viz. *Robert Barclay's Apology for the true Christian Divinity vindicated, from John Brown's Examination and pretended Confutation thereof, in his Book called, Quakerism the Path-way to Paganism: In which Vindication John Brown his many gross Perversions and Abuses are discovered, and his furious and violent*

(32) See Chubb's Tracts, 4^{to}, p. 273^o.

(29) Jugemens des Sçavants, Tom. XII. edit. Amsterd. 1725. p. 249, 250.

(30) See his article in this Dictionary.

(31) British Journal, No. XXX and XXXI, and in the Collection of Cato's Letters.

(33) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. 31.

(n) Histoire des
Trembleurs, p.
195.

(o) See the preface
to R. Barclay's
Works, p. 27.

(p) Sewall's Hist.
of the Quakers,
p. 569.
Histoire des
Trembleurs, p.
195.

through the greatest part of England, Holland, and Germany; was every where received with respect, and dismissed with concern; for though his conversation as well as his manners were strictly suitable to his doctrine, yet there was such a spirit and liveliness in his discourse, and such a serenity and cheerfulness in his deportment, as rendered him extremely agreeable to all sorts of people (n). It was indeed the peculiar felicity of Mr Barclay, to gain so entire a conquest over envy, as to pass through life (and which is so much the more wonderful, such a life as his was) with almost universal applause, and without the least imputation on his integrity. The great business of his life was doing good, promoting what he thought to be the knowledge of God, and consequently the happiness of man. He discovered the true principles of his life and conduct, in a large treatise of his upon the subject of *Universal Love*, in which he manifests such high, and with all, such rational sentiments of humanity, as have justly recommended to universal applause, this noble description of Christian beneficence (o) [H]. His talents however were not entirely confined to this kind of abstracted writing, he was very capable of shining in another sphere, and of treating such affairs as the world esteems of greatest consequence, with as much dignity, and as thorough a comprehension, as any man of his time, as appeared (when published) from his excellent letter to the publick Ministers at Nimeguen, and therefore we need not be surprized, that notwithstanding his profession, this epistle was received with all the marks of esteem and respect possible (p) [I]. His great modesty,

Railings and Revilings soberly rebuked by R. B. It was written, as we have observed, in 1677, but was not printed till 1679. Before our author's Vindication appeared, Brown's book was much magnified by his party in Scotland and Holland, which made the reply necessary.

[H] *This noble description of Christian beneficence.* This treatise in which abundance of very weighty points are with great judgment and moderation handled, was penned by our author in the prison of Aberdeen in the beginning of the year 1677, and published soon after under the following title: *Universal Love considered and established upon it's right Foundation, being a serious Enquiry how far Charity may, and ought to extend towards Persons of different Judgments in matters of Religion, and whose Principles among the several Sects of Christians, do most naturally lead to that due moderation required, writ in the Spirit of Love and Meekness for the removing of Stumbling-blocks out of the way of the Simple, by a Lover of the Souls of all Men, R. B.* In this, as in all his other performances, our author was extremely methodical, taking the utmost care to handle thoroughly every part of his subject, and not to digress from it, so that whatever point is sought for therein may be immediately found, and the reasons on which he maintains it. This discourse he divided into five sections, the first containing an account of his own experience in this matter, and the reasons which induced him to write upon this subject; in the second, the nature of Christian love and charity is demonstrated, shewn to be consistent with true zeal, and the means of distinguishing this from false zeal; in the third, we find the controversy stated with respect to the different sorts of Christians, how it is to be fetched from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular persons; the fourth, contains an examination of the principles of several sorts of these called Christians, compared with this universal love and found defective; as 1. of Papists; 2. of Protestants in general; 3. of Socinians; and in the fifth, some principles of Christianity are proposed, as they are held by a great body of people, and some gathered churches in Great Britain and Ireland, which do very well agree with true universal love. Thus the reader may perceive, that the great end and design of this work was to recommend the persuasion he had embraced, as having in it a greater measure of Christian charity than any other Church whatever. In the first section of this treatise, the author gives a large account of his own conduct in his youth, which, as it strictly regards his personal history, cannot but be agreeable to the inquisitive reader, and shall therefore find a place here in his own words (34): 'My first education from my infancy up, fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists, those of our country being acknowledged to be the severest of that sect in the heat of zeal, surpassing not only Geneva, (from whence they derive their pedigree) but all other the Reformed Churches abroad (so called); so that some of the French Protestants, being upbraided with the fruits of this zeal, as it appeared in Jo. Knox, Buchanan, and others do; (besides what is peculiar to

their principles of this kind) alledge the superabundance thereof to proceed a *fervido Scotorum ingenio*: i. e. from the violent complexion of our countrymen. I had scarce got out of my childhood when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists, and my tender years and immature capacity, not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects the reader may easily believe, that I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to the principles of love herein treated of, seeing, the straintness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare, how opposite they are to universal love, as shall hereafter more at large be shewn. And albeit the time it pleased God to deliver me out of these snares, I was so young, that it may be presumed, my observations could be but weak, and consequently, my experience inconsiderable; yet forasmuch as from my very childhood, I was very ambitious of knowledge, and by a certain felicity of understanding (I think I may say without vanity) successful beyond many of my equals in age (though my observations at that time were but weak); yet since I have with more leisure and circumspection gathered thence so much experience, as I am confident will serve for a sufficient foundation to any superstructure I shall build upon it in this treatise. The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking of the Church of Rome, and joining with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several; and my converse was most with those that inveigh much against judging, and such kind of severity, seeming to complain greatly for want of this Christian charity amongst all sects, which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extrem, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects, whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is pretended on that side likewise, and thence can say somewhat experimentally on that part also. There needs no more than to read this short account of him from his own pen, to be absolutely satisfied of the openness, simplicity, and frankness of his mind, which prosperity could not corrupt, or adversity sour, so true a sense he had of his duty, and so little did he consider what befel him while he was doing it.

[I] *With all the marks of esteem and respect possible.* The congress held at Nimeguen was to compose the long and perplexed list of disputes, which for many years had disturbed the peace of Europe, and had produced the fatal war of 1672, so prejudicial to the Dutch (35). This congress began in 1675, and the Plenipotentiaries appointed by King Charles II were Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins: All the Ambassadors present in this assembly, were looked upon as the wisest and most accomplished persons

(34) Barclay's
Works, p. 678.

(35) See Sir Will.
Temple's Letters,
and the Life of
Sir Leoline Jen-
kins.

modesty, his extensive learning, and, above all, his known sincerity in matters of Philosophy and Religion, made him acceptable to all, who were seriously inclined to the examination of those important truths, which ought to influence the conduct of men in their passage through this life; and his zeal for these truths on the other hand, made him ever ready and willing, to lend his assistance to such, as doubted about those things, he thought clear and certain. There was a person of distinction in Holland, the Heer Adrian Paets, who had turned his considerations on such subjects, and having received some wrong impressions as to the principles of the Quakers, wrote upon this head an epistle to Christian Hartzoecker, which was not long after made publick. With this worthy person, after his return from Spain, where he was resident with a publick character, from the States-General, our author had a long conference *On the Possibility of an inward and immediate Revelation* (q), which at parting he recommended to our author's recollection, which he understood to be an invitation to send him his farther thoughts upon that important point. He accordingly digested them into a large Latin letter, dated the twenty-fourth of November, 1676, which letter he transmitted to his friend Benjamin Furley at Rotterdam, who about a year after delivered it to the person for whom it was directed, and desired, that if he was not entirely satisfied he would write an answer, which he promised but did not perform. Some years after, the Heer Adrian Paets coming over to England, as one of the Commissioners for the East India company, our author saw him at London; and discoursed him again upon this head, representing the matter to him, so that he readily yielded *he had been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers, for he found they could make a reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion* (r). Upon considering this matter attentively, and being urged thereto by his friends, our author thought fit to translate this letter into English, and to make it publick in the year 1686, which he accordingly did. It was the last, but not the least, of the services he rendered to those of his persuasion, and has been esteemed by such as have read it with attention, as accurate and solid a piece as any that ever fell from his pen (s) [K]. He passed the remaining

(q) See R. Barclay's preface to the English version of his Epistle.

(r) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 536.

(s) See the Preface to his Works, p. 32.

sons in that age, and to them our author addressed his Epistle in these words: *To the Ambassadors and Deputies of the Christian Princes and States met at Nimeguen, to consult the Peace of Christendom, R. B. a Servant of Jesus Christ, and hearty well-wisher to the Christian World, wishes Increase of Grace and Peace; and the Spirit of sound Judgment, with Hearts inclined and willing to receive and obey the Counsel of God.* He proceeds to inform them, that being the summer before in Holland and Germany, it first came into his mind, from seeing the miseries induced by war, to write to them as he now did, but that however he waited, as not willing to be hasty in a matter of such importance, and now being at leisure, and at his own home, he cheerfully addressed himself to this great work, laying open to them the true causes of war, confusion, and bloodshed, the dreadful and barbarous consequences attending it, and the only certain and indubitable means of attaining, by the pursuit of Christian principles, true, lasting, and solid peace. After signing this letter, he dates it thus: 'This came upon me from the Lord to write unto you, at Ury in my native country of Scotland, the second of the month called November 1677.' After this we find the following account of the manner in which this letter was circulated, viz. 'Copies of the aforesaid epistle in Latin, were upon the 23d and 24th days of the month called February 1678, delivered at Nimeguen to the Ambassadors of the Emperor, of the Kings of Great Britain, Spain, and France, Sweden, and Denmark, of the Prince Elector Palatine, as also of the States-General, and of the Dukes of Lorraine, Holstein, Lunenburg, Osnabrug, Hannover, and the Pope's Nuncio, to wit, one to each Ambassador, and one to each of their Principals, together with so many copies of the book, whereof the author makes mention in the letter: The title whereof is, Robert Barclay his Apology, &c.' It is not at this distance of time possible to say what effect this epistle of our author's produced; but whatever it was, in regard to quickening the great work of peace, which was accomplished soon after, most certainly it took off those prejudices, and wore away those prepossessions, which had been obtruded on them, with regard to the people called Quakers, as if they were a company of wild, ignorant, enthusiastic creatures, governed by no certain principles, and aiming at no certain end; whereas this shewed them to be men of thought and solidity, addicted to no opinion so extravagant, as not to be comprehended in a general system, or not equally calculated for promoting true piety and publick peace.

[K] *As accurate and solid a piece as ever fell from our author's pen.* This treatise, though not very long, has been regarded however, as the very corner-stone of this system of Divinity, and as such we find it inserted at large in Sewell's History of the Quakers, with several other pieces relating thereto (36). In the English edition published by our author, the title at large ran thus: 'The Possibility and Necessity of inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved in a Letter written in Latin to a Person of Quality in Holland, and now also put into English by R. B.' His preface before this piece, though very concise, contains many close and weighty observations altogether out of the common road, and which shew that its author had read and studied what had been advanced on this subject by all parties, and the decision, as to the rule of faith set up by the Papists on one hand, and by the Protestants on the other, is very well worthy of notice. 'It is, says he, a question now frequently tossed, *What is the ground and foundation of Faith?* and when the matter is sifted to the bottom, it resolves in *Tradition or Revelation*: For those who lay claim to the *Scripture*, and would not make it the *foundation* of their faith, do resolve it but in a *Tradition*, when the motives of *credibility* are inquired into, *since the subjective Revelation* which they yield comes but in the last place, and is by themselves termed *medium incognitum assentiendi*; and such a *Revelation* those of *Rome*, will not refuse to influence them to assent to the *determination of the Church*. So those *Protestants*, who say the *subjective operation of the Spirit influences them* (though they know not how) to believe the *Scripture*, presented and conveyed to them by *Tradition*, as the dictates of *God's Spirit*, and so understand them as their Preachers interpret them; differ not much, or at least, have not reason to differ from the *Church of Rome*, who say, the *Spirit influences them to believe the Scriptures* as proposed by the *Church*, and according as her *Doctors and Councils interpret them*. And neither has any better foundation than *Tradition*, and to speak the truth plainly, the faith of both resolves in the *veneration* they have for their *Doctors*, but whereas the one affirms they do it by an *entire submission*, they think it decent to say, they judge them *infallible*, and certainly, it is most reasonable, that such as affirm the *first*, believe in the *last*. The other, because they pretend they believe the *Church*, but continually have denied to her, *infallibility*, tho' generally they be as credulous as the other, and I find the *Doctors* of their *Church* as angry to be con-

(36) See that History, p. 536.

remaining part of his life in quiet and peace, having a large family, which he governed with great dignity, wisdom and discretion, living always decently and honourably upon his own fortune, which was very considerable. He died at his own house at Ury, on the third of October 1690, very near the forty-second year of his age, of a sickness which did not last long, and in which he testified the greatest calmness and serenity of mind, grounded on a thorough confidence in God (1). Those of his own persuasion gave, as they had just reason, the most ample testimonies concerning his life and manners, in terms full of warmth and of sincerity, with some specimens of which the reader will not be offended [L]. But it was not only from them that Robert Barclay received marks of profound esteem and general approbation, he received the like while living, and his memory has since his death been treated with the same candour, by those who differed from him in sentiments, and even by such as deserted those in which he lived and died, as the reader may see at the bottom of the page, though a few instances only are there mentioned, out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the same purpose (u) [M].

His

(1) See the Testimony of P. Levingstone prefixed to Barclay's Works.

(u) See Sewell's and Croese's Histories of the Quakers, as before cited.

tradited as the other; that is an ingredient goes to the composition of all Clergymen since it became a trade, and went to make a part of the outward policy of the world, from whence has flowed that monster Persecution. In short, the matter is easily driven into this narrow compass: We believe either because of an outward or inward testimony, that is, because it is outwardly delivered, or inwardly revealed to us; for my part, I think the Papists do wisely in pleading for infallibility, for certainly the true Church never was nor can be without it; and the Protestants do honestly in not claiming it, because they are sensible they want it. I should therefore desire the one to prove that they are infallible; and advise the other to believe they may, and seek after it. But I am sure, neither the one is, nor the other cannot, without immediate divine revelation.

[L] With some specimens of which the reader will not be offended.] There were, I conceive, many good reasons, especially at this juncture, for prefixing testimonies of this nature, to the books of men of this profession; for first, they shewed that such men died, as well as lived in that communion, and trusted in their last moments to that faith they had preached while living. Next it shewed the union and conformity of the doctrines preached by the deceased to those of that body of men, the heads of whom gave under their hands their approbations; and thirdly, it secured many remarkable passages of their lives from oblivion, and established the truth of such facts beyond all question or altercation: In the present case, we find at the end of the large Preface to our author's works, a general attestation dated at London, September 16, 1691, and signed by seven of the most eminent persons of that persuasion, of these the first is that of George Fox, the father of this sect, who speaks thus of him: 'He was, says he, a scholar, and a man of great parts, and underwent many calumnies, slanders, and reproaches, and sufferings, for the name of Christ, but the Lord gave him power over them all. He travelled often up and down Scotland, and in England, and in Holland, and Germany, and did good service for the Lord, and was a man of repute among men, and preached the everlasting gospel of Christ freely, turning people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' The next testimony to the memory of Robert Barclay, is by his faithful friend William Penn, who gives a large account both of his life and writings, with which no man was better acquainted, and therefore, the greater regard ought to be had to what he delivers as to the character of the deceased, which take in his own words: 'We sometimes travelled together both in this kingdom and in Holland, and some parts of Germany, and were inward in diverse services from first to last, and the apprehension I had of him was this, he loved the truth and way of God, as revealed among us above all the world, and was not ashamed of it before men, but bold and able in maintaining it, found in judgment, strong in argument, cheerful in travels and sufferings, of a pleasant disposition, yet solid, plain, and exemplary in his conversation; he was a learned man and a good Christian, an able minister, a dutiful son, and a loving husband, a tender and careful father, an easy master, and a good and kind neighbour and friend: These eminent qualities in one that had employed them so serviceably, and that had not lived much above half the life of a man (having out-lived

his father but few years, and died, at least thirty years short of his age) aggravates the loss of him, especially in that nation where he lived.' To add but one more, Andrew Jaffray, who had lived with him in all the strictness of private friendship, as well as a member in the same society, and himself reputed as honest and upright a man as any in his country, speaks of him in these terms: 'He was an exemplary husband, parent, and master in his family, so that the beauty, good order, holiness, gravity, and lowliness of the truth shined therein, I can say to my refreshment, and many others as in a quiet habitation. He was a man of great meekness, sweetness, and lowliness of spirit, and of such a bearing contented mind, that tho' a man of such great parts and great authority over evil, in his servants, and others, yet kept in such a dominion over any thing that would have disordered his own spirit, that I can truly say, I never saw him in any peevish, angry, brittle, or disorderly temper, since ever I knew him, tho' I had as much intimacy, and frequency of concerns with him as most thereaway: He was so far from being lifted up or exalted; by the great gifts he had received from his Maker, both in truth, and as a man, that I can say I have often desired to grow in the plain, downright, humble, and lowly spirit, wherein he became as weak with the weakest, and poor with the poorest, and low with the lowest, as well as he could be deep with those that were deep, so that in a good measure he had learned to become all things, to all men with a true and upright endeavour to gain some.' We may join to these the testimony of the Historian, William Sewell, an eminent Dutch Quaker, though of English extraction, the rather, since he did not write from hearsay, or with a view of raising the credit of one of the most eminent defenders of his religious sentiments, but from his personal knowledge, and full persuasion from thence of the truth of what he writes. The character he gives him runs thus (37): 'A man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but also well versed in the writings of the antient Fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers, and furnished with a great understanding, being not only of a sound judgment, but also strong in arguments, cheerful in sufferings; besides, he was of a friendly and pleasant, yet grave conversation, and eminently fitted for the composing of differences, and he really lived up to what he professed, being of an unblameable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of those he conversed with.'

(37) History of the Quakers, p. 627, 628.

[M] Out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the same purpose.] In that learned, candid, and copious History of the Quakers, written in Latin by Gerard Croese (38), who was however, far enough from agreeing with them in opinions, our author and his writings are very often mentioned, and always applauded. The author of the History of the Quakers in French, who is supposed to be a very learned Jesuit, gives our author a very high character, and speaks of his book as written with the greatest elegance, his language being, as he says, perfectly pure, and his manner of writing close, precise, and carrying in it a strong appearance of truth and reason (39). Mr Ferriab Jones, tho' a very warm writer, is disposed to think very kindly of our author, and acknowledges him a man unquestionably of a good genius (40). Mr Geo. Keith, who left the Quakers, and wrote against that

(38) See the English Translation, p. 150, 151. P. ii. p. 35; 90.

(39) Histoire des Trembleurs, p. 151.

(40) New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, Vol. II. p. 489.

His character being given so fully in these passages, there is no need of expatiating farther on it here.

very book of Barclay's which himself had so strenuously defended, allows nevertheless, that he ought to be placed amongst such erring Christians, as cannot be denied to be in Christ (41). But the famous Mr Norris of Bemerton goes much farther, for he tells us, that he cannot help thinking, the sect of the Quakers to be far the most considerable of any that divide from the Church, in case the Quakerism that is generally held be the same with that which Mr Barclay has delivered to the world, whom I take, says he, to be so great a man, that, I profess freely, I had rather engage against an hundred Bellarmins, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay (42). Mr Bennett, who is by many thought to have wrote as well against the Quakers as any (43), speaks with great deference of our author's abilities, expressed in the defence of these people, and says, he employed them in dressing

up their religion to the best advantage. The celebrated Mr Voltaire (44), speaking of the Apology, allows, that it is a work as well executed as the subject would possibly admit. And last of all Mr Trencbard (45), whom we have before-mentioned, asserts, with respect to the same book, that Mr Barclay has defended his opinions with as much wit, happy turn, and mastery of expression, as is consistent with the plainness and simplicity affected by those of his sect, and for the most part used in the Holy Writings. Thus it clearly appears from the concurring judgments of friends, of enemies, and of indifferent persons, that our author was both a great and a good man, which is sufficient to justify the pains taken in this article to preserve his memory, and to represent him, as far as we are able, in the light which his learning and labours have so well deserved.

(44) Letters on the English nation, p. 22.

(45) British Journal, No. XXXI.

BARKHAM, or BARCHAM (JOHN), a very learned Divine and Antiquarian, in the end of the XVIth, and part of the XVIIth century, was born in the parish of St Mary the More, in the city of Exeter, about the year 1572 (a). He was the second son of Lawrence Barkham, of St Leonard's, near that city [A]; by Joan his wife, daughter of Edward Bridgeman of Exeter, a near relation of John Bridgeman Bishop of Chester. In Michaelmas-term 1587, he was entered a Sojourner of Exeter-college in Oxford; and on the twenty-fourth of August, the year following, admitted scholar of Corpus-Christi-college in the same university (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 5, 1590-1 (c), and that of Master, Decemb. 12, 1594 (d). On the twenty-first of June 1596, he was chosen Probationer-Fellow of Corpus-Christi-college abovementioned; being then in orders (e): And July 7, 1603, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (f). Some time after, he became Chaplain to Ric. Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury; and, after his death, to George Abbot his successor in that See (g). On the eleventh of June 1608, he was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middlesex (h); and on the thirty-first of October 1610, to the prebend of Brownwood, in the cathedral of St Paul's (i): moreover, on the twenty-ninth of March 1615, to the rectory of Packleham (k); the twenty-seventh of May following to the rectory of Lachingdon (l); and, the fifth of December 1616, to the rectory and deanry of Bocking, all in the county of Essex (m). But, in 1617, he resigned Packleham (n); as he had done Finchley in 1615 (o). The fourteenth of March, 1615, he was created Doctor in Divinity (p). He had great skill and knowledge in most parts of useful learning; being an exact Historian, a good Herald, an able Divine, a curious Critic, master of several languages, an excellent Antiquarian, and well acquainted with coins and medals, of which he had the best collection of any clergyman in his time. These he gave to Dr Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, who made a present of them to the university of Oxford; and they are to this day kept in the picture-gallery over the publick schools there (q). Dr Barkham writ several pieces [B], but never put his name to any. He died at Bocking, March 25, 1642, and was buried in the chancel of that church, without a monument. He was a man of a strict life and conversation, charitable, modest, and reserved in his behaviour and discourse; but, above all, remarkable for those good qualities which become a clergyman (r). By his wife, Anne Rogers, of Sandwich in Kent, he had several children (s).

[A] The second son of Laurence Barkham, &c.] This Laurence was the son of William Barkham of Mersfield in Dorsetshire, where his ancestors had resided for above three generations (1). Laurence, abovementioned, was Steward of the city of Exeter in 1576 (2).

[B] Dr Barkham writ several pieces.] He was, in particular, very helpful to John Speed, in composing his *History of Great-Britaine*, &c. as that author thankfully acknowledges, in the following words (3). 'The like most acceptable helps, both of books and collections, (especially in matters remoter from our own times) I continually received from that worthy Divine, Master *John Barkham*, a gentleman composed of learning, vertue, and curtesie, as being no lesse ingenuously willing, then learnedly able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours.' What part especially of that history Dr Barkham composed, was, I. *The life and reign of King John*; which sheweth more reading and judgment than any life besides in that book (4). II. He wrote, or at least had a chief hand in composing, *The life and reign of*

King Henry II, in the same history (5). III. He is likewise the author of *The Display of Heraldry*, &c. first published at London in 1610, Fol. under the name of *John Guillim*; being the best in that kind for method that ever was printed before. The learned author having mostly composed it in his younger years, thought it too light a subject for him (who was a grave Divine) to own. Therefore being well acquainted with *John Guillim*, an Herald, he gave him the copy; who adding some trivial things published it, with the author's leave, under his own name; and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry* (6). IV. He published Mr Ric. Crakanthorpe's book against the Archbishop of Spalato, intituled, *Defensio Ecclesie Anglicane contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatenfis injurias* Lond. 1625, 4to (7). with a learned preface of his own. V. He wrote 'A book concerning Coins;' never published. He was a great master of that subject; being, as Fuller expresses it (8), 'A greater lover of coins than of money, rather curious in the stamps, than covetous for the metal thereof.'

(5) See in the article BOUTLTON (EDMUND).

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 19, & Vol. I. col. 459. Fuller says that Guillim 'was much beholden to this Oaeter's emendations.' Ubi supra.

(7) See the article CRAKANTHORPE (RICHARD) and the article OMINIS (D. ANTONIO DE).

(8) Worthies, ubi supra.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM) a learned Bishop in the XVIth century, was at first a Monk in the Augustin-monastery of St Osth in Essex; educated in learning there, and

(41) Quakers Standard examination, p. 40.

(42) Second Treatise of the Light within, p. 32.

(43) See the note [F].

(a) The Worthies of Devon, &c. by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701. fol. p. 101.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(c) Idem. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 159.

(d) Ibid. col. 148.

(e) Idem. Athen. ubi supra.

(f) Idem. Fasti, col. 165.

(g) Idem. Athen. ubi supra.

(h) Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiastic. &c. Vol. I. p. 605.

(i) Ibid. p. 123.

(k) Idem. Vol. II. p. 459.

(l) Ibid. p. 355.

(m) Ibid. p. 63, 69.

(n) Ibid. p. 459.

(o) Idem. Vol. I. p. 605.

(p) Wood, Fasti Vol. I. col. 200.

(q) Idem, Athen. ubi supra.

(r) Ibid. See also Prince, as above; and Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter, p. 276.

(s) Wood, ubi supra.

(1) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(2) Prince, as above.

(3) In the summary Conclusion of his *History*, &c. the last page but one.

(4) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. Which is the King of all the reigns in that book for profound penning: as Fuller expresses it, ubi supra.

- (a) Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. IX. n. 41. and Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 156. edit. 1721.
- (b) Wood, *ibid.* and col. 670.
- (c) Acta Regia, &c. published by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV.
- (d) Wood, *ibid.* col. 156.
- (e) Pat. 27 Henr. VIII. p. 2.
- (f) Godwin de Præfulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, p. 663.
- (g) *Ibid.* p. 614.
- (h) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.
- (i) *Ibid.*
- (k) *Ibid.* col. 695.
- (l) Godwin de Præfulibus, &c. p. 562. He was confirmed in that See, Dec. 20.
- (m) Wood, ubi supra, col. 156.
- (n) *Ibid.* col. 157.
- (o) Wood, ubi supra, col. 157.
- (p) MS. note of Mr Strype.
- (q) Vol. II. Collect. of Records, No. 25.
- (r) A. Wood, ubi supra, col. 157. Bale, ubi supra.
- (s) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 552.

[A] At the dissolution of the monasteries, he readily resigned his house (a). Wood says (1), that 'About the time of the dissolution of his Priory, he was elected to the episcopal see of St Asaph.' But he was certainly made Bishop in 1535, and the resignation of that house, as inserted in Rymer's Acta Regia, &c. (2), bears date June 9, 1539. So that there must be a mistake somewhere. Perhaps Barlowe resigned, or quitted his priory in 1535, and another (a formal) resignation of it was made in 1539: Or else probably, that resignation is misplaced in the confused and ill-digested collection, published under T. Rymer's name.

[B] He was translated to Bath and Wells. Of which he alienated most of the revenues. See Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, p. 106, &c.

[C] This learned Bishop writ some things, &c.] Namely, I. Christian Homilies. II. Cosmography. III. He was one of those Bishops, who compiled, The godly and pious institution of a Christian Man, commonly called, the Bishop's Book. Printed at London, 1537. IV. There is in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation (3), 'His answers to certain queries concerning the abuses of the mass.' V. In Edward the VIth's reign, he is said to have translated into English the Apocrypha, as far as the book of Wisdom (4). We should have observed above, That he was employed by King Henry VIII, particularly in the great cause between that King and the Pope about his divorce; and was greatly in favour with the Lady Anne Boleyn (5).

- (a) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 495.
- (*) Dr. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 411, 430.
- (b) Wood, *ibid.*
- (c) See Magnetical Experiments, by W. Derham, A. M. in Philosophic. Transact. n. 303. p. 2138, &c.
- (d) Wood, ubi supra.

[A] On these subjects he writ books, &c.] They are as follows, 'I. The Navigator's Supply; containing many things of principal importance belonging to Navigation, with the description and use of divers

and was buried in the chancel of the church of Easton [B].

' divers instruments framed chiefly for that purpose, & c. Lond. 1597, 4to. Dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex. II. Magnetical Advertisement; or divers pertinent observations and approved experiments concerning the nature and properties of the Loadstone, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to.' Some animadversions were made upon this book, by Mark Ridley, a Cantabrigian, M. D. some time Physician to the English Merchants in Russia, afterwards chief Physician to the Czar, and one of the College of Physicians in London; whereupon Mr Barlowe published, in vindication of himself, ' III. A brief discovery of the idle animadversions of Mark Ridley, Doct. in Phisic, upon a treatise, entituled Magnetical Advertisement. — Lond. 1618, 4to(1).

[B] Was buried in the chancel of the church of Easton. And the following epitaph was, soon after, put over his grave: *Depositu[m] Gulielmi Barlowe, Archidiaconi Sarisburien[s]is, Prebendarii Ecclesie Cath. Winton, & Rectoris Ecclesie de Easton; qui cum sedulam per annos 52 edificatiōni corporis Christi navasset operam, ad meliorem Vitam migravit, Maii 25, Anno Domini 1625. i. e.* ' Here lie the remains of William Barlowe, Archdeacon of Sarum, Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, and Rector of Easton; who, having for two and fifty years, diligently applied himself to the edifying of the body of Christ, passed into a better life, May the 25th in the year of our Lord 1625 (2).

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 495, Vol. I.

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

B A R L O W (THOMAS) a very learned Divine, and Bishop, in the XVIIth century (of whom Mr Bayle hath given an imperfect account) was born at Langhill in the parish of Orton in Westmoreland, in the year 1607; being the son of Mr Richard Barlow, descended from the antient family of Barlow-moore in Lancashire (a). He had his first education at the free-school at Appleby, in his own country (b). From thence being removed, in the sixteenth year of his age, to Queen's-college in Oxford, he took there the degrees in Arts (c), that of Master being completed the 27th of June 1633 (d), and the same year was chosen fellow of his college (e). In 1635 he was appointed Metaphysic-Reader in the university; and his lectures being much approved of, were published in 1637 for the use of the scholars [A]. When the garrison of Oxford surrendered to the Parliament in 1646, he sided with the persons then in power (f); and, by the interest of Colonel Thomas Kelsey, Deputy-Governor of that garrison, preserved his fellowship [B], notwithstanding the parliamentary visitation [C]. In 1652 he was elected Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library; and, about the same time, was made lecturer of Church-hill near Burford in Oxfordshire (g). July the 23d 1657, he took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (h); and, in the latter end of the same year, was chosen Provost of his college *, upon the death of the learned Dr Langbaine (i). After the restoration of King Charles II, he procured himself to be one of the Commissioners, appointed first by the Marquis of Hertford Chancellor of the university, and afterwards by the King, for restoring the members which were wrongfully ejected in 1648 (k). The 2d of August 1660, he was not only created Doctor in Divinity among the Royalists, but also chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity, the first of September following (l), upon the ejection of Henry Wilkinon, senior. He writ the same year *The Case of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, addressed to the famous Rob. Boyle, Esq [D]; In 1661, he was appointed Archdeacon

(a) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. I. ii. p. 122. and Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 376. edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Wood, *ibid.*

(d) *Iidem.* Faffi, Vol. I. col. 257.

(e) *Iidem.* Athen. ubi supra.

(f) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(g) Wood, *ibid.*

(h) *Iidem.* Faffi, Vol. II. col. 116.

(*) Queen's college.

(i) *Iidem.* Ath. ubi supra.

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) *Iidem.* Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. I. iii. p. 34.

[A] His lectures — were published in 1637.] They were printed at Oxford in 4to. at the end of Scheibler's Metaphysics, under the title of *Exercitationes aliquot Metaphysicæ de Deo*; ' some metaphysical Exercitations concerning God (1). They were afterwards reprinted in 1658, &c. 4to. One of those Exercitations was translated into English, by Sir Peter Pett, and inserted in Bishop Barlow's Genuine Remains (2). It is upon the famous question, Whether it is better not to be at all, than to be miserable? Durandus, an old Schoolman, maintained, That it was better to be, tho' in a miserable condition, than to cease to be; or, in other words, That it was better to be miserable, than be annihilated. Dr Barlow asserts the contrary. — In the same book, there is an abstract of another Exercitation (3) concerning the existence of God; in which the author demonstrates, That there is some knowledge of God attainable here by the light of nature.

[B] By the interest of Col. T. Kelsey — he preserved his fellowship.] Wood says (4), that he and others, kept their fellowships, by ' presenting to ' Kelsey's wife certain gifts.' But 'tis more probable, that it was through Mr Selden's and Dr Owen's favour and interest, as we are told elsewhere (5). However, it appears from a book of his, (which will be mentioned below) (6) that if he submitted to the higher powers for his interest, he abhorred at the same time their practices.

[C] Notwithstanding the parliamentary visitation.] He published there an anonymous pamphlet, dated Oxford, April 18, 1648; and intituled *Pegasus, or the Flying-Horse from Oxford: Bringing the proceedings of the Visitours and other Bedlamites there, by command of the Earle of Montgomery.* Printed at Montgomery, heretofore called Oxford; in which he gives a very

ludicrous account of that visitation. Some passages in it (7) are as follows, ' Tuesday, April the eleventh, ' the long-legged piece of impertinency (which they ' mis-call Chancellor) was to bee brought with state ' into Oxon: To this end, those few inconsiderable, ' and ill-faced Saints, hired all the hackneyes in towne ' (which were basely bad, yet good enough for them). ' Out they went, and met the *Hogben Moghen* I told ' you of; what courtship passed between them at ' meeting, how hee swore at them, and they said ' grace at him; how many zealous faces and ill-legs ' they made, and at what distance, I know not; a ' long time they were about it. — In the mean ' time, *Tho. Smith* of Magdalen college had an excellent designe; he would ride in with them too, and ' that he might have futeable accomodation, would ' needs borrow an asse, nay an asse he would have, ' and ride in next before the Chancellor, and when ' they told him it was a mad trick, he told them noe; ' for he knew there would bee many asses besides ' his: — &c.

[D] He writ — the case of a toleration in matters of religion.] In which he first observes, that the toleration he means, is a toleration of several religions, or several opinions concerning religion; and that therefore Atheists come not under it. Next, that no opinion ought to be tolerated, which contains in it any thing destructive to the civil peace, and safety of the State. As for the rest, he declares it difficult and dangerous for the civil magistrate to use temporal and compulsory punishments against Hereticks and Sectaries (8). He expresses himself elsewhere to the same purpose, — ' For my part, I should not be ' willing, that any Heretick should be punished with ' death; unless he join with his heresy, blasphemy of ' God, or disloyalty against the King, or some sins ' against

(1) See Bishop Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 469, Lond. 1693, 8vo.

(2) Page 469.

(3) Page 521.

(4) Athen. ubi supra.

(5) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 132.

(6) Pegasus; or, the Flying-Horse from Oxford.

(7) Page 1 and 2.

(8) See his several miscellaneous and weighty Cases of Conscience, where this is inserted. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

Archdeacon of Oxford, in the room of Dr Barten Holiday, deceased; but he was not installed till June 13, 1664: For a contest arose between him and Dr Tho. Lamplugh about that dignity, which, after having lasted some time, was at length decided in favour of Dr Barlow, at the affizes held at Oxford, March 1, 1663-4 (*). Being a person eminent for his skill in the Civil and Canon Law, he was often applied to as a Casuist, to resolve cases of conscience, about marriage, and the like (m). And, upon such an occasion it was, that in 1671, he writ *Mr Cottington's Case of Divorce* (n), wherein is discussed the validity or nullity of his marriage, with a lady whose former husband was living. And also, some years after, another case of marriage, inserted in his *Genuine Remains* (o). Upon the death of Dr W. Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, which happened April 22, 1675, he obtained, the very same day, a grant of that bishoprick, at the recommendation of some of the nobility, and chiefly through the interest of the two Secretaries of State, Henry Coventry, Esq; and Sir Joseph Williamson, both some time of his college, and the first formerly his pupil (p). The 27th of June following he was consecrated at Ely-house-chapel (q). Archbishop Sheldon opposed his promotion (r), tho' the reasons of it are not assigned. After his advancement to this See, Bishop Barlow writ several curious things. They were generally short, and most of them by way of letter. The most considerable are these: In 1676, *The Original of Sine-Cures*. Concerning *Pensions paid out of Church-Livings*. And a *Survey of the Numbers of Papists within the Province of Canterbury* [E]. In 1679, *A Letter concerning the Canon Law, allowing (s) the whipping of Hereticks* [F]. But what he mostly distinguished himself by, was in writing against Popery; tho' herein he is charged by A. Wood with inconsistency. For that author tells us (t), that 'before the discovery of the Popish plot, Bishop Barlow had been a seeming friend to the Papists; but, after that, he became a bitter enemy to them, and to the Duke of York.' However, 'tis certain he writ several things against them with great strength of argument, and a prodigious variety of learning. The chief of them were, 'Popery: or, the Principles and Positions approved by the Church of Rome, &c. are very dangerous to all[G].' And, 'A Discourse concerning the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, made against Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome [H]'. We shall give an account of the rest of his writings against Popery, in the note [I]. He expressed his zeal against the Papists, not only by writing, but also by his other behaviour. For when, in 1678, after the discovery of the Popish Plot, a bill was brought into Parliament, requiring all members of either House, and all such as might come into the King's court, or presence, to take a test against Popery; our Bishop appeared for that bill in the House of Lords, and spoke in favour of it (u). Notwithstanding which we are told (w), that, after

King

'against the law of nature, evidently punishable by the civil magistrate, for the preservation of the publick peace, and safety of the common-wealth (g).'

[E] *A survey of the numbers of Papists within the province of Canterbury.* By this survey it appears, there were then computed in that province *eleven thousand eight hundred and seventy*. This survey was taken by the Bishops in 1676, by King Charles II's direction (10).

[F] *A letter concerning the Canon-law allowing the whipping of Hereticks.* This was upon occasion of a story related in the book of Martyrs, namely, That Bishop Bonner used to whip some of the Protestants (or Hereticks, as he called them) in his gardens (11).

[G] *Popery, or the Principles and Positions, &c.* The whole title of the book runs thus, 'Popery, or the Principles and Positions approved by the Church of Rome (when really believed and practised) are very dangerous to all; and to Protestant Kings and Supreme Powers, more especially pernicious; and inconsistent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of Nature and Scripture) is indispensably due to Supreme Powers. In a Letter to a Person of Honour. London 1679, 4to. reprinted the same year in 8vo. It was translated and published in Latin 1681, 8vo. by Rob. Grove, B. D. afterwards Bishop of Chester.' It is against the Pope's excommunicating and deposing of Princes.

[H] *A discourse, &c.* The title of this, besides what is set down of it above in the text, goes on thus 'Shewing, (1.) What Protestant subjects may expect to suffer under a Popish Prince acting according to those laws. (2.) That no oath, or promise, of such a Prince can give them any just security, that he will not execute the laws upon them. Lond. 1682, 4to.' So that it was plainly levelled against the Duke of York. There is a large preface thereto, against persecuting and destroying Hereticks, and something in favour of the Dissenters. There is no name to it.

[I] *We shall give an account of the rest of his*

writings against Popery] They are as follows,

I. Confutation of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome; written in 1673 (12). II. A letter to J. Evelyn, Esq; concerning Invocation of Saints, and Adoration of the Cross. Lond. 1679, 4to. III. The same year, he reprinted, in 8vo, *The Gun-Powder-Treason*; with a discourse of the manner of it's Discovery. &c. (Printed at first in 1606) and placed in the beginning of it, A Preface touching that horrid conspiracy, dated Feb. 1, 1678-9. In this preface, he takes notice of a Popish Lie in the *Calendarium Catholicum*, or Universal Almanack, 1662, namely, 'That the Gun-Powder Treason, was more than suspected to be the contrivance of Cecil, the great Politician, to render Catholicicks odious: ——— That some Roman Catholicicks were in that Plot; but there were but few detected, and they that were detected, were desperado's.' He also shows there, that it is the practice of the Church of Rome, to endeavour to destroy Hereticks all manner of ways. IV. *Brutum Fulmen*; or the Bull of P. Pius Sextus concerning the damnation, excommunication, and deposition of Q. Elizabeth; as also the absolution of her subjects from the oath of allegiance, with a peremptory injunction, upon pain of an anathema, never to obey any of her laws or commands, with some observations upon it. Lond. 1681, 4to. V. Whether the Pope be Antichrist? And whether the Turk, or the Pope be the greater Antichrist? Whether salvation may be had in the Church of Rome? That worshipping the Host is idolatry. Concerning the intention of the Priest, as necessary to the validity of the sacrament. A letter about the Papists founding dominion in Grace. Several letters about the Council of Trent (13). VI. A few plain reasons why a Protestant of the Church of England should not turn Roman Catholic. Lond. 1688. Dr J. Battely, the Licenier, not allowing several sheets of this to pass, they were omitted (14).

(12) *Genuine Remains*, p. 454. &c.

(13) All these under article V, are in his *Genuine Remains*.

(14) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*.

[K] *He*

(*) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*.

(m) See *Genuine Remains*, p. 351.

(n) Printed among his Miscellaneous and weighty Cases of Conscience, p. 1, &c. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

(o) Page 352.

(p) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*.

(q) *Ibid*.

(r) *Ibid*.

(s) *Cap. cum fortius* I. Extrav. de Calumniatoribus.

(t) *Athen. col.* 377.

(u) Bishop Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 435, 436.

(w) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*.

(g) *Genuine Remains, &c.* Lond. 1693, 8vo, p. 242.

(10) See *Genuine Remains*, p. 312.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 189.

King James II's accession to the throne, Bishop Barlow took all opportunities to express his affection, or submission, to him: For, he sent up an address of thanks to him, for his *first* declaration for liberty of conscience, signed by six hundred of his clergy (x): He writ Reasons for reading that King's *second* Declaration for Liberty of Conscience (y); he caused it to be read in his diocese (z); nay, he was prevailed upon to assert and vindicate the regal power of dispensing with penal laws, in an elaborate tract, with numerous quotations from Canonists, Civilians, and Divines (a). And yet after the Revolution, he was one of those Bishops who readily voted that King James had abdicated his kingdoms: He took the oaths to his successors; and no Bishop was more ready than he, to fill the places of such clergymen as refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (b). So that from his whole conduct it appears, he was of a very timorous* and complying disposition, and always ready to side with the strongest. With regard to some of his notions; he was entirely addicted to the Aristotelian Philosophy (c), and a declared enemy to the improvements made by the Royal Society, and to what he called in general the New Philosophy [K]. He was likewise a rigid Calvinist, and the school Divinity was that which he most admired (d). His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick opposition to some of Mr Bull's works, which did not much redound to our author's honour [L]. He is moreover justly blamed for never appearing in his cathedral, nor visiting his diocese in person, but residing constantly at his manor of Buckden [M]. But, notwithstanding, he must be allowed to have had the following excellencies: He was a good Casuist, a man of very extensive learning, an universal lover and favourer of learned men, of what country or denomination soever, and a great master of the whole controversy between the Protestants and Papists. He died at Buckden in Huntingdonshire, Octob. 8, 1691, in the 85th year of his age; and was buried the 11th of the said month, on the north side of the chancel belonging to that church (e), near the body of Dr R. Sanderfon, some time Bishop of Lincoln, and, according to his own desire, in the very grave of Dr William Barlow, formerly Bishop of the same See: to whose memory, as well as his own, is erected a monument, with an inscription [N] which he composed himself, a few days before his death. He bequeathed to the Bodleian library, all such books of his own, as were not in that noble collection at the time of his death: And the remainder he gave to Queen's college in Oxford (f); whereupon the Society erected in 1694, a noble pile of buildings, on the west side of their college, to receive them. All his manuscripts, of his own composition, he left to his two domestic Chaplains, William Offley, and Henry Brougham, Prebendaries of Lincoln, with a particular desire, that they would not make any of them publick after his decease (g). We shall give an account in the note [O], of the rest of his works, not taken

(x) See Genuine Remains, p. 340, 341. Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 821.

(y) Wood, Athen. col. 877.

(z) Kennet's Compl. Hist. Vol. III. p. 512. Note (1).

(a) Ibid. p. 507. Note (a).

(b) Ibid.

* What rendered him at this time most timorous, was, that there were several attempts to bring him under a prosecution; but for what, is not mentioned. See Compl. Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 507, 512. He lived to fear the Court which he had never loved.

(c) See Genuine Remains, p. 151 — 159.

(d) Ibid. and pag. 344, 424, 577, &c.

(e) Wood. Athen. Vol. II. col. 879.

(f) Wood. ibid.

(g) Ibid.

[K] He was a declared enemy ——— to what he called in general, the New Philosophy.] This plainly appears from the following passages in one of his letters (15), 'I confess I am, and (a long time) have been 'not a little troubled, to see Protestants, nay Clergy- 'men and Bishops, approve and propagate, that 'which they mis-call *New Philosophy*; so that our Uni- 'versities begin to be infected with it, little consider- 'ing how it tends evidently to the advantage of Rome, 'and the ruine of our religion. For this new Philo- 'sophy ——— hath been set on foot, and carried on 'by the arts of Rome, to breed divisions among Pro- 'testants. ——— And all the Romish Schoolmen, 'Casuists, and Controversy-writers, have so mixed 'Aristotle's Philosophy with their Divinity, that he 'who has not a comprehension of Aristotle's prin- 'ciples, will never be able rationally to defend or 'confute any controverted position in the Roman 'or Reformed Religion.'

[L] His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick opposition to Mr Bull's works.] Namely to his *Harmonia Apostolica*, published in 1669, wherein he asserts the necessity of good works, conjoined with faith, for man's justification. This book Dr Barlow attacked in his Divinity-Lectures, and treated the author very roughly, even so far as to give him opprobrious names. Mr Bull being informed of it, came to Oxford, and offered to vindicate himself by a publick disputation; but the Professor declined it; nay he endeavoured to avoid owning the fact, till it was fully proved to his face (16).

[M] But residing at his manor of Buckden.] He was often reflected on upon that account, and called the Bishop of Buckden that never saw Lincoln. But as he hath written something upon that subject, it will be proper to hear what he had to say in his justification (17). 'I have writ (saith he) to My Lord 'Privy-Seal, (Marquis of Halifax) the reasons of my 'not going to Lincoln: 1. I have no house there. [It 'was beat down in the civil wars.] 2. Buckden is in 'the center of my diocese, and stands far more con-

veniently for all business. 3. Bishop Sanderfon 'lived and died at Buckden, and Bishop Lany lived 'there too, till he was translated to Ely; nor were 'they ever accused or complained on for it. 4. That 'Lincoln might not think I was unkind and neglected 'them; I sent them 100 £. of which 50 £. to the 'church, and the other 50 £. to the city; and since 'that I gave the city 20 £. towards their expence in 'renewing their charter, which none of my prede- 'cessors have done.'

[N] With an inscription.] It is in Latin; but as it contains nothing remarkable in that language, we shall set down here only the English translation of it. 'Tis as follows, 'Here lie the remains of Thomas Bar- 'low, D. D. Provost of Queen's College, Oxon, 'Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library, Archdeacon 'of Oxford, Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond's 'Divinity Professor, and (tho' unworthy) Bishop of 'Lincoln, in hope of a joyful resurrection. He com- 'posed this epitaph when he was dying, and at his 'own charge rebuilt the monument of his right-reve- 'rend predecessor William Barlow, which was almost 'demolished by fanatical rage. He died the 8th 'day of October 1691, in the 85th year of his 'age (18).'

[O] We shall give an account of the rest of his works, not taken notice of above.] They are as follows, 'I. *Pietas in Patrem*; or a few tears upon the la- 'mented death of his most dear and loving father 'Richard Barlow, late of Langhill in Westmorland, 'who died 29 December 1636; printed at Oxford, '1637, 4to. There are in it copies of verses upon 'the same subject, from several gentlemen of Queen's 'College. II. A Letter to Mr John Goodwin, con- 'cerning universal redemption by J. Christ, 1651. 'III. For Toleration of the Jews, 1655. IV. 'Αυ- 'τοσυγγε διδασματα; or Directions to a young Divine 'for his study of Divinity, and choice of Books. 'V. A letter to Mr John Tombes in defence of Ana- 'baptism, inserted in one of Tombes's Books. VI. 'A Tract to prove that true Grace doth not lie 6 II 'much

(15) Genuine Remains, p. 157.

(16) See Life of G. Bull, late Bishop of St David's, by Rob. Nelson, Esq; 8vo Lond. 1714. p. 102, 211.

(17) Genuine Remains, p. 255.

(18) Wood Athen. col. 879.

taken notice of above.

' much in the degree, as in the nature. This also is
' inferred in a book intitled, Sincerity and Hypo-
' pocriſy, &c. written by William Sheppard, Eſq;
' VII. The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in capi-
' tal caſes in Parliament cleared, &c. Lond. 1680;
' being an answer to two books; the first entituled,
' *A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend, ſhowing,*
' *that the Biſhops are not to be Judges in Parliament in*
' *caſes capital,* by Denzil Lord Holles, Lond. 1679,
' 4to. and the other, *A Diſcourſe of the Peerage and*
' *Juriſdiction of the Lords Spiritual in Parliament,*
' &c. Dr Barlow did not ſet his name to this, and it
' was by ſome aſcribed to Tho. Turner of Grays-Inn.
' VIII. A Letter (to his Clergy) for the putting in
' execution the Laws againſt Diſſenters, written in
' concurrence to that which was drawn up by the Juſtices
' of the Peace of the county of Bedford, at the quar-
' ter-ſeſſions held at Amphyll for the ſaid county, Ja-
' nuary 14, 1684 (19). IX. After his deceaſe, Sir
' Peter Pett published in 1692, 8vo. ' Several miſ-
' cellaneous and weighty caſes of conſcience, learnedly
' and judiciously reſolved by the right reverend Father
' in God, Dr Tho. Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lin-

coln; viz 1. Of Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters.
' 2. The King's power to pardon murder; written
' upon occasion of Mr St John's (late Lord Viſcount
' St John of Batterſey) being convicted for the death
' of Sir William Eaſtcourt, Bart. — 4. About
' ſetting up images in churches; compoſed, when he
' was cited in the Court of Arches, for permitting
' ſome pictures of the Apoſtles, put up in the pariſh
' church of Moulton in his dioceſe, without the con-
' ſent of the majority of the pariſhioners, to be de-
' faced.' The ſame Sir Peter published alſo in 1693,
' Lond. 8vo. ' X. The Genuine Remains of that learned
' Prelate, Dr Thomas Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of
' Lincoln. Containing divers Diſcourſes Theological,
' Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, &c. In letters to ſeveral
' perſons of honour and quality.' But theſe two vo-
' lumes being put out without the knowledge or conſent
' of the Biſhop's two Chaplains abovementioned, to
' whom he had left all his own manuſcripts, with or-
' ders that they ſhould not be published; they ſeverely
' reflected upon the publiſher, for the unwarrantable li-
' berty had he taken (20).

(19) Genuine
Remains, p. 64.

(20) Wood, Ath.
col. 877, 878, 879.

BARNARD or BERNARD (JOHN), author of the undermentioned books[A], was the ſon of John Barnard, Gentleman; and was born at Caſtor, a market town in Lincolnſhire. He had his education in the grammar ſchool of that place; from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, where he became a penſioner of Queen's-college. From thence journeying to Oxford, to obtain preferment from the Viſitors, appointed by Act of Parliament, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the 15th of April 1648 (a); and, the twenty-ninth of September following, was, by order of the ſaid Viſitors, made Fellow of Lincoln-college (b). The twentieth of February 1650, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (c). At length, having married the daughter of Dr Peter Heylyn, then living at Abingdon, he became Rector of Waddington near Lincoln; the perpetual advowſon of which he purchaſed, and held it for ſome time, together with the ſine cure of Gedney in the ſame county. After the Reſtoration, he conformed, and was made Prebendary of Aſgarby in the church of Lincoln (d). July the 6th, 1669, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (e); and, the ſame year, was created Doctor in Divinity, being then in good repute for his learning and orthodox principles. He died at Newark, on a journey to the Spaw, the 17th of Auguſt 1683; and was buried in his own church of Waddington (f).

(a) Wood, Athen.
Oxon. Vol. II.
col. 736, 737. &
Faſt. ib. col. 63.

(b) Id. Athen. ib.

(c) Id. Faſt. col.
94.

(d) Id. Athen. ib.

(e) Id. Faſt. col.
175.

(f) Id. Athen.
ibid.

[A] Author of the following books.] I. *Censura Clericorum, againſt Scandalous Miniſters, not fit to be reſtored to the Churches Livings, in point of prudence, piety, and fame.* London, 1660; in three ſheets in quarto. His name is not prefixed to this piece. II. *Theologo-Hiſtoricus; or the true Life of the moſt Reverend Divine and excellent Hiſtorian, Peter Heylyn, D. D. Sub-Dean of Weſtmiſter.* London, 1683, 8vo. This was published, as the author pretends, to correct

the errors, ſupply the defects, and confute the calumnies of George Vernon, A. M. Rector of Bourton on the water in Glouceſterſhire, who had published a life of Dr Heylyn. III. *An Answer to Mr Baxter's falſe Accuſation of Dr Heylyn;* printed with the *Theologo-Hiſtoricus.* IV. *A Catechiſm,* for the uſe of his pariſh. He left behind him a manuſcript againſt Socinianiſm, never printed (1).

(1) Wood, Athen.
Vol. II. col. 737.

(a) See his Epi-
taph in Remark
[H].

(b) Register of
Emanuel College.

(c) Catalogue of
his Works, ſub-
joined to the Pro-
legomena of his
Anacron, 1ſt
edition.

(d) Register of
Emanuel-College.

BARNES (JOSHUA), a learned Divine, and Profeſſor of the Greek language at Cambridge, was born at London the 10th of January 1654 (a). His father was a tradeſman of that city. Joſhua had his education in grammar learning at Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his early knowledge of Greek, and by ſome Poems in Latin and Engliſh [A], written before he went to the Univerſity. December the 11th 1671, he was admitted a Servitor in Emanuel-college in Cambridge (b). In 1675, he published, at London, a little piece, intitled, *Gerania: or, A new Diſcovery of a little Sort of People called Pygmies* (c). June the 7th 1678, he was elected Fellow of Emanuel-college (d). The next year, 1679, he published at London, in οὐρανῶ, his *Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther* [B]. In 1686, he took the degree of Bachelor

[A] Poems in Latin and Engliſh.] I. *Sacred Poems*, in five books. viz. 1. Κοιμωποιία, or *The Creation of the World.* 2. *The Fall of Adam and the Redemption by Chriſt.* 3. *An Hymn to the Holy Trinity.* 4. *A Paſtoral Eclogue upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, and an Eſſay upon the Royal Exchange.* 5. *Panegyris, or the Muſes,* &c. Theſe pieces are in Engliſh, with a Latin dedication, An. 1669. II. *The Life of Oliver Cromwell, the Tyrant.* An Engliſh Poem, 1670. III. Several Dramatic Pieces, viz. *Xerxes, Pythias and Damon, Holofernes,* &c. ſome in Engliſh, and ſome in Latin; the former written entirely by himſelf, the latter in conjunction with others. Alſo ſome *Tragedies of Seneca* tranſlated into Engliſh.

IV. Upon the *Fire of London* and the *Plague*, a Latin poem in heroic verſe. V. A Latin Elegy upon the beheading of *St John the Baptiſt* (1).

[B] His Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther.] The Title is; *Ἀυλικὰ πομπῶν, ſive Eſtheræ Hiſtoria, Poetica Paraphraſi, idque Græco carmine, cui verſo Latina opponitur, exornata; una cum Scholiis, ſeu Annotationibus Græcis; in quibus (ad ſacri textus dilucidationem) præter alia non pauca, Geutium Orientalium Antiquitates, Moreſque reconditiores proferuntur. Additur Parodia Homerica de eadem hac Hiſtoria. Accedit Index rerum ac verborum copioſiſſimus. i. e.* 'The Courtier's Looking-Glaſs; or, The Story of Eſther paraphraſed in Greek verſe, with a Latin

(1) See the Cata-
logue of Mr
Barnes's Works,
ſubjoined to the
Prolegomena of
his *Anacron*, 1ſt
edit.

Bachelor in Divinity (e), and, in 1688, published his *Life of King Edward III* [C], dedicated to King James II. In 1694 came out his edition of *Euripides* [D], dedicated

University Register.

to

Latin translation in the opposite page, and Greek Scholia or Notes; in which (to illustrate the sacred Text) besides many other particulars, the Antiquities and more remote customs of the Eastern nations are explained. To which is added a parody in Homeric style upon the same Story, and a copious Index of Things and Words. It was printed, as the title-page informs us, at his own charge. The *Imprimatur* is dated July 3, 1676. It is dedicated to Dr John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster (2), who, as the Dedication tells us, contributed largely to the expence of the impression. In the preface he tells us, he had finished this piece five years before, but, by advice of his friends, had deferred the publication of it, in order to polish it at his leisure. He justifies, by the authority of Josephus, his placing this history after the time of Nehemiah, contrary to the opinion of many considerable writers. He considers, who Ahafuerus, mentioned in the History of Esther, was; and determines him to have been the famous Xerxes. He displays the moral uses that may be made of his poem, and vindicates his introducing the names of the pagan deities and prophane allusions into a sacred subject. The preface is followed by several copies of verses in Greek and Latin, addressed to the author by Dr James Duport and others. As a specimen of Mr Barnes's talent at Greek Poetry, we shall oblige the learned reader with the following beautiful description of Esther's person.

Ἦγ' ἔδὲν ποθέουσα, τὸ ἕ παρὸς ἔϊλετο, μὲν
Μαρμαρυγὴν ἀρένηκεν ἀκίε δῆλοιο προσώπῳ,
Μαρμαρυγὴν, ἢ πάντας ἑτέρηφατο εἰσοφύοντας
Κυάνας λιπαρὴν κεραλὴν κόμηνσαν ἔθειραι,
Ἄς γλυκεροῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἐδήσατο Κύπρις ἐρώτων.
Ὀμματα δ' ἀερέποντα πάθε πτερύοντας οἰσῆς
Ὀφρυὸν ἀμφ' ἐκατέρθεν ἐπωξύνοντο μελαίνας.
Καὶ ῥόδα μὲν κρήνοισι μεμιγμένα, λευκῶ ἔρυθρον
Ὀπί νεόν λιμῶνα θύσαν' ἡρώϊ δὲ πάσειων
Καλὸν ἐρευθιόουσα φάνη καλύκεσσιν ὁμοίη.
Χείλα δ' αὖ σιγῆσω, ὅπως μὴ Κύπειν ὀρίνω
(Εἰ πε Κύπρις ἔην γε) τὰ Χείλα φέρτερα δειξάσ
Πεθῶ δὲ σῶμα καλὸν αἰεὶ κῆ ὀδόντας ἔλαις,
Τὰς μὲν λευκοτέρους χιῶνος, τὸ δὲ νέκταρ ἔρικα.
Μαζῆς οἰδαλέως διδυμοῖς σαρῶσιν ἔττοκα
Ἠδῆσις κασίης λευκῆ ῥανθίσει γάλακτι,
Οἰστροφόρος δὲ πόθος χερυσέν ὑπεβάλλετο ῥώνιν.
Ἄμφι δ' ἐ πῆλον ἔχουεν ἑανὸν εἴματα τ' ἄλλα
Δι' εὐσχημοσύνη, ποσσιν δ' ὑπέδησε πέδιλα.
Δερὴν δ' ἔ τῶ ἔϊσκον, ὅτ' ἔδῆποτ' ἄλλο πάρος
Τόσσιν χαρίτεσσι βεβυσμένον, ἔδ' ἂν ἐρίζοι
Πάντα μὲν ἦν κάλλισα. Δέμας γλυκὺς ὄρμος
ἐρώτων,
Μᾶλλον δ' ἔνδον ἔλαμφε Νόος γ' ἀρετῆσι φαινός
(3).

(3) Ἀυλικῶ-
τοπτρον. Edit.
Lond. 1679.
ΚεΦ. β. ver. 343.

The Homeric Parody, mentioned in the title, consists of but fifty-six lines, and is an Epitome of the story of Esther in the very words of Homer. It begins, like the first book of the Iliad, thus:

Μῆνιν ἄειδ' ὅσα Ἀμάλην χιῶ δ' ἄρα Ἀμυῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἢ μυρὶ ἑβερῆσι ἄλγε ἔθηκε,
Περσεῶν δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἰεὶ ποροῖα φεν, &c.

The author tells us, he wrote it in less than an hour. It is intitled, Σουσιᾶδος Ῥαφιδία ἢ Παρωδία Ὀμηρικὴ. It is followed by a copy of Greek verses intitled; Εὐχαριστήριον εἰρ' ἔν τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς Ἐδῆ-
ρος οἶων κατάλογος κῆ Μνημόσυνη: i. e. 'A Thanksgiving; or, Catalogue and Memorial of the Friends of my Esther.'

[C] His Life of King Edward III. It is intitled, The History of that most victorious Monarch Edward III, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and first Founder of the most noble order of the Garter; being a full and exact account of the Life and Death of the said King; together with that of his most renowned Son, Edward Prince of Wales and Aquitain,

surnamed The Black Prince; faithfully and carefully collected from the best and most antient Authors domestic and foreign, printed Books, Manuscripts, and Records: By Joshua Barnes, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Emanuel-College Cambridge. Cambridge, 1688. In folio. In the Preface he tells us, 'He had undertaken a work of so much difficulty, that nothing but a sense of the honour and real advantage thereof could have animated him to it. For the obscurity of our histories being so great, and the mistakes and opposition of them one with another being so frequent, it must necessarily seem a labour not small to endeavour to give a just account of the whole series of all public actions for the continuance of fifty years and upwards, at such a long distance of time, as more than three centuries.' However he observes, 'That his resolution had been to shew so much diligence in the collecting, and so much integrity in the composing, that if he could not obtain the knowledge of all the most momentous truths, yet he should purposely decline all fabulous narrations, all groundless opinions, all popular errors, partiality, and prejudice, and seriously conform himself to those rules and decencies, which belong to a faithful historian. That the subject-matter of his discourse is the honour of his country, the life and actions of one of the greatest Kings, whom perhaps the world ever saw, the rights of the English crown, and how well our ancestors were able to vindicate them'. He informs us also, 'That he does not confine himself wholly to the relation of King Edward's exploits, or to those of his invincible son the Black Prince, and the rest of his noble and victorious children; but that whatever name he found memorable of his subjects in either of his kingdoms, whether they were famed for arts of war or peace, he had endeavoured to pay them that just duty, which he thought they deserved; because it seemed to him altogether fit, that those, who then stood with their sovereign in his grand offices of war or government, should by no means now be deprived of a participation with him in his glorious memoirs; especially since not a few are still remaining, derived from those famous ancestors, whose minds may be more strongly affected with due incentives of honour, when they shall understand by what methods their forefathers attained such estates and titles, which they now as worthily enjoy.' Bishop Nicholson, in his *English Historical Library* (4), gives this character of our author's performance. 'Above all, Mr Joshua Barnes has diligently collected whatever was to be had (far and near) upon the several passages of this great King's reign. His quotations are many; and (generally) his authors are well chosen, as such a multitude can be supposed to have been. His inferences are not always becoming a statesman; and sometimes his digressions are tedious. His deriving of the famous institution of the Garter from the Phœnicians*, is extremely obliging to good Mr Sammes †; but came too late, it seems, to Mr Ashmole's knowledge, or otherwise would have bid fair for a choice post of honour in his elaborate book. In short, this industrious author seems to have driven his work too fast to the press, before he had provided an Index, and some other accoutrements, which might have rendered it more serviceable to his readers.' In this history Mr Barnes seems to affect imitating Thucydides, and other antient historians, particularly in introducing his heroes making long and elaborate speeches, which seem to be the result of his own imagination.

(4) P. 80. See his *English, Scotch, and Irish, Historical Libraries, &c.* Lond. 1736. folio.

* P. 294, 295.

† Aylet Sammes, who, in his *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, folio. Lond. 1661.

fetches the Original of the British Customs, Religion, and Laws, from the Phœnicians.

[D] His Euripides. It is intitled; *Euripidis quæ extant omnia; Tragediæ nempe XX, præter ultimam omnes completæ: Item Fragmenta aliarum plusquam LX. Tragediarum et Epistolæ V, nunc primum et ipse adjecitæ: i. e.* 'All the works of Euripides, namely, Twenty Tragedies, all perfect but the last; also Fragments of above sixty other Tragedies, and five epistles, now first added'. Mr Barnes has corrected the text of Euripides, which was greatly corrupted in all the preceding editions, and particularly restored the metre, of which he has discoursed at large in his Preliminary Dissertation, *De Tragedia veterum Græcorum*. As to the Latin version, he has retained that

of

to Charles Duke of Somerset; and, in 1695, he was chosen Greek Professor of the university of Cambridge. In the year 1700, Mr Barnes married Mrs Mason [E], a widow lady of Hemmingford near St Ives in Huntingdonshire, with a jointure of 200 *l.* per annum. In 1705, he published, at Cambridge, his edition of ANACREON [F], dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough; and, in 1710, his HOMER [G]; the *Iliad* dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and the *Odyssy* to the Earl of Nottingham. Mr Joshua Barnes died the 3d of August 1712, in the 58th year of his age (f), and was buried at Hemmingford, where is a monument erected to him by his widow [H]. Our author wrote many other pieces, which were never published [I]. His character, both as a man

(f) See his Epitaph.

of William Canter, and Æmylius Portus, which he has corrected in many places; esteeming it preferable to the old version, which passes under the name of *Dorotheus Canillus*, or that of Melancthon. He has prefixed a *Dissertation* on the *Life and Writings* of Euripides; in which, following the common opinion, he has placed that Poet's birth in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, tho' the *Arundelian marble* (5) places it in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad. He has given us three *Inæxes*; the first upon the Poet himself, the second upon the *Scholia*, and the third upon the authors quoted in the *Scholia* and the notes.

[E] *He married Mrs Mason.*] The story goes, that this lady, who was between forty and fifty, having for some time been a great admirer of Mr Barnes, came to Cambridge, and desired leave to settle an hundred pounds a year upon him after her death; which he politely refused, unless she would condescend to make him happy in her person, which was none of the most engaging. The lady was too obliging to refuse any thing to *Joshua*, for whom, she said, the sun stood still; and soon after they were married.

[F] *His Anacreon*] The title is; *Anacreon Teius, Poeta Lyricus, summa cura et diligentia ad fidem etiam vet. MS. Vatican. emendatus, ac pristino nitore numerisque suis restitutus, dimidia fere parte auctus, aliquot nempe justis Poematis et fragmentis plurimis ab undiquaque conquistis: i. e.* Anacreon the Teian, a lyric Poet; corrected with the utmost care and diligence from an antient manuscript in the Vatican library; restored to his pristine beauty and metre; and enlarged almost half, namely, by some entire Poems, and several fragments collected from various authors.' There was a second edition, after Mr Barnes's death, printed at Cambridge, in 1721. It is dedicated to John, Duke of Marlborough. The dedication (dated from Hemmingford near St Ives in Huntingdonshire, March 26, 1705) is followed by a Greek Anacreontic Ode upon the Duke's victory at Blenheim, with a Latin translation in the same measure. Then follows the *Life of Anacreon*, in which he has endeavoured to vindicate that Poet from the charge of unnatural love, and to shew that his poems contain nothing indecent, or contrary to good manners, or improper to be put into the hands of youth; to which end he rejects some pieces in the Vatican manuscript, which he will not allow to have been composed by Anacreon. In the *Prolegomena* he treats of the antiquity and invention of lyric Poetry, and the peculiar character of Anacreon; also of the metre of that Poet. He answers likewise an objection urged against himself, as a Christian Divine, for employing his time and pains on a subject of so light a nature; which he justifies from his having no benefice, or cure of souls, to engage his attention; and from his character as Professor of the Greek tongue. To his edition of Anacreon he has subjoined the *Epigrams* of the Antients and Moderns upon that Poet, and some *Odes* of his own composition, under the title of *Anacreon Christianus*, with a Latin version of them in the same metre; also an *Index* to the whole.

[G] *His Homer.*] The title is; *Homeri Ilias et Odyssæa*, &c. Besides a very correct text, the editor has given an exact Latin translation, with the antient *Scholia*, continued notes upon the text and *Scholia*, and many various readings; and has subjoined the *Batrochomyomachia*, the *Hymns* and *Epigrams*, the *Fragmentis*, and two *Indexes*. He informs us, he had written a treatise upon the age of Homer, his life, genealogy, &c. which he designed to have inserted in this edition, but for a particular reason had deferred it to some other time. He has prefixed several pieces to the first volume, comprehending the *Iliad*; as, I. *The Life of Homer*, commonly ascribed to Herodotus. II. Three small pieces taken from Leo Allatius, *De Patria Ho-*

meri. III. A passage from Suidas, and another from Pausanias, relating to Homer. IV. Plutarch's account of the Life of this Poet. V. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*. VI. A Dissertation concerning Homer's Poetry, ascribed by the Editor to Dionysius Halicarnassensis. VII. Porphyry's *Questiones Homericae*. VIII. The same author's *De Nympharum Antro*. IX. Dion Chrysostom's oration concerning Homer, with some notes thereon by Dr John Davies, afterwards master of Queen's-college in Cambridge. There is an account of this edition of *Homer* in the *Acta Eruditorum* for January 1711 (6), in which we are told, that Mr Barnes has given us a more correct and perfect edition of Homer than any which had appeared before, and that he has discovered in it great diligence, and skill in the Greek poetry. Nevertheless we have there some objections against it, ascribed to the learned Dr Bentley. Particularly, Mr Barnes is censured for retaining several of Schrevelius's absurd interpolations in the antient Greek *Scholia*; and exceptions are made to several points in the *Prolegomena*. When this edition was ready for the press, Mr Barnes wrote a long copy of English verses, now extant in the library of Emanuel-college; the design of which is to prove, that Solomon was the author of that divine work. It is imagined, he wrote these verses, not so much from the persuasion of his own mind, as to amuse his wife, and by that means engage her to supply him with money to defray the expences of the edition.

[H] *The inscription on his monument.*] It is as follows. H. S. E. Joshua Barnes, S. T. B. Collegii Emmanuelis Socius, Lingue Græcæ in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professor Regius peritissimus. Plura Eruditionis et Industrie Monumenta reliquit. Ob. Aug. 3. A. D. 1712. Ætat. 58. Maria Barnes conjugi dilectissimo M. P.

Βασηήσιος δ' ἄπαντας
Νίκηος πολύτεχνος,
Λογογράφων φέρεισος,
Ἄνθος τε τῶν Ἀοιδῶν
Τῶν Ἰσθίων μέγιστος,
καὶ Ρητόρων ἀριστος,
καὶ Μαντιῶν βᾶθιστος
Βρεταννικῆς ἀρετῆς.

The Greek Anacreontiques on the monument english'd.

- ' Kind Barnes, adorned by every Muse,
- ' Each Greek in his own Art out-does:
- ' No Orator was ever greater;
- ' No Poet ever chanted sweeter.
- ' H' excell'd in Grammar Mystery,
- ' And the Black Prince of History:
- ' And a Divine the most profound,
- ' That ever trod on English ground.

Mr Barnes read a small English Bible, that he usually carried about him, one hundred and twenty one times over at leisure hours. He was born January 10, 1654. All this is upon his monument.

[I] *He wrote many pieces, which were never published.*] There is subjoined to the first edition of his *Anacreon* at Cambridge, 1705; a *Catalogue* of Works, which Mr Barnes had either published, or intended to publish; which catalogue is omitted in the second edition of that Poet, printed after his death in 1721, tho' it is mentioned in the *Contents* and the *Prolegomena*. In this catalogue, besides the books already mentioned, we find the following: I. *The Warlike Lover*, or the *Generous Rival*; an English Dramatick piece upon the war between the English and Dutch, and the death of

(6) P. 1, 54, 308.

(5) See Basil Kennet's *Lives and Characters of the antient Greek Poets*. P. 1. p. 107. Edit. 1679.

and an author, shall be given in the remark [K].

the Earl of Sandwich, *An.* 1672. II. *Ἰστορικὰ νῆαρχα*, or *Joseph the Patriarch*; a Greek Heroic poem in one book. The author designed *twelve* books, but finished only one. III. *Ὁρειολογία*, or our *Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount*, the Decalogue, the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the *Magnificat*, with other Hymns from the Old and New Testament, in Greek verse. IV. *Θυριβύλιον*, or the Hymns and Festivals in Greek verse. V. Miscellaneous and Epigrams in Latin and Greek verse. VI. *Ἀγλαο-Βελομαχία*, or the Death of Edward Mountague, Earl of Sandwich, in Greek, Latin, and English verse. VII. *Ἀλεκτρομαχία*, or a poem upon *Cock-fighting*, *An.* 1673. VIII. The *Song of Songs*, containing an hundred Hexastichs in English Heroic verse, *An.* 1674. IX. *Σπινθηρίδιος*; a ludicrous Poem, in Greek Macaronic verse, upon a Battle between a Spider and a Toad, *An.* 1673. X. *Φληϊδίδος*, or a Supplement to the old ludicrous Poem under that title, at Trinity-House in Cambridge, upon a Battle between the Fleas and a Welsh-man. XI. A *Poetical Lexicon*, Greek and Latin; to which is added a Lexicon of proper names, *Fol.* 1675. XII. A Treatise upon the *Greek Accents*, in answer to Henry Christian Heninius and others, with a Discourse upon the *Points* now in use. XIII. Humorous Poems upon the 9th book of the *Iliad*, and the ninth of the *Odyssey*, in English; published in 1681. XIV. *Franciados*; an Heroic Poem, in Latin, upon the Black Prince. The whole was to consist of twelve books, eight of which were finished. XV. *The Art of War*, in four books, in English Prose. 1676. XVI. *Hengist*, or *The English Valour*; an Heroic Poem in English, in seven books. XVII. *Landgarth*, or the Amazon Queen of Norway and Denmark; an English Dramatic Poem in Heroic verse, designed in honour of the marriage between Prince George of Denmark and Princess Anne. XVIII. An *Ecclesiastical History* from the Beginning of the World to the Ascension of our Saviour, in Latin: *Fol.* XIX. Miscellaneous *Poems* in English. XX. Philosophical and Divine *Poems*, in Latin, published at different times at Cambridge. XXI. *Poems*, and sacred daily *Meditations*, continued for several years in English. XXII. A Dissertation upon *Pillars, Obelisks, Pyramids*, &c. in Latin, 1692. XXIII. A Discourse upon the *Sibyls*, in three books, in Latin. XXIV. *The Life of Pindar* in four Lectures, and thirty two Lectures upon his first Olympick Ode. XXV. *The Life of Theocritus*, and Lectures upon that Poet. XXVI. *The Lives of David, Scanderbeg, and Tamerlane*. These Lives, he tells us, he never actually begun, but only made considerable collections for them. XXVII. *The Life of Edward, the Black Prince*. XXVIII. *The University-Kalendar*, or Directions for young Students of all degrees, with relation to their Studies, and general Rules of Ethics, and a Form of Prayer. *An.* 1685. XXIX. Thirty-two Lectures upon the first Book of the *Odyssey*. XXX. Above fifty Lectures upon *Sophocles*. XXXI. Lectures upon *Bereſith*, with an Oration recommending the Study of the Hebrew Language. XXXII. Three *Discourses* in English. 1. *The Fortunate Island, or the Inauguration of Queen Gloriana*. 2. *The Advantage of England, or a sure way to Victory*. 3. *The Cause of the Church of England defended and explained*; published in 1703.

XXXIII. *Concio ad Clerum*, for his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, at St Mary's in Cambridge, 1686. XXXIV. Occasional *Sermons*, preached before the Lord-Mayor, &c. XXXV. An *Oration*, recommending the Study of the Greek language, spoken in the Public Schools at Cambridge before the Vice-Chancellor, March 28, 1705. XXXVI. A *Greek Oration*, addressed to the most reverend Father Neophytus, Archbishop of Philippopolis, spoken in the Regent-House at Cambridge, September 13, 1701. XXXVII. A *Prevaricator's Speech*, spoken at the Commencement at Cambridge, 1680. XXXVIII. A *Congratulatory Oration* in Latin, spoken at St Mary's, September 9, 1685, upon the Escape of King Charles II and the Duke of York from the Conspiracy. XXXIX. *Sermons, Orations, Declamations, Problems, Translations, Letters*, and other Exercises, in English, Latin, and Greek. XL. A *Satire* in English Verse upon the Poets and Critics. XLI. An Imitation of Plautus's *Trinummus* in English. XLII. Interpretations, Illustrations, Emendations, and Corrections of many Passages, which have been falsely translated, with Explications upon various passages of Scripture, from *Genesis to Revelations*. XLIII. *Common-Places* in Divinity, Philology, Poetry, and Criticism; and Emendations of various Greek and Latin Authors, with Fragments of many of the Poets.

[K] *His character both as a man and an author.* He had a great deal of enthusiasm in his temper, which discovered itself in various circumstances of his life. He constantly maintained, that spiritual sins, such as pride, defamation, &c. were more offensive in the eyes of God, than those which arise from a too great indulgence of the senses. He believed, that charity seldom or never passes without its reward in this life. And this opinion prevailed so far with him, that he has given his only coat to a vagrant begging at the door; and he used to relate some extraordinary retributions conferred upon him by unknown persons for his charities of this kind. He was remarkable rather for the quickness of his wit, and the happiness of his memory, than for the solidity of his judgment; upon which some body recommended this *pun* to be inscribed upon his monument;

Joshua Barnes,

Felicis Memoriae, Judicium expectans.

He had a prodigious readiness in writing and speaking the Greek tongue; and he himself tells us (7), 'he found it much easier to him to write in that language, than in Latin or even English, since the ornaments of poetry are almost peculiar to the Greeks, and since he had for many years been extremely conversant in Homer, the great father and source of the Greek Poetry: However, that his verses were not mere *Cento's* from that Poet, like Dr Duport's, but formed, as far as he was able, upon his style and manner; since he had no desire to be considered as a *Rhapsodist* of a *Rhapsody**, but was ambitious of the title of a Poet.' Dr Bentley, we are told, used to say of Joshua Barnes, that he understood as much Greek as a Greek Cocker.

(7) *In the Preface to his 'Ἀποκρινόμενα'*

* *Ῥαψωδία*
Ῥαψωδία

BARNWALL (ROBERT) was of a family which has yielded many considerable men in times past [A], but of which branch of it this Robert was, we cannot with certainty declare. It was originally French, from Little Bretagne, where, we are told (a), (a) Irish Compend. p. 133. the surname is considerable to this day. This gentleman was born in the county of Dublin, and educated in the study of the Law at Gray's-Inn, London; where he became a writer while he was a youth, what progress or figure he made at the bar in his riper years, or when he died we know not, nor should we have known thus much, if the dedication to the book underneath mentioned, had not informed us of it [B].

[A] *Yielded many considerable men.* As Barnwall, Lord Viscount Kingland; Barnwall, Lord Baron of Trimelston; of which family John Barnwall, Lord Trimelston was, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and made so (1), on the 16th of August, 1534; and before that was made Lord Treasurer (2) of Ireland, on the 30th of September, 1524. There was also a Baronet's title in the family, and many gentlemen of considerable estates.

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[B] *Dedication to a book he published.* It is intitled, *Syntomotaxia del second Parte del Roy Henry le sixt, per quel faicement cy troveront sous apt Titles tout choses conteneue en de dit liver.* Printed, London 1601, folio, 1679, folio.—A table to the second part of the year book of King Henry the sixth, by which may be readily found under proper titles, all matters contained in the said book.—This book, being more properly an index of matter, containing many

(1) Rot. Canc. 26 Hen. VIII.

(2) Ibid. 16 Hen. VIII.

cafes concerning Irish affairs, he dedicated to Sir Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and in his dedication observes, 'That among all the volumes of the law he had read, the second part of Henry the sixth, was the worthiest to be heeded, and specially re-

garded by all who should intend the manner of proceeding of Law, within the realm of Ireland, which was the motive to writing such an index, as may serve both as an abridgment and table to the said volume.' D

BARO, or BARON (PETER) a learned Divine in the XVIth century, was born at Estampes in France, and educated in the university of Bourges, where he was admitted a Licentiate in the Law (a): But being of the Protestant religion, he was obliged to leave his native country, to avoid persecution. Whereupon, withdrawing into England, he was kindly received, and charitably maintained by the Lord Treasurer Burghley, who admitted him to eat at his own table (b). He afterwards settled at Cambridge, upon the invitation of Dr Andrew Perne, Master of Peter-House, by whom he was entertained (c). In 1574 [A], at the recommendation of the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of that university, he was chosen the Lady Margaret's Professor there (d). But finding, after some years, that his income was not sufficient for his maintenance, as he was a married man, and had scarce any thing else to depend upon but his salary; he prevailed upon Dr Perne, to petition the Lord Burghley to make some addition to his livelihood (e). This Lord accordingly promised that he would take care of him: but not performing his promise soon, Dr Baro wrote him, on the twenty-first of November, a modest and handsome letter, wherein he put him in mind of his mean condition; and desired his assistance when any occasion should offer (f). For some years he quietly enjoyed his Professorship; but, at length, either out of envy, or on account of some unfashionable opinions of his, a restless faction arose, which rendered his place so uneasy to him, that he chose to leave the university. At that time, Absolute Predestination, in the most rigid and Calvinistical sense, was strenuously maintained, as the only orthodox and true principle, and as the established doctrine of the Church of England. The chief promoters of it at Cambridge, were, Dr Whitacre, Regius Professor of Divinity; Dr R. Some, Dr Humphrey Tyndal, and in general the oldest members of the university (g). On the contrary, Dr Baro, with some of the younger students, had a more rational and moderate notion of that doctrine. The Doctor having mentioned it in some of his lectures, That occasioned a contest between him and Mr Lawrence Chadderton, in the year 1581, which came to such a height, that Chadderton attempted to confute him publickly in one of his sermons (h). Dr Baro thinking himself injured, caused Mr Chadderton to be summoned into the Consistory, before the Vice-Chancellor and some others, when the latter utterly denied he had ever preached against the Doctor; and after some papers had passed between them upon those points (i), the affair was dropped (k). The chief objections made by the rigid Calvinists against Dr Baro were these, 1. That in his lectures upon Jonah (l), he taught the Popish Doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works in order to justification; which, though in terms a little changed, yet the doctrine was in effect one and the same. 2. That he endeavoured to persuade mankind, that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches was not so widely different from that of Rome, but that by distinctions they might be reconciled, and therefore concluded that both professions might be tolerated. 3. That in his lectures he taught, that the Heathen may be saved without the faith of the Gospel; and other strange matters which were looked upon as damnable errors. — Moreover, that he brought the Popish schoolmen into credit, and diminished the honour of the learned Protestant writers. Since which time, the course of studies in Divinity, and the manner of preaching, had been changed in the university; by some, who left the study of sound writers, as they stiled them, and applied themselves to the reading of Popish, barbarous, and fantastical schoolmen, delighted with their curious questions and quiddities, whereby they drew all points of Christian faith into doubt, being the high-way not only to Popery but to Atheism (m). Some years after, a controversy arose between Dr Baro and Dr Some about the indefectibility of faith; but this dispute was soon composed (n). The next dispute Baro was engaged in, was of much longer continuance, and in the end proved his ruin. For Dr Whitacre having, in the beginning of November 1595, preached a sermon before the university, in defence of Absolute Predestination, on purpose, as he said (o), to stay the minds of the scholars, and to maintain what he called the doctrine of our Church, against innovations; he was not satisfied therewith, but endeavoured to have his weak arguments strengthened with the irresistable ones of authority and force. To bring that about, he and Dr Tyndal were deputed by the heads of the university, to Archbishop Whitgift. They loudly complained to him, that Pelagianism was getting ground in the university, and that no better method could be used to stop the progress of it, than the confirmation of some propositions they had brought along with them (p). These, according to their request, were established and approved on the 20th of November, by the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, the Bishop-elect of Bangor, and a very few other

Divines

(a) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I, edit. 1721, col. 113. Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. IV. p. 231.

(b) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, edit. 1718, fol. p. 93.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Strype, ubi supra, p. 94.

(e) Which was but 20*l.* a year. See Strype, ubi supra, p. 472.

(f) Strype's ibid. and Appendix of Records, p. 38.

(g) Strype, Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 435.

(h) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 145.

(i) Ibid. and Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 47, 48.

(k) See Mr Bayle's Dictionary, in the article BARON (PETER).

(l) Particularly on chap. iii. ver. 4.

(m) Wood, Fasti Vol. I. col. 113, 114.

(n) Strype's Life of Whitgift, &c. p. 448, 449.

(o) Ibid. p. 460.

(p) Articulorum Lambethæ exhibitum historia. Amstelod. 1700. 12mo, p. 4.

(1) Vol. II. p. 383.

(2) Placed before her Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1708, 8vo.

[A] In 1574, ——— he was chosen the Lady Margaret's Professor. Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (1), and Mr T. Baker, in the list of the Lady Margaret's Professors (2), place Dr Baro's election under the year 1575. But by his letter to the

Lord Burghley, mentioned a little below, it appears, that when he writ it, in November 1580, he had been Professor six whole years ——— *jam totos sex hujus annos* ——— (3).

(3) See that Letter, in the Appendix to Archbishop Whitgift's Life, p. 38.

Divines (q), and came to be known by the title of the *Lambeth-Articles* [B]. The Archbishop recommended them to the university, as the private judgment only of those that had made them, and not as laws and decrees, but as things necessary for the observation of peace; and desired them to take care that nothing should be publickly taught to the contrary (r). They were immediately communicated to Dr Baro (s), against whom probably they were more immediately designed. But he, either disregarding them, or being provoked thereby, preached a contrary doctrine, in a sermon before the university on the 12th of January following (t). In that discourse, he studied not to exasperate any; and therefore did not so much deny, as moderate those propositions; and state, as he apprehended, the true sense of them (u), and said nothing in his sermon concerning those Articles [C]. However, his adversaries judging of it otherwise, the Vice-Chancellor consulted the same Day with Dr Clayton and Mr Chadderton, what should be done. The next day he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he informed his Grace of the affair; and as he intended to call the Professor to an account for his sermon, and for breaking the peace of the university, but knew not what course to take, nor upon what statute to proceed, he desired his aid and advice; unless they were pleased to call him before the High Commission (w). The Archbishop returned for answer, on the 16th, that they should call Baro before them, and require a copy of his sermon; or, at least, cause him to set down the principal heads thereof: and to demand of him what should move him to continue that course, notwithstanding order taken, and so many advertisements to the contrary: But not to proceed to any determination against him, till they had advertised him of his answer, and the particular points of his sermon (x). In the mean time, Dr Baro finding what great offence was taken at his sermon, wrote, on the 14th of January, to the Archbishop to this effect (y). 'That when his Lordship lately spake with him about the nine Articles [D], he spake freely that which he thought good,

(q) Ibid. and Fuller's Hist. of the Church, B. ix. p. 229.
 (r) Strype, ubi supra, p. 462.
 (s) Ibid. p. 467.
 (t) His Text was James i. 27.
 (u) Ibid. p. 466.
 Jan. 12.
 Jan. 13.
 (w) Ibid. p. 468.
 (x) Ibid. p. 469.
 (y) Ibid. p. 466: He says, p. 468, that Baro went to London to the Archbishop. But that does not appear.

[B] *The Lambeth-Articles.* They were as follows, I. God hath from eternity predestinated some persons to life, and some he hath reprobated to death. II. The moving, or efficient cause of predestination to life, is not the foresight of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or of any other quality in the predestinated persons; but the sole will and good pleasure of God. III. The number of the predestinate is before-limited and certain, and can neither be increased nor lessened. IV. Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins. V. A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying spirit of God, is not extinguished, doth not fail, nor vanish away in the Elect, either totally, or finally. VI. A man who is truly one of the faithful, that is, endued with justifying faith, is certain, with full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Jesus Christ. VII. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, so as that they may be saved by it if they will. VIII. No one can come to Christ unless it is given him, and unless the Father draws him; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son. IX. It is not in every one's will or power to be saved (4). When Queen Elizabeth heard of these articles, and the manner in which they were framed, she was excessively angry. It was a maxim with her, Not to have to tender a point, and so dangerous to weak, ignorant, minds, disputed, and brought in question. Besides, she thought such an assembly, and their framing articles or canons without her special licence, derogatory to her Royal dignity. She therefore, immediately sends for Whitgift, and accosts him thus, 'My Lord, I am informed you are heaping up riches, and now I shall want no money.' The Archbishop replied, 'That he had but little, however, it was at her Majesty's service.' Nay, says the Queen, 'It is mine already, for you are fallen into a Premunire, by calling a Council without my consent (5).' Whitgift, in his own excuse, said, that those articles were not designed for a standing rule to direct the Church, but only for the appeasing of some unhappy differences in the university of Cambridge. Whereby the Queen, being somewhat appeased, proceeded to no extremities, but only commanded those articles to be speedily recalled and suppressed; which was performed with such care and diligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after (6). The Lord Burghley also disliked them: For when Dr Whitacre presented them to him, he reasoned with him upon those points; and drew by a similitude, a reason from an earthly Prince. Inferring thereby, that they charged God with cruelty, and might cause men to be desperate in their wicked-

ness ——— As the Queen was angry with the framers and contrivers of those articles, so was she also displeased with Dr Baro, for disputing upon such abstruse points. For, in a discourse he had of those matters with the Archbishop, she wondered Baro should meddle in that controversy he being an alien, and so ought to have carried himself quietly and peaceably, in a country where he was so humanely harboured, and enfranchised both himself and his family. The Archbishop informed Dr Baro of this, who wrote a letter to his Grace, on the 13th of December, wherein he expressed the utmost affection and loyalty for her Majesty (7); and declared it as his opinion, 'That God is not the author of sin, nor would that it should be committed; when he openly forbids it, and reproveth men for nothing, but because of sin, which he hateth. And, that the Faithful, or the Elect, ought not to be secure of their salvation (8).'

[C] *And said nothing in his sermon concerning those Articles.* In that sermon he asserted particularly these three things; I. That God created all men according to his own likeness in Adam, and so consequently to eternal life; from which he chased no man, unless because of sin. As Damascus taught, lib. 2. *de Fide orthodox.* II. That Christ died sufficiently for all; against Joh. Piscator, a German Divine, who denied it: Whose opinion, he shewed, was contrary to the confession of the Church of England, and the XXXIX articles; and for proof thereof repeated the XXXIst article. III. That the promises of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally understood, as is set down in the XVIIth article. But these three points were disagreeable to some unreasonable men, who endeavoured to persuade the world, that God did on purpose create the greatest part of men to destruction, that by the perdition of them he might get glory to himself: And that Christ did not die for all; not, for that many refused to accept his benefits, but because he would not that his death should profit them. And, moreover, because they were not created to salvation, as others, but to destruction. And, for the same cause, they would not have the promises to be general, but restrained them to those persons alone, who, they said, were created by God to be saved (9).

[D] *When his Lordship spake to him about the nine Articles.* It seems evident, from Mr Strype's account of this whole matter (10), That when Dr Baro heard of the confirmation of the nine articles, [and not after the preaching of his sermon as that author asserts (11)] he waited upon the Archbishop, about the beginning of December; who showed him those articles, and demanded his opinion of every one of them severally, and at two several times. The last time, he seemed

(7) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 464, 465.
 (8) Ibid.
 (9) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 466.
 (10) Ibid. p. 466—469.
 (11) Ibid. p. 468.

(4) *Articuli Lambethani*, printed at the end of Dr Ellis's *Articuli 39 Ecclesie Anglicanae Defensio*, 12mo. Fuller's Hist. of the Church, B. ix. p. 230.
 (5) Fuller, *ibid.* p. 232. and *Articuli Lambethanorum Hist.* ubi supra, p. 7, 8.
 (6) Heylin's *Quinquarticular Hist.* c. x. §. 3.

‘good, and what then occurred to him. But because many things came not so soon, into his mind, which might be said for a favourable exposition of them, he thought it would not be unacceptable, if he wrote something more amply and particularly concerning each.’ — Then he adds, ‘That he spake in his sermon according to those old and orthodox Articles *’, and did not so much as touch the New †. And for a witness of it, sent his Grace an exposition of these last nine Articles (z). However, according to the Archbishop’s directions, Baro was cited before Dr Goad the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistory; and appeared there the 17th, 21st, and 29th of January (a), when several articles were exhibited against him [E]. At his last appearance, the conclusion against him was; ‘That whereas Baro had promised the Vice-Chancellor, upon his demand, a copy of his sermon, but his Lawyers advised him not to deliver the same; the Vice-Chancellor did now, by virtue of his authority, peremptorily command him to deliver him the whole and entire sermon, as to the substance of it, in writing. Which Baro promised he would do the next day, and did it accordingly **.’ And, lastly, he did peremptorily, and by virtue of his authority, command Baro, that he should wholly abstain from those controversies and articles, and leave them altogether untouched, as well in his lectures, sermons, and determinations, as in his disputations and other his exercises (b).’ The Vice-Chancellor, who had proceeded thus far without the knowledge of the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, thought fit to acquaint him, January 29, with their proceedings, and to desire his wife and honourable advice (c). And, on the other hand, Dr Baro being informed of his enemies invidious aspersions of him to that Lord; took care to represent his own case to him in a true light: Assuring him, that he had only defended the truth of the Gospel against *Piscator*; whose book he saw was in the hands of many of the younger students; and begged of him, not to resolve any thing concerning him, till he had diligently enquired into the truth of what he had written. The discountenance hereupon given to this affair by the Chancellor [F], stopped all further proceeding against Dr Baro (d). He continued in the university the February and March following (e), but with much opposition and trouble, especially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton [G]. But Archbishop Whitgift (tho’ he had weakly yielded in many respects to the solicitations of his enemies) being fully satisfied at last of his learning and integrity, protected him against all attempts that could hurt either his learning or reputation. Only he charged him, to forbear such arguments as would provoke contentious disputations, that so peace might be preserved in the university, and by that means religion and learning flourish there (f). The Doctor, notwithstanding his troubles, had many friends and adherents in the university, as Mr Overal, Dr Clayton, Mr Harfnet, and Dr Andrews; and his disciples were so far from being suppressed or silenced by the Lambeth Articles, that they were become more united (g): So that, had he stood again for his Professorship, when it became vacant on the 25th of March 1596 (h), he would undoubtedly have been chosen in again. But he had met with so much vexation, and such

* The XXXIX Articles.

† The Lambeth Articles.

(z) Ibid. p. 466, 467, and Appendix, p. 201.

(a) Ibid. p. 470, 471.

** See Ibid. p. 475.

(b) Ibid. p. 471.

(c) Ibid. p. 471, 472.

Febr. 9.

(d) Ibid. p. 473.

(e) Ibid. p. 474.

(f) Ibid. p. 476.

(g) Dr Heylin’s *Quinquarticular History*, B. iii. c. xxi. §. 9.

(h) Ibid. §. 4. Fuller’s *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 125, 126.

to make some small objections against one or two of them only; yet confessed that they were all true. Whereupon, the Archbishop admonished him not to dispute any more upon those points, which he faithfully promised to observe (12).

[E] *Several articles were exhibited against him.* He was charged with having asserted, I. That God, by an absolute will, created all, and every man, to eternal life: Because, he created all according to his own image; and therefore for happiness; consequently, he deprives no one of salvation, but for his sin. II. That there is a two-fold will in God, an antecedent and consequent will. By his antecedent will God hath rejected no body, otherwise he would have condemned his own work. To explain this, he alledged the instance of a King, a father, and a husbandman: A King makes laws for the good of his subjects; a father does not beget a son to have him hanged, or to disinherit him; a husbandman does not plant a tree to root it up again. III. That Christ died for all men, and for every one in particular; that all, and every man, might know they have a remedy in Christ; according to what is said, *That Christ came to save that which was lost* (13). Now all, and every man were lost in Adam: Therefore, &c. For the remedy is as extensive as the disease; and *God is no respecter of persons* (14). IV. That God’s promises to life are universal; and belong to Cain as well as to Abel, to Esau as well as Jacob, to Judas as well as to Peter. And that Cain was no more rejected of God than Abel, before he had excluded himself: That men exclude themselves from Heaven, and God does not exclude them; according to what is said, *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself* (15). — These were subscribed by Jo. Alenton, Will. Nelson, Obadiah Ashton, James Crowther, John Hooke, George Downham. — Dr Baro alledged in his own defence, that he had not

preached doctrines contrary to the nine articles. And, with regard to the grace of God sufficient to eternal life being offered to all; he said, that grace was indeed offered to all, but in a different measure: For to some was given greater grace, to others less; to some more talents, to others less (16).

[F] *The discountenance given to this affair by the Chancellor.* He told them in his letter among other things, that they sisted Dr Baro with interrogatories, as if he were a thief; — and that their proceedings against him seemed to be done ‘of stomach,’ out of passion and prejudice (17). However, his enemies not discouraged thereby, writ another letter to the Chancellor, on the 8th of March, wherein they informed him — ‘That Dr Baro (18) had not only in the sermon, but also for the space of fourteen or fifteen years taught in his lectures, preached in his sermons, determined in the schools, and printed in several books, divers points of doctrine not only contrary to himself, but also contrary to that which had been taught and received ever since her Majesty’s reign, and agreeable to the errors of Popery (19).’

[G] *With much opposition and trouble, especially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton.* Dr Goad had been his private enemy a long while. For about ten or eleven years before, in a clandestine synod at London, held probably by Cartwright and his adherents, some things had been decreed against him unheard. Of which being informed, he takes a journey to London, complains to Dr Goad who had been in that assembly, and desires him at least to show him, what they had decreed concerning, or against him. But he could not obtain a fight of it, till Dr Bancroft shewed it him a few years after. And, from that time, they hated him; and having always privately watched him, they at last took occasion from that sermon of his, to endeavour to cast him out of the university with shame (20).

(16) Strype, ubi supra, p. 470, 471.

(17) See Strype ubi supra, p. 473.

(18) So his name is written in this letter. In other places ’tis sometimes written Barow.

(19) Collier’s *Ecclesiast. Hist.* Lond. 1714, Vol. II. p. 647.

(20) Strype, *ibid.* p. 476.

[H] *We*

(12) Ibid. p. 468, 469.

(13) Matth. xviii. 11.

(14) Acts x. 34.

(15) Hosea xiii. 9.

(i) Wood, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 114.
 (k) Ibid. and Heylin, ubi supra.
 (l) Wood, ibid.
 (m) Strype's Ann. Vol. IV. p. 237.

ill usage, from the *Elect*, that for the sake of peace, he chose to retire to London, and fixed his abode in Crouched-Friers (i). There he died about three or four years after, and was decently buried in the parish church of St Olave-Hart-street, his pall being supported by six Doctors of Divinity, and his corps attended by the most eminent Ministers in the city, according to an order of Dr Bancroft, then Bishop of London (k). Dr Baro left several children, which settled in and about Boston in Lincolnshire (l). His eldest son, Samuel Baro, was a Physician, and lived and died at Lynn Regis in Norfolk (m), and in all likelihood was the same that was chosen Fellow of Peter-House, in 1584 (n). We shall give an account of Dr Baro's works, in the note [H].

(n) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 94.

[H] *We shall give an account of Dr Baro's works* They are, I. In *Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones XXXIX.* II. *Conciones tres ad Clerum Cantabrigiensem habitæ in templo B. Mariæ.* III. *Theses publicæ in Scholis peroratæ et disputatæ.* [These Theses, being only two, were translated into English by John Ludlam, under these titles; First, 'God's purpose and decree taketh 'not away the liberty of man's corrupt will.' The second, 'Our conjunction with Christ is altogether 'spiritual.' Printed at Lond. 1590, 8vo.] IV. *Prælectiones quibus usus est auctor in suis prælectionibus inchoandis et finiendis.* All these were published at London 1579, fol. by the care of Osmund Lake, B. D. Fellow of King's Coll. Cambr. who corrected them before they went to the press. V. *De Fide ejusque*

ortu et natura plana et dilucida explicatio, &c. Lond. 1580, 8vo. VI. *De præstantia et dignitate divinæ Legis, lib. 2.* Printed in 1586, 8vo. VII. *Traçtatus in quo docet expetitionem oblati a mente boni et fiduciam ad fidei justificantis naturam pertinere.* VIII. *Summa trium sententiarum de prædestinatione, &c.* Hardr. 1613, 8vo. printed with the Notes of Joh Piscator, Disquisition of Franc. Junius, and Prelection of Will Whitacre. IX. 'Special treatise of God's providence, and 'of comforts against all kind of crosses and calamities 'to be fetched from the same; with an exposition on 'Psaln cvii.' X. Four Sermons; the first on Psalm 'cxxxiii 1, 2, 3; the second, on Psalm xv. 1, 2, 3, '4, 5, &c (21). 1560, 8vo (22).

(21) Wood, Fasti Vol. 1. col. 114.
 (22) Catal. of Engl. Writers on the Old and New Testament, &c. second edit. Lond. 1663, 8vo.

B A R O N (BONAVENTURE) whose true name was Fitz-Gerald [A], was descended from a branch of the Fitz-Geralds of Burnchurch in the county of Kilkenny, a family settled in Ireland soon after the English acquisitions in that country, which has produced several men of figure in the Church [B]. But he has been more remarkable in the learned world for his maternal genealogy, being the son of a sister of Luke Wadding, that eminent Franciscan Friar, who in the last century demonstrated his great abilities and industry, by many voluminous treatises of genius and labour (a). His uncle Wadding took great care of his education in his youth, which he saw rewarded by an uncommon diligence, and when he was of a proper age procured his admission into the Franciscan order, and sent for him to Rome; where he lived under his own eye in the college of St Isidore, a society of that order founded by himself in 1625, for the education of Irish students in the study of the Liberal Arts, Divinity, and Controversy, to serve as a seminary, out of which the mission into England, Scotland, and Ireland, might be supplied. Baron, after some time, grew into high reputation, and became especially remarkable for the purity of his Latin style, which first fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal [C]; from which time his fame increased, and he became the author of many books both in prose and verse, a catalogue of which may be seen in the remarks [D]. He was for a considerable time Prælector of Divinity in the college aforesaid, and in all resided at Rome about sixty years, where he died, very old and totally deprived of sight, on the 18th of March 1696, and was buried at St Isidore's.

(a) See the article of WADDING (LXXII).

[A] *Whose true name was Fitz-Gerald.* His family were antiently Palatine Barons of Burnchurch, who had no seats in the House of Lords, but were created titular Barons by the Count Palatine of that jurisdiction, by virtue of a royal feignury granted by the Crown; of which kind of Barons there were many in England. As in Cheshire (according to Camden) (1) the Barons of Haulton, Malbank, Malpas, and Kinderten, &c. who were made so by Hugh Lupus, the first Count Palatine of Cheshire, immediately upon his creation: Of the same sort were the Barons of Walton, in the Palatinate of Lancaster, and the Baron of Hilton in the Bishopricks of Durham. In Ireland also were the Barons of Skrine, Navan, Galtrim, Nerraghmore, Rheban, &c. and the Barons of Burnchurch, from whence many of the Fitz-Geralds in process of time took the names of Baron, and it is now become a family name.

dinal, not understanding a word of Latin, to conceal his ignorance, condemned the translation, and blamed Wadding for recommending to him such a dunce. This accident made a great noise in Rome, and became the table-talk of the town. For Wadding, who wanted no preferments, and Baron who despised every thing in comparison of his reputation, appealed to the college of Jesuits, who, upon examination, unanimously allowed the version to be extremely well done, to the no small confusion of the Cardinal, and the meriment of the Publick.'

[B] *Which has produced several men of figure in the Church.* As Milo Baron, who was Prior of Inistiogh, an Augustinian abbey in the county of Kilkenny, and from thence translated to the Bishopricks of Ossory in 1527; and Roland Baron, who was consecrated Archbishop of Cashel in 1553.

[D] *A catalogue of which may be seen in the remarks.* They are these, viz.
 I. *Orationes Panegyricæ Sacro-Prophanæ decem.* Romæ 1643, 12mo.
 II. *Metra Miscellanea, five Carminum diversorum Libri duo; Epigrammatum unus; alter Silvulæ; quibus adduntur Elogia illustrium virorum.* Romæ 1645, 24to.
 III. *Prolusiones Philosophicæ.* Romæ 1651, 12mo.
 IV. *Harpocrates quinque Ludius; seu Diatriba filentii.* Romæ 1651, 12mo.
 V. *Obsidio et Expugnatio Arcis Duncannon in Hibernia, sub Thoma Prestono.*
 VI. *Boëtius Absolutus; five de Consolatione Theologicæ, lib. iv.* Romæ 1653, 12mo.
 VII. *Controversiæ et Stratagemata, Lugduni 1656, 8vo.*
 VIII. *Scotus Defensus, Colonæ 1662, folio.*
 IX. *Curfus Philosophicus, Colonæ 1664, folio.*
 X. *Epistolæ Familiæ Paræneticæ, &c.* These are among his
 XI. *Opuscula varia Herbioli, 1666, folio.*
 XII. *Theologia* (2), 6 vol. Paris 1679.

[C] *His Latin stile first fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal.* The story I had in a letter from Rome, containing many curious remarks on the college of Cardinals, which are foreign to the present purpose.—'A certain Cardinal (says the letter writer) writ a small piece in Italian, but for fame sake desired to have it put into good Latin. He employed Luke Wadding to find him out a proper person to undertake the task, and Wadding committed it to his nephew Baron's care, with whose talents that way he was well acquainted. The Car-

(2) Lipenius. Biblioth. Theol. Vol. II. p. 839.

(1) Britanania, passim.

B A R R O W (ISAAC), Bishop of St Asaph in the reign of King Charles II, was son of Isaac Barrow of Spiney-Abbey in Cambridgeshire, and uncle of the famous Dr Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge (a). He had his education at Peter-house in Cambridge, and became Fellow of that college; but was ejected by the Presbyterians about the year 1643: whereupon going to Oxford, he was appointed one of the Chaplains of New-College by the Warden Dr Pink (b). It is said, he was created Bachelor of Divinity in that university the 23d of June 1646; but his name is not to be found in the register (c). He continued at Oxford till the garrison of that place surrendered to the Parliament, after which time he shifted from place to place, and suffered with the rest of the loyal and orthodox clergy, till the Restoration of King Charles II, when he was not only restored to his fellowship in Peter-house, but elected likewise one of the Fellows of Eaton-College near Windfor. July the 5th 1663, he was consecrated Bishop of the Isle of Man, in Henry the VIIth's chapel at Westminster; and the year following he was appointed, by Charles Earl of Derby, Governor of the Isle of Man; which office he discharged with great reputation all the time he held that See, and some time after his translation to that of St Asaph. He held his fellowship of Eaton *in commendam* with the bishopric of Man, and was a considerable benefactor to that island, and especially the clergy thereof (d) [A]. Afterwards going into England for the sake of his health, and lodging in a house belonging to the Countess of Derby in Lancashire called Cross-Hall, he there received the news of his Majesty's conferring on him the bishopric of St Asaph, to which he was translated March the 21st 1669, and to which diocese he was no inconsiderable benefactor [B]. This worthy Prelate died in the 67th year of his age, at Shrewsbury, the 24th of June 1680, and was buried the first of July following at the cathedral church of St Asaph [C]. His epitaph [D] gave great offence to the Presbyterians (e) [E].

(a) See the following article.

(b) Wood, *Atben. Oxonienses*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

(c) Id. *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 56.

(d) Id. *Atben. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(e) Ib. col. 1154.

[A] He was a considerable benefactor to the island of Man, and especially to the Clergy thereof.] He collected with great care and pains from pious persons one thousand eighty one pounds, eight shillings, and four pence; with which he purchased of the Earl of Derby all the impropriations in the island, and settled them upon the Clergy in proportion to their several wants. He obliged them all likewise to teach school in their respective parishes, and allowed thirty pounds *per annum* for a free-school, and fifty pounds *per annum* for academical learning. He procured also from King Charles II, one hundred pounds a year (which, Mr Wood says, had like to have been lost) to be settled upon his Clergy, and gave one hundred thirty five pounds of his own money for a lease upon lands of twenty pounds a year, towards the maintenance of three poor scholars in the college of Dublin, that in time there might be a more learned body of Clergy in the island. He gave likewise ten pounds towards the building a bridge over a dangerous water; and did several other acts of charity and beneficence (1).

[B] He was no inconsiderable benefactor to the diocese of St Asaph.] He repaired several parts of the cathedral church, especially the north and south isles, and new covered them with lead, and wainscoted the East part of the choir. He laid out a considerable Sum of money in repairing the episcopal palace, and a mill thereunto belonging. In 1678, he built an alms-house for eight poor widows, and endowed it with twelve pounds *per annum* for ever. The same year, he procured an act of parliament for appropriating the Rectories of Llaurhaiaid and Mochant in Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, and of Skeiviog in the county of Flint, for repairs of the cathedral church of St Asaph, and the better maintenance of the choir therein, and also for the uniting several rectories that were sine-cures, and the vicarages of the same parishes, within the said diocese. He designed likewise to build a free-school, and endow it, but was prevented by death. Nevertheless, in 1687, Bishop Lloyd, who succeeded Bishop Barrow in the see of St Asaph, recovered of that Prelate's executors two hundred pounds, towards a free-school at St Asaph (2).

[C] He died at Shrewsbury — and was buried — at the cathedral church of St Asaph.] Six days after his death, his corpse was removed to his house called Argoed-Hall in Flintshire, and from thence carried to his palace at St Asaph, and the same day interred, after divine service and a sermon, by Dr Nicholas Stratford, Dean of St Asaph, on the south side of the West door in the cathedral church-yard, which was the place he had appointed (3).

[D] His epitaph.] Over his grave was laid a large flat stone, and another over that supported by pedestals; on the last of which is the following inscription engraven: *Exuvie Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in*

*manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. Obiit dictus reverendus pater festo Divi Johannis Baptistæ, anno Domini 1680, ætatis 67, et translationis suæ undecimo: i. e. 'The remains of Isaac, Bishop of St Asaph, deposited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrection thro' the alone merits of Jesus Christ. This reverend father died on the feast of St John Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1680, the 67th of his age, and the eleventh his translation' On the lower stone, which is even with the ground, is the following inscription, engraven on a brass plate fastened thereunto, which was made by the Bishop himself. *Exuvie Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transuentes in domum domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini: i. e. 'The remains of Isaac, Bishop of St Asaph, deposited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrection thro' the alone merits of Jesus Christ. O ye, who are passing into the house of the Lord, the house of prayer, pray for your fellow-servant, that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.' The said brass plate was fastened at first, as is reported there, over the said West door, but was afterwards taken down, and fastened to the lower stone next the body (4).**

[E] — gave great offence to the Presbyterians.] What they excepted against in this epitaph was, no doubt, the latter part of the second inscription, as favouring too much of the Popish doctrine of *Prayers for the dead*. But let us cite Anthony Wood (5). 'As soon as this last epitaph was put up, the contents thereof flew about the nation by the endeavours of the *godly faction* (then plumped up with hopes to carry on their diabolical designs upon account of the Popish plot, then in examination and prosecution) to make the world believe, that the said Bishop died a Papist, and that the rest of the Bishops were Papists also, or at least popishly affected, and especially for this reason, that they adhered to his Majesty, and took part with him at that time against the said faction, who endeavoured to bring the nation into confusion by their usual trade of lying and slandering, which they have always hitherto done to carry on their ends, such is the religion of the *Saints*. But so it is, let them say what they will, that the said Bishop was a virtuous, generous, and godly man, and a true son of the Church of England; and it is to be wished that those peering, poor-spirited, and sneaking wretches would endeavour to follow his example, and not to lie upon the catch, under the notion of religion, to obtain their temporal ends, private endearments, comfortable importances, filthy lusts, &c.'

(1) Wood, *Atben. Oxonienses*, Vol. II. col. 1141.

(2) Id. ib. col. 1154.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

B A R R O W (ISAAC), an eminent Mathematician and Divine of the last century, was descended from an ancient family of that name in Suffolk (a). His father was Mr Thomas Barrow [A], a reputable citizen of London (b) and Linnen-Draper to King Charles I (c); and his mother, Anne, daughter of William Buggin of North-Cray in Kent, Esq; whose tender care he did not long experience, she dying when he was about four years old. He was born at London in October 1630 [B], and was placed first in the Charter-house school for two or three years, where his behaviour afforded but little hopes of success in the profession of a scholar [C], for which his father designed him. But being removed from thence to Felstead school in Essex, his disposition took a more happy turn, and he quickly made so great a progress in learning, that his master appointed him a kind of Tutor to the Lord Viscount Fairfax of Emely in Ireland, who was then his scholar (d). During his stay at Felstead, he was admitted, December the 15th 1643, being then fourteen years of age, a Pensioner of Peter-house in Cambridge, under his uncle Mr Isaac Barrow, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph, and then Fellow of that college. But when he was qualified for the university, he was entered a Pensioner in Trinity-College, the 5th of February 1645; his uncle having been ejected, together with Seth Ward, Peter Gunning, and John Barwick, who had written against the Covenant (e). His father having suffered greatly in his estate by his attachment to the royal cause, our young student was obliged at first for his chief support to the generosity of the learned Dr Hammond, to whose memory he paid his thanks, in an excellent epitaph on the Doctor (f). In 1647, he was chosen a scholar of the house (g); and, tho' he always continued a staunch Royalist, and never would take the Covenant, yet, by his great merit and prudent behaviour, he preserved the esteem and good will of his superiors [D]. Afterwards, when the Engagement was imposed, he subscribed it; but, upon second thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he applied himself to the Commissioners, declared his dissatisfaction, and prevailed to have his name razed out of the list. He applied himself with great diligence to the study of all parts of literature, especially Natural Philosophy; and tho' he was yet but a young scholar, his judgment was too great to rest satisfied with the shallow and superficial Philosophy, then taught and received in the schools: he applied himself therefore to the reading and considering the writings of the Lord Verulam,

(a) Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(b) Mr Abr. Hill's Account of the Life of Dr Isaac Barrow, prefixed to the first Volume of the Doctor's English Works, fol. Lond. 1716. The pages are not numbered.

(c) Dr Walter Pope's Life of Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, 8vo, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(d) Hill, ubi supra.

(e) Ward, ubi supra.

(f) Printed among his Opuscula, edit. 1687, p. 301.

(g) Hill, ibid.

M. Des

[A] His father was Mr Thomas Barrow. He was son of Isaac Barrow, Esq; born at Gazeby in Suffolk in 1563, but afterwards of Spiney-abbey at Wickham in Cambridgeshire; a gentleman of a good estate, and forty years in the commission of the peace for that county. This Isaac Barrow was son of Philip Barrow, who published a *Method of Physic*, and whose brother Isaac was a Doctor in that faculty, a benefactor to Trinity-College in Cambridge, a Fellow of that college, and tutor therein to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer of England (1). They were the sons of John Barrow of Suffolk, and grandsons of Henry Barrow (2). Mr Thomas Barrow, our Divine's father, adhered to the interests of King Charles I, whom he followed to Oxford; and, after the murder of that Prince, he went to his son Charles II, then in exile, whom he attended till the Restoration (3). He had a brother whose name was Isaac, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph (4), whose consecration sermon, his nephew and name-sake preached at Westminster-Abbey (5).

[B] He was born — in October 1630. The year of his birth is evidently inferred from that of his death, which, according to his funeral inscription (6), written from the information of his father, was the year 1677; from which subtracting the years of his life, said in the same inscription to be 47, we find he was certainly born in the year 1630. And this is farther confirmed by the date of his admission in Peter-house, which, Mr Ward tells us (7), was in 1643, at which time, according to the express words of the college register (*annum agens decimum quartum*) he was entered upon the fourteenth year of his age. Notwithstanding all which, Dr Pope will have it, that the date assigned by Mr Hill is not right. Mr Hill, says he (8), fixes Dr Barrow's birth in the month of October, A. D. 1630. But I hope, he will not be offended, if I dissent from him, both as to the year and month, and produce reason for so doing; 'tis this: I have often heard Dr Barrow say, he was born upon the twenty-ninth of February; and if he said true, it could not be either in October, or in 1630, that not being a Leap-year. I would not have asserted this upon the credit of my memory, had it been any other day of any other month, it being told me so long since, had I not this remarkable circumstance to confirm it; he used to say, "It is, in one respect, the best day in the year to be born upon; for it afforded me this advantage over my fellow-collegiates, who used to keep feasts upon

“ their birth-day; I was treated by them once every year, and I entertained them once in four years, “ when February had nine and twenty days.” These accounts are so inconsistent, that we must either suppose, that Dr Barrow's father was mistaken as to the year of his son's birth, and that his age was falsely entered in the register of Peter house; or (which is no improbable conjecture) that Dr Pope has, thro' forgetfulness, ascribed that to Dr Barrow, which he had heard of some other friend.

[C] He gave but little hopes of success in the profession of a scholar. His greatest recreation, Mr Hill tells us (9), was in such sports as brought on fighting among the boys; to which he adds, his negligence of his cloaths, and (which was much worse) that of his book. Nay, there was then so little appearance of that comfort, which his father afterwards received from him, that he often solemnly wished, that if it pleased God to take away any of his children, it might be his son Isaac, so vain a thing, as my author judiciously observes, *is man's judgment, and our providence unfit to guide our own affairs*. It is observable, that Dr Barrow always retained a natural courage, tho' he had perfectly subdued all inclination to quarrelling, and that the neglect of his dress continued with him to the last.

[D] He preserved the esteem and good will of his superiors. Of this we have an instance in Dr Hill, Master of the college, who had been put in by the Parliament in the room of Dr Comber, ejected for adhering to the King (10). One day laying his hand upon our young student's head, he said, *Thou art a good lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier*; and when, in an oration on the *Gunpowder-Treason*, Mr Barrow had so celebrated the former times, as to reflect much on the present, some Fellows were provoked to move for his expulsion; but the Master silenced them with this, *Barrow is a better man than any of us* (11). This, Dr Pope observes (12), is very remarkable, and an evident testimony of our young scholar's irresistible merits, which could, as the Poets feign of Orpheus,

— — — — — *lenire tigres rabidosque leones,*
Make savage tygers and fierce lions tame;

that is, as the Doctor interprets it, *make a Presbyterian kind to a Cavalier and Malignant*, which names the adherers to the King, Church, and Laws, went under in those days.

[E] He

(1) Mr Abr. Hill's Account of the Life of Dr Isaac Barrow, prefixed to the first volume of the Doctor's English Works, fol. Lond. 1716, and Mr John Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(2) Communicated by Mr Worthington, apud Ward, ibid.

(3) Dr Walter Pope's Life of Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, 8vo, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(4) See his article.

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxoniensis*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

(6) See the remark [W].

(7) Lives of the Professors, &c. ubi supra.

(8) Life of Dr Ward, &c. p. 129.

(9) Ubi supra.

(10) Dr Pope, ubi supra, p. 132.

(11) Mr Hill, ibid.

(12) Ibid.

- M. Des Cartes, Galileo, &c. who seemed to offer something more solid and substantial (b). In 1648, Mr Barrow took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (i). The year following, he was elected Fellow of his college, merely out of regard to his merit; for he had no friend to recommend him, as being of the opposite party [E]. And now, finding the times not favourable to men of his opinions in matters of Church and State, he turned his thoughts to the profession of Physic, and made a considerable progress in the knowledge of Anatomy, Botany, and Chemistry: but afterwards, upon deliberation with himself, and with the advice of his uncle, he applied himself to the study of Divinity, to which he was further obliged by his oath on his admission to his fellowship. By reading Scaliger on Eusebius, he perceived the dependance of Chronology on Astronomy; which put him upon reading Ptolomy's *Almagest*: and finding that book and all Astronomy to depend on Geometry, he made himself master of Euclid's *Elements*, and from thence proceeded to the other antient Mathematicians. He made a short essay towards acquiring the Arabic language, but soon deserted it. And with these severer speculations, the largeness of his mind had room for the amusements of Poetry, to which he was always strongly addicted (k) [F]. In 1652, he commenced Master of Arts (l), and, on the 12th of June the following year, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford (m). When Dr Duport resigned the chair of Greek Professor, he recommended his pupil Mr Barrow to succeed him; who justified his tutor's opinion of him by an excellent performance of the probation-exercise: but being looked upon as a favourer of Arminianism, the choice fell upon another (n); and this disappointment, it is thought, helped to determine him in his resolution of travelling abroad (o) [G]. In order to execute this design, he was obliged to sell his books. Accordingly, in the year 1655, he went into France; where, at Paris, he found his father attending the English court, and out of his small *Viaticum* made him a seasonable present (p). The same year his *Euclid* was printed at Cambridge, which he had left behind him for that purpose (q). He gave his college an account of his journey to Paris in a Poem (r); and some farther observations in a Letter (s) [H]. After a few months, he went into Italy, and stayed some time at Florence, where he had the advantage of perusing several books in the Great Duke's Library, and of conversing with Mr Fitton his Librarian (t) [I]. Here the straitness of his circumstances must have put an end to his travels, had he not been generously supplied with money by Mr James Stock, a young Merchant of London, to whom he afterwards dedicated his edition of Euclid's *Data* (u). He was desirous to have seen Rome; but the plague then raging in that city, he took ship at Leghorn, November the 6th 1656, for Smyrna. In this voyage they were attacked by a corsair of Algiers, who, perceiving the stout defence the ship made, sheered off and left her; and upon this occasion Mr Barrow gave a remarkable instance of his natural courage and intrepidity (w) [K]. At Smyrna, he made himself welcome

[E] He had no friend to recommend him, as being of the opposite party.] Dr Pope, having mentioned this particular circumstance attending Mr Barrow's election, says; 'This brings to my memory a certificate or testimonial, which my worthy friend Dr Gilbert Ironside, then Warden of Wadham-College in Oxford, and now Bishop of Hereford, gave to a member of that college, who was candidate for a fellowship in another college; it was to this purpose: *If this person, whom I recommend to you, be not a better scholar than any of those who are his competitors, choose him not*; and he did, upon examination and trial, so far surpass the rest, that they could not refuse him, without being and appearing partial and unjust. I mention this as parallel to Dr Barrow's case (13).'

(13) *Life of Bishop Ward*, p. 133.

(14) *Ubi supra*.

[F] He was always strongly addicted to Poetry.] This is sufficiently evident from the many performances he has left us in that art. Mr Hill tells us (14), he was particularly pleased with that branch of it, which consists in description, but greatly disliked the hyperboles of some modern Poets. As for our plays, he was an enemy to them, as a principal cause of the debauchery of the times; the other causes he thought to be, the French education, and the ill example of great persons. For *satires*, he wrote none; his wit, as Mr Hill expresses it, was pure and peaceable.

(15) *Ibid*.

(16) *Ibid*.

[G] This disappointment helped to determine him in his resolution of travelling abroad.] His other motives, according to Dr Pope (15), were the melancholy aspect of public affairs, and a desire to see some of those places mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors. But whatever they were, there is no doubt, as Mr Hill observes (16), but that he, who, in lesser occurrences, did very judiciously consider all circumstances, had on good grounds made this resolution.

[H] Some observations in a letter.] This letter, which shews Mr Barrow's piercing judgment in political affairs, when he turned his thoughts that way, gives a particular account of the controversy between M. Ar-

naud the Janenist and the Jesuits, and mentions the favourable disposition of the King and Queen of France towards the Protestants of that kingdom, which plainly appeared upon the following remarkable occasion. The Archbishop of Thoulouse, being to come to Paris, waited upon the Queen, and in discourse with her majesty began to complain that the Protestants enjoyed too great a liberty in his diocese; to which that Princess replied by assuring him, that she had sufficiently experienced their loyalty, and had found them to be more faithful subjects than those who accused them of sedition. The King coming in during the conversation, joined with the Queen in her opinion of the Protestants, and declared he would continue to them the liberty, which had been granted them by the edicts of his predecessors. In speaking of the university of Paris, Mr Barrow tells them, that it produced at that time very few men of distinguished learning and abilities, and that its colleges were remarkable for nothing but their structures, tho', even in that respect, the University of Cambridge had no reason to envy that of Paris, since Trinity-college alone equalled, if not exceeded, the colleges of the Sorbonne, Navarre, and Clermont, thrown together.

[I] Mr Fitton, the Great Duke's Librarian.]

This gentleman, who was an Englishman, had been appointed by the Great Duke of Tuscany to take upon him the charge of that valuable treasure of antiquity, his library, on account of his extraordinary abilities in that sort of learning (17). This is so clearly expressed by Mr Hill, that one would wonder how Dr Pope came to mistake him so far, as to assert (18), that, upon Mr Fitton's recommendation, Mr Barrow was invited by the Great Duke to accept of the office of his Librarian.

[K] A remarkable instance of his natural courage

and intrepidity.] Take it in Dr Pope's words: 'In his passage from Leghorn to Constantinople, the ship he failed in was attacked by an Algerine Pirate; during the fight, he betook himself to his arms (*), and stayed

(17) Hill, *ibid*.

(18) *Ubi supra*, p. 134.

(*) Mr Hill says he stood to the gun appointed him with great courage.

welcome to Mr Bretton the Consul, upon whose death he afterwards wrote an elegy (x), and to the English factory. From thence he proceeded to Constantinople, where he met with a very friendly reception from Sir Thomas Bendish the English Ambassador, and Sir Jonathan Daws, with whom he afterwards kept up an intimate friendship and correspondence. This voyage, from Leghorn to Constantinople, he has described in a Latin Poem (y) [L]. At Constantinople, he read over the Works of St Chryostom, once Bishop of that See, whom he preferred to all the other Fathers. Having stayed in Turkey above a year, he returned from thence to Venice, where, soon after they were landed, the ship took fire, and with all the goods was consumed. From thence he came home, in 1659, thro' Germany and Holland, and has left a description of some parts of those countries in his Poems. Soon after his return into England, the time (z) being somewhat elapsed, before which all Fellows of Trinity-college are obliged to take orders, or quit the society, Mr Barrow was episcopally ordained by Bishop Brownrig, notwithstanding the unsettled state of the times, and the declining condition of the Church of England. Upon the King's Restoration, his friends expected he would have been immediately preferred on account of his having suffered and deserved so much; but it came to nothing, which made him wittily say (which he has not left in his Poems)

Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
Et nemo sensit te rediisse minus (a).

That is,

*Thy Restoration, Royal Charles, I see,
By none more wish'd, by none less felt, than me.*

However he wrote an ode upon that occasion, in which he introduces *Britannia* congratulating the King upon his return (b). In 1660, he was chosen, without a competitor, Greek Professor of the university of Cambridge (c). His oration, spoken upon that occasion [M], is preserved among his *Opuscula* (d). When he entered upon this province, he designed to have read upon the *Tragedies* of Sophocles; but, altering his intention, he made choice of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (e). These Lectures, having been lent to a person, who never returned them, are irrecoverably lost (f). The year following, which was 1661, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (g). July the 16th 1662, he was elected Professor of Geometry in Gresham-College, in the room of Mr Lawrence Rook, and chiefly thro' the interest and recommendation of Dr Wilkins, Master of Trinity-College, and afterwards Bishop of Chester. In this station, he not only discharged his own duty, but supplied likewise the absence of Dr Pope the Astronomy Professor. Among his Lectures, some were upon the projection of the sphere; which being borrowed and never returned, are lost (h). But his Latin Oration, previous to his Lectures, is still extant [N]. The same year 1662, he wrote an *Epitaphium* on the marriage

* stayed upon the deck cheerfully and vigorously fighting, 'till the Pirate, perceiving the stout defence the ship made, sheered off and left her. I asked him, why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong; he replied, "it concerned no man more than myself; I would rather have lost my life, than have fallen into the hands of those merciless Infidels." This engagement, and his own stout and intrepid behaviour in it, to defend his liberty, which he valued more than his life, as he asserts in that verse,

* Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,

he describes at large in a copy of verses (19) in the fourth volume of works (20). Dr Pope adds to this another accident, which, because it is a farther proof of Dr Barrow's natural courage and intrepidity, I shall insert in this place. 'He was at a gentleman's house in the country, if I mistake not in Cambridgeshire, where the necessary-house was at the end of a long garden, and consequently at a great distance from the room where he lodged; as he was going to it very early, even before day, for he was sparing of sleep, and a very early riser, a fierce mastiff, who used to be chained up all day, and let loose at night for the security of the house, perceiving a strange person in the garden at that unseasonable time, set upon him with great fury. The Doctor caught him by the throat, threw him, and lay upon him, and, whilst he kept him down, considered what he should do in that exigent; once he had a mind to kill him, but he quite altered this resolution, judging it would be an unjust action, for the dog did his duty, and he himself was in fault for ram-

bling out of his lodgings before 'twas light. At length he called out so loud, that he was heard by some of the house, who came presently out, and freed both the Doctor and the dog from the eminent danger they were both in (21).'

[L] *This voyage* ——— she has described in a Latin poem.] The time of his sailing from Leghorn is, at the head of this poem, thro' mistake, printed Nov. 6. anno 1657; it should be 1656; otherwise he could not have stayed above a year in Turkey, as Mr Hill assures us he did, and is manifest from his letter to the Master and Fellows of Trinity-College, dated at Constantinople Aug. 1, 1658 (22).

[M] *His oration spoken upon that occasion.*] In this speech Dr Barrow pays a high compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheek, Downs, Chrichton, and Dr Duport; and particularly commemorates Erasmus, who had been so nobly instrumental in reviving the study of the learned languages. He compliments the University of Cambridge upon the good sense, true judgment, real wit, and extensive learning with which it abounded; in which respects it had the advantage over all the universities he had seen in his travels. He apologizes for his own insufficiency and inability to fill that chair; but, as he had the honour to be elected, he should use his utmost endeavours to supply the want of genius, by industry and diligent application. He congratulates his hearers upon the revival and encouragement of good literature and the politer arts by his Majesty's happy Restoration. Lastly, he expatiates upon the great antiquity, extensive use, peculiar energy, and superior advantages of the Greek language; and displays the several merits of it's writers in every branch of learning.

[N] *His Latin oration, previous to his Lectures, is still extant.*] It is printed in his *Opuscula*, or fourth volume

(19) It is intitled, *Iter maritimum a portu Ligustico ad Constantinopolim.* See his *Opuscula*, or fourth Vol. of his Works, p. 211.

(20) *Life of Dr Seth Ward*, &c. p. 136, 137.

(x) *Inter Opuscula*, p. 302.

(y) *Ib.* p. 302.

(z) *Viz.* Seven years after the degree of Master of Arts.

(a) Hill, *ibid.*

(b) *Opusc.* p. 309.

(c) Hill, *ibid.*

(d) Page 100.

(e) Dr Worthington to Mr Hartlib, Oct. 21, 1661, MS. Mr Worthington. *apud* Ward, *ubi supra*. p. 160.

(f) Hill, *ib.*

(g) Ward, *ib.*

(h) Hill, *ib.*

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) It is printed in Mr Ward's *Lives*, &c. Appendix, No. 10, p. 397.

- (i) *Opuſc.* p. 275. marriage of King Charles and Queen Catherine, in Greek verſe (*i*). About this time, Mr Barrow was offered a very good living; but the condition annexed of teaching the patron's ſon made him reſuſe it, as too like a ſimoniacal contract (*k*). Upon the 20th of May 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the firſt choice made by the Council after their charter (*l*). The ſame year, Mr Lucas having founded a Mathematical Lecture at Cambridge, Mr Barrow was ſo powerfully recommended, by Dr Wilkins, to that gentleman's executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck, that he was appointed the firſt Profeſſor; and the better to ſecure the end of ſo noble and uſeful a foundation, he took care that himſelf and his ſucceſſors ſhould be obliged to leave yearly to the univerſity ten written Lectures (*m*). We have his *Preferatory Oration* [O], ſpoken in the publick Mathematical ſchool, March the 14th 1664 (*n*). Tho' his two profeſſorſhips were not inconſiſtent, he choſe to reſign that of Greſham-College; which he accordingly did, May the 20th 1664. He had been invited to take the charge of the Cotton Library; but, after a ſhort trial, he declined it, and reſolved to ſettle in the univerſity. In 1669, he reſigned the Mathematical chair, to his very worthy friend and learned ſucceſſor Mr Iſaac Newton, being determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity [P]. In 1670, he wrote a Latin poem upon the death of the Duchefs of Orleans (*o*), an *Epicidium* upon the Duke of Albemarle (*p*), and a Latin Ode upon the Trinity (*q*). He was only a Fellow of Trinity-College, when he was collated by his uncle, the Biſhop of St Aſaph, to a ſmall *Sine-Cure* in Wales, and by Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of Salifbury, to a prebend in that cathedral [Q]; the profits of both which he applied to charitable uſes, and afterwards reſigned them, when he became Maſter of his college (*r*). This year, 1670, he was created Doctör in Divinity by mandate (*s*). In 1672, Dr Pearſon, Maſter of Trinity-College, being, upon the death of Biſhop Wilkins, removed to the biſhoprick of Cheſter (*t*), Dr Barrow was appointed by the King to ſucceed him [R]; and his Maſteſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that occaſion, *he had given*

it

- (23) Page 90. volume of his *Works* (23), and opens with a compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, founder of the college. From thence the Orator proceeds to celebrate his predeceſſors in the Geometry Lecture, Mr Henry Briggs, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and Mr Laurence Rooke; and laments his own want of abilities to ſupply the place of ſuch great men. The reſt of the oration is taken up in diſplaying the ſolid foundation, and great advantages, of *Geometry*, to which the world has been obliged for ſo many noble and uſeful diſcoveries.

[O] *His Preferatory Oration.*] In this piece the Doctör gives us a fine encomium on Mr Lucas, founder of the Lecture, and pays a compliment to his executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck. He then mentions the reaſons, which induced him to reſign the Greek Profeſſorſhip for that of the Mathematics, which were chiefly, that the bent of his genius led him more ſtrongly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy than of Philology, the knowledge of things than of words; and that, having undertaken the Greek lecture, at a time when the duty of it was very great and the profits very ſmall, he thought himſelf at liberty, eſpecially now that the circumſtances of that lecture were altered very much to it's advantage, to quit it, and exchange a very laborious duty for one of leſs fatigue. He employs the reſt of the oration on the praifes of the *Mathematics*, and their excellent uſe in freeing the mind from credulity, fortifying it againſt the vanity of Sceptiſm, reſtraining it from raſhneſs and preſumption, inclining it's aſſent to proper evidence, ſubjecting it to the juſt authority of reaſon, and ſetting it free from the unjuſt tyranny of deluſive prejudices; in fixing the volatility of the imagination, ſharpening the dull and heavy genius, pruning the luxuriant, bridling the impetuous, and ſpurring the ſlow and indolent.

[P] *He determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity.*] What contributed not a little to detach him from the farther purſuit of mathematical knowledge; was, the little notice that had been taken of his *Geometrical Lectures*; which had now been ſome time publiſhed, and yet Mr Hill tells us (24), he had heard of very few that had read and conſidered them thoroughly, beſides M. Sluſius of Liege, and Mr Gregory of Scotland, two that might, indeed, be reckoned inſtead of many; but the little reliſh that ſuch things met with helped to looſen him from theſe ſpeculations, and the more engage his inclination to the ſtudy of Morality and Divinity, which had always been ſo predominant, that, when he commented on *Archimedes*, he could not forbear in diſcourſe to prefer and admire much more Suárez for his book of *Legibus*.

(24) Ubi ſupra.

[Q] *He was collated by Biſhop Ward to a Prebend in the cathedral church of Salifbury.*] That Prelate, Dr Pope tells us (25), had invited Dr Barrow to live with him, not as a Chaplain, but rather as a friend and companion, tho' he frequently officiated in the abſence of the domeſtic Chaplain. About this time, the archdeaconry of North Wiltſhire becoming void, the Biſhop made an offer of it to Dr Barrow, who modeſtly and abſolutely reſuſed it, for a reaſon, which Dr Pope thinks it not neceſſary to declare. Soon after, a Prebendary of Salifbury being dead, and the Biſhop offering Dr Barrow the Prebend, he gratefully accepted it, and was inſtalled accordingly. 'I remember about that time, ſays Dr Pope, I heard him once ſay, *I wiſh I had five hundred pounds.* I replied, *That's a great ſum for a Philoſopher to deſire; what would you do with ſo much?* I would, ſaid he, *give it my ſiſter for a portion, that would procure her a good huſband.* Which ſum, in few months after, he received, for putting a life into the corps of his new Prebend; after which he reſigned it to Mr Corker of Trinity College in Cambridge.' Dr Pope relates a circumſtance during Dr Barrow's reſidence in the Biſhop's family, which, however trifling it may be thought, I ſhall here ſet down in that writer's own words: 'We were once going from Salifbury to London, he in the coach with the Biſhop, and I on horſeback; as he was entering the coach, I perceived his pockets ſtrutting out near half a foot, and ſaid to him, *What have you got in your pockets?* He replied, *Sermons; Sermons,* ſaid I, *give them me, my boy ſhall carry them in his portmanteau, and eaſe you of that luggage.* But, ſaid he, *ſuppoſe your boy ſhould be robbed.* *That's pleaſant,* ſaid I; *do you think there are Parsons padding upon the road for ſermons? Why, what have you,* ſaid he; *it may be five or ſix guineas; I hold my ſermons at a greater rate; they coſt me much pain and time.* Well then, ſaid I, *if you'll inſure my five or ſix guineas againſt Lay-Padders, I'll ſecure your bundle of ſermons againſt Eccleſiaſtical-Highway-men.* This was agreed; he emptied his pockets, and filled my portmanteau with Divinity, and we had the good fortune to come ſafe to our journey's end, without meeting either ſort of the Padders before-mentioned, and to bring both our treaſures to London (26).'

(25) Ubi ſupra, p. 142, &c.

(26) Ib. p. 144.

[R] *He was appointed by the King Maſter of Trinity-College.*] The Doctör being at that time one of the King's Chaplains, his Maſteſty had often done him the honour to converſe with him, and in his facetious way uſed to call him an *unfair Preacher*, becauſe he exhausted every ſubject, and left no room for others to come after him (27). This preferment was not at all obtained

(27) Ward, *ibid.*

it to the best scholar in England (u). His patent [S] bears date February the 13th 1672, and he was admitted the 27th of the same month (w). He gave the highest satisfaction to that society, whose interest he constantly and carefully consulted (x) [T]. In 1675, he was chosen Vice-Chancellor of the university (y). This great and learned Divine died of a fever [U], the 4th of May 1677, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, where a monument was erected to him by the contribution of his friends. His epitaph [W] was written by his dear friend Dr Mapletoft (z). He left his manuscripts to Dr Tillotson and Mr Abraham Hill, with permission to publish of them what they should think fit (a).

(u) Hill, ib.
(w) Ward, ib.
(x) Hill, ib.
(y) Ward, ib.
(z) Hill, ib.
(a) Dr Pope, ubi supra, p. 167.

We

obtained by faction or flattery; it was the King's own act, tho' Dr Barrow's merit made those of the greatest power forward to contribute towards it, particularly, Gilbert Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of Cambridge, and formerly a member of Trinity-College (28).

[S] His patent. His patent, according to Mr Hill (29), being drawn up, as it had been for some others, with permission to marry, he was at the charge of getting it altered, as thinking it not agreeable to the statutes, from which he desired no dispensation. Dr Pope pretends, he procured a new patent. 'Nay, says that Life-writer (30), he chose rather to be at the expence of double fees, and procure a new patent, without the marrying clause, than perpetually to stand upon his guard against the sieges, batteries, and importunities, which he foresaw that honourable and profitable perferment would expose him to;

----- Imitatus Castora, qui fe
Eunuchum ipse facit, &c.

in this wisely imitating the beaver; who knows for what he is hunted. Thus making matrimony a forfeiture of his preferment, it was as effectual a way to secure him from all dangers of that kind as castration itself could have been; for women, in this age, like hens, desire only to lay where they see nest-eggs.' But it is not true, that Dr Barrow procured a new patent, the original instrument, in the hands of the Earl of Oxford, having a blank occasioned by the erasurement (31).

[T] He constantly and carefully consulted the interest of that society. Particularly, he excused them from some expences, and allowances, which they had made to his predecessors (32); among other instances, he remitted to them the charge of keeping a coach for him, as had been done for other masters (33). Upon the single affair of building their library, which was begun under his mastership, he wrote out quires of paper in letters, chiefly to those who had been of the college, first to engage their benefactions, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted. He kept no copies of these letters; but by the generous returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no small value (34).

[U] He died of a fever. It pleased God, Mr Hill tells us (35), that being invited to preach the Passion-Sermon, April 13, 1677, at Guild-Hall, (which, by the way, was the second sermon, for which he received any pecuniary recompence) he never preached but once more, presently after falling sick of a fever. The like distemper he had once or twice before, tho' otherwise of a constant health; but this fatally prevailed against the skill and diligence of many Physicians his good friends. Dr Pope is more particular in relating the circumstances of Dr Barrow's death. 'The last time he was in London, says that writer (36), whether he came, as it is customary, to the election of Westminster, he went to Knightsbridge to give the Bishop of Salisbury a visit, and then made me engage my word to come to him at Trinity-College immediately after the Michaelmas ensuing. I cannot express the rapture of the joy I was in, having, as I thought, so near a prospect of his charming and instructive conversation; I fancied it would be a heaven upon earth, for he was immensely rich in learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, delighting in nothing more than to impart to others, if they desired it, whatever he had attained by much time and study; but of a sudden all my hopes vanished, and were melted like snow before the sun. Some few days after he came again to Knightsbridge, and sat down to dinner, but I observed he did not eat.

Whercupon I asked him how it was with him; he answered, that he had a slight indisposition hanging upon him, with which he had struggled two or three days, and that he hoped by fasting and opium to get it off, as he had removed another and more dangerous sickness, at Constantinople, some years before. But these remedies availed him not; his malady proved, in the event, an inward, malignant, and insuperable fever, of which he died May 24, Anno Dom. 1677, in the 47th year of his age, in mean lodgings, at a Sadler's near Charing-Cross; an old, low, ill-built house, which he had used for several years; for tho' his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the mastership of Trinity-college, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals; he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodgings.' The same writer informs us (37), that my Lord Keeper sent a message of condolance to Dr Barrow's father, who had then some place under him, importing that he had but too great reason to grieve for the loss of so good a son, but that he should mitigate his sorrow upon that very consideration.

[W] His epitaph. It is as follows:

ISAACUS BARROW

S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.

Vir prope Divinus, et vere Magnus, si quid magni habent Pietas, Probitas, Fides, summa Eruditio, par Modestia, Mores sanctissimi undeque et suavissimi.

Geometriæ Professor Londini Greshamensis, Græcæ linguæ et Matheseos apud Cantabrigienses suos. Cathedras omnes, Ecclesiam, Gentem, ornavit.

Collegium S. S. Trinitatis Præfès illustravit, Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ fundamentis auxit. Opes, Honores, et universum vitæ ambitum, Ad majora natus, non contempit, sed reliquit seculo.

Deum quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus est Paucissimis egendo, beneficiendo quam plurimis, Etiam posteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non desinit. Cætera et penè majora ex scriptis peti possunt.

Abi, Lector, et æmulare.

Obiit 4 Die Maii. Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.

Ætat. suæ XLVII.

Monumentum hoc Amici posuere.

In English.

ISAAC BARROW, Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. A godlike, and truly great man, if piety, probity, fidelity, the most extensive learning, and no less modesty, together with most holy and sweet manners, can confer that title. He was Professor of Geometry in Gresham-college, London; and of the Greek tongue and Mathematics, at Cambridge: An ornament to all his chairs, to the Church, and to the nation. He added lustre to Trinity-college, as Master, and improved it by laying the foundation of a truly Royal Library. Riches, honours, and whatever else men eagerly pursue, he did not despise, but neglect, being born to greater and nobler views. God, whom he had served from his youth, he imitated in wanting but few things, and doing good to all, even posterity, to whom, tho' dead, he yet preacheth. The rest, and even greater things than these, may be found in his writings. Go, reader, and imitate him. He died the 4th of May 1677, in the 47th year of his age. His friends erected this monument to his memory.

[X] A

(28) Hill, ibid.
(29) Ibid.

(30) Ubi supra, p. 165.

(31) Communicated by the late Rev. Mr Baker of Cambridge. See Ward, ubi supra, p. 162.

(32) Hill, ibid.

(33) Dr Pope, ubi supra, p. 165.

(34) Hill, ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ubi supra, p. 166, &c.

(37) Ibid.

We shall give a catalogue, with some account, of Dr Barrow's Works in the remark [X].
He

[X] *A catalogue, with some account, of Dr Barrow's works.* The following were published in his life-time: I. *Euclid's Elementa*; i. e. 'Euclid's Elements.' Printed at Cambridge in 1655, and oftner, 8vo. This is an edition of all the books and propositions of Euclid, demonstrated in a more compendious manner than had been done before. It was afterwards translated into English, and published at London, 1660, &c. 8vo. II. *Euclid's Data*; i. e. 'Euclid's Data.' Cambridge 1657, 8vo. This was subjoined to the *Elements* in some following editions. III. *Lectiones Opticæ XVIII, Cantabrigiæ in Scholis publicis habitæ, in quibus Opticorum Phænomenon genuinæ rationes investigantur et exponuntur*; i. e. 'Optical Lectures, read in the publick Schools at Cambridge, in which the true reasons of the Optical Phænomena are investigated and explained.' London, 1669, 4to. It is dedicated to Robert Raworth and Thomas Buck, Esquires; the executors of Mr Lucas, founder of the Mathematical Professorship. In the preface, he acquaints us, that Mr Isaac Newton revised the copy, pointed out several things which wanted correction, and made some additions of his own. An account of this book is published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. LXXXV. pag. 2258 for September, 1671. These Lectures being sent to the learned Mr James Gregory, Professor of the Mathematics at St Andrews in Scotland, and perused by him, he gave the following character of the author in a letter to Mr John Collins (38): 'Mr Barrow in his *Opticks* sheweth himself a most subtil Geometer, so that I think him superior to any that ever I looked upon. I long exceedingly to see his *Geometrical Lectures*, especially because I have some notions upon that same subject by mee. I entreat you to send them to me presently, as they come from the press, for I esteem the author more than yee can easilie imagine.' Being informed by letter, that an account of these Lectures, together with those on Geometry, was designed to be printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, he shews by his answer (39), how cautious he was, that nothing might be said to recommend them to the Reader. 'Concerning the character (says he) which you speake of, of my bookes, I shall esteem myself obliged to you, if you will effect, that there be nothing said of them in the *Philosophical Reports*, beyond a short and simple account of their subject. I pray, let there be nothing of commendation, or difcommendation of them; but let them take their fortune or fate, *pro captu lectoris*. Any thing more will cause me displeasure, and will not do them, or me, any good.' IV. *Lectiones Geometricæ XIII, in quibus præsertim generalia linearum curvarum symptomata declarantur*; i. e. 'Thirteen Geometrical Lectures, treating more especially of the Properties of Curve Lines.' London, 1670, 4to. An account of this book is published in the abovementioned *Transaction*, pag. 2260; with *An Addition of some Corollaries communicated by the author, belonging to the second Problem of his third Appendix to the twelfth Lecture*. These Lectures were first printed separately from the former upon Optics; but afterwards, in the years 1672 and 1674, they were published together with them, but without the *Corollaries* now mentioned, whence it is probable they were not re-printed, but only a new Title-page prefixed to them. V. *Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Conicorum libri IV, Theodosii Spherica, methodo nova illustrata, et succinctè demonstrata*; i. e. 'The Works of Archimedes, the four Books of Apollonius's Conic Sections, and Theodosius's Spherics, explained in a new method, and briefly demonstrated.' London, 1675, 4to. As to the *Lemmata* of Archimedes published in this volume, we are told in the Preface, that they now appear in Latin, from two translations; the one by the learned John Gravius, published, with some Animadversions, by Mr Samuel Foster, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham-college, in 1659; the other by Abraham Ecchellenfis, published at Florence with Notes by that excellent Mathematician, Alphonfus Borellus. An account of this work may be seen in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. CXIV. pag. 314. May 1675. And the copy of all the books of Archimedes, published in it, except the second book *De Equiponderantibus*, the two books, *De insidentibus humido*, the *Lemmata*, and the book *De Arenæ Numero*, written in

Dr Barrow's own hand, in one *octavo* volume, and the four books of Apollonius in another volume in *quarto*, are reposit in the library of the Royal Society (40). (40) In the *Catalogi librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ, &c.* printed at Oxford, these two manuscripts are thus imperfectly described: *Isaacus Barroce in Apollonii Conicis*. 2 Vols. Tom. II. p. 84. Before his *Apollonius* Dr Barrow wrote the following divine ejaculation. 'Ο Θεός γεωμετρει. Tu autem, Domine, quantus es Geometra? Quum enim hæc scientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in sempiternum novorum theorematum inventioni locus relinquatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium; tu uno hæc omnia intuitu perfecta habes, absque catena consequentiæ, absque tædio demonstrationum. Ad cætera penè nihil facere potest intellectus noster; et tanquam Brutorum phantasia videtur non nisi incerta quadam fomniare; unde in iis quot sunt homines, tot existunt fere sententiæ. In his conspiratur ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium se posse aliquid, imo ingens aliquid et mirificum visum esse, ut nihil magis mirum; quod enim in cæteris penè ineptum, in hoc efficax, sedulum, prosperum, &c. Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te suspicor, atque illum diem desidero suspiriis fortibus, in quo purgata mente et claro oculo non hæc solum omnia absque hac successiva et laboriosa imaginandi cura, verum multo plura et majora ex tua bonitate et immensissima sanctissimaque benignitate conspiceret et scire concedetur, &c.' i. e. *God acts the Geometrician. But how great a Geometrician art thou, O Lord! For whereas this science has no bounds, and there is room even for human wit to discover infinite new theorems, thou perceivest all these truths at one view, without a chain of consequences, and without the tiresome length of demonstrations. In other points our understanding is almost entirely at a stand, and, like the imagination of brutes, seems only to dream of some uncertain objects; whence in such matters there are almost as many opinions as there are men. But in these there is an universal agreement; in these the human mind seems capable of something great and wonderful; for notwithstanding its inability in other respects, here it exerts itself with diligence and success, &c. Thee, therefore, even upon this account, I rejoice to love; to thee I look up, and with ardent wishes expect that day, when thy immense goodness shall enable me to perceive and understand, not only all these things, but even more truths, and of much greater importance, with a mind purged from error and prejudice, and without this successive and laborious effort of the imagination.*

These, which follow, were published after Dr Barrow's decease: I. *Lectio, in qua Theoremata Archimedis de Sphæra et Cyliandro, per methodum indivisibilium investigata, ac breviter demonstrata, exhibentur*; i. e. 'A Lecture, in which Archimedes's Theorems of the Sphere and Cylinder are investigated and briefly demonstrated by the method of Indivisibles.' London 1678, 12mo. This was written in English, but soon after the author's death being turned into Latin, was subjoined to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* and *Data*. II. *Mathematicæ Lectiones, habitæ in Scholis publicis Academicæ Cantabrigiensi, Ann. Dom. 1664, 5, 6, &c.* i. e. 'Mathematical Lectures, read in the public Schools of the University of Cambridge, in the years 1664, 1665, 1666, &c.' London 1683, 8vo. These were some of his Lucasian Lectures; to which the editor, Mr Wells, has prefixed the author's *Oratio Præfatoria* (41), made at the opening of them. III. *The Works of the learned ISAAC BARROW, D. D. late Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge (Being all his English Works) in THREE VOLUMES. Published by his Grace DR JOHN TILLOTSON, late Archbishop of Canterbury.* The first edition of these Works was in 1685, when Dr Tillofton was Dean of Canterbury; to whom Mr Abraham Hill addresses his *Account of the Life of Dr Isaac Barrow*, prefixed to the first volume. There have been several editions, the last in 1741. It is dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, by the author's father Mr Thomas Barrow. The first volume contains, *Thirty-two Sermons preached upon several occasions; A Brief Exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue*; to which is added, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, to which is added, *A Discourse concerning the Unity of Church*. The excellency of Dr Barrow's Sermons is so thoroughly understood at this time of day, as to stand in need of no Elogium. M. Le Clerc says of them;

(41) See the remark [O].

(38) Dat. 29 Jan. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, apud Ward, ubi supra, p. 161.

(39) Dat. 25 Apr. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, apud Ward, ib. p. 162.

He was not only remarkable for the excellence, but for the extraordinary length likewise; of

Les Sermons de cet auteur sont plutôt des traitez, ou des dissertations exactes, que des simples harangues pour plaire à la multitude (42). i. e. 'This author's sermons are rather treatises, or compleat dissertations, than meer harangues to please the multitude.' The editor, Dr Tillotson, gives us the following account of the subject-matter, and some other particulars relating to these sermons (43). The design of the *five* first is, to recommend religion to our esteem and practice, from the consideration of the manifold excellencies and advantages of it. The *four* next treat of the two great duties of religion, and parts of divine worship, prayer and thanksgiving; and contain likewise a very powerful persuasive to the practice of them. The *three* following were preached upon three solemn occasions; the first of them upon the 29th May, 1676, the anniversary of his majesty's happy Restoration; the second upon the 5th of November 1675, in commemoration of our deliverance from the Powder-Treason; both in the year of his Vice-Chancellorship; the third, at the consecration of the Bishop of *Man* (afterwards Lord Bishop of *St Asaph*) his uncle; in which he pleads for the due respect and revenue of the Clergy; with so much modesty, and yet with so great force of reason and eloquence, that the whole profession may justly think themselves for ever indebted to him. Some of these *twelve* sermons were the very first that he made; by which we may judge with what preparation and furniture he entered upon this sacred employment. The *first* of them was preached at *St Mary's* in Cambridge, June 30, 1661, and was (the editor thinks) the first that he ever preached. Those *two* excellent sermons of thanksgiving were, it is said, the next. The *fourth* in order was the first that he preached before the King. In placing of them as they now stand, the editor had very little regard to the order of time, but rather to some small reason taken from the subject-matter of them. The next *ten* sermons were placed together, because of their affinity to one another, all of them relating to the same argument, and tending to reform the several vices of the tongue. The *two* last of them indeed, against *pragmaticalness*, and meddling in the affairs of others, do not so properly belong to this subject; but considering that this vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and is almost ever attended with some irregularity and indiscretion of speech, they are not altogether so foreign and unsuitable to it. The *eight* following sermons are likewise sorted together, because they explain and enforce the two great commandments of the law, the love of God, and of our neighbour. The *two* next were published by himself, and only these two. The first of them, concerning *the duty and reward of bounty to the poor*, was preached at the *Spital*, and published at the desire of the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen: 'This (says the editor) was received with universal approbation; and perhaps there is nothing extant in *Divinity* more perfect in it's kind; it seems to have exhausted the whole argument, and to have left no consideration belonging to it untouched.' The other, on *the Passion of our blessed Saviour*, 'was the last he preached but one, and, I think, the occasion of his death, by a cold he then got, which, in all probability, was the cause of the fever of which he died, to our unspeakable loss.' This he sent to the press himself, but did not live to see it printed off. The *Exposition on the Creed*, &c. Mr Ward tells us (44), was a talk enjoined him by the College, being obliged by the statutes to compose some Theological discourses; and these, he says (45), so took up his thoughts, that he could not easily apply them to any other matter. The excellent and elaborate *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* was written after his promotion to the headship of *Trinity-college*. 'He understood Popery (says the writer of his life) both at home and abroad; he had narrowly observed it, militant in *England*, triumphant in *Italy*, disguised in *France*; and had earlier apprehensions than most others of the approaching danger, and would have appeared with the forwardest at a needful time' (46). The learned author, upon his death-bed, gave Dr Tillotson a particular permission to publish it, with this modest character of the performance, that he hoped it was indifferent perfect, tho' not altogether as

he intended it, if God had granted him longer life. He designed indeed to have transcribed it again, and to have filled up those many spaces, which were purposely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illustration of several things by more testimonies and instances, which probably he had in his thoughts. However, as it is, (to use the editor's words) it is not only a just, but an admirable discourse upon this subject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhausted it; insomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any consideration properly belonging to it, hath escaped his large and comprehensive mind. He hath said enough to silence the controversy for ever, and to deter all wise men, of both sides, from meddling any farther with it. 'And I dare say (adds Dr Tillotson, with some warmth) whoever shall carefully peruse this Treatise, will find, that this point of the *Pope's Supremacy* (upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to say, the whole of *Christianity* depends) is not only an indefensible, but an impudent cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have kept it so long from becoming ridiculous in the judgment of all mankind, but it being so strongly supported by a worldly interest. For there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it. There is neither from scripture, nor reason, nor antiquity, any evidence for it; the past, and the present state of *Christendom*, the history and records of all ages, are a perpetual demonstration against it; and there is no other ground in the whole world for it, but that now of a long time it hath been by the *Pope's Janizaries* boldly asserted, and stiffly contended for without reason. So that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that the *Grand Seigneur* is of right, and for many ages hath been acknowledged, sovereign of the whole world, as that the *Bishop of Rome* is of right, and in all ages from the beginning of *Christianity* hath been owned to be the *Universal Monarch* and *Head* of the *Christian Church* (47). The second volume of Dr Barrow's *English Works* consists of *Sermons and Expositions upon all the Articles of the Apostles Creed*. They are dedicated by his father to the King, and are in number thirty-four. The third and last volume, containing *Forty-five Sermons upon several Occasions*, is dedicated by his father to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and has the following *Imprimatur*: C. Alston, R. P. D. *Hen. Episc. Lond. à Sacris, Feb. 11, 1685-6. IV. Ijaaci Barrow, S. S. T. Professoris Opuscula, viz. Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum, Orationes, Poemata, &c. Volumen quartum*; i. e. 'The fourth volume of Dr Barrow's Works, consisting of *Determinations* in the *Divinity-Schools*, *Sermons ad Clerum*, *Speeches*, *Latin Poems*, &c.' London 1687, folio. This is called *Volumen quartum*, because it was printed after the three English volumes in folio. It is dedicated by his father to Dr Montague the Master, and the Senior Fellows of *Trinity-college* in Cambridge. The *Dissertatiuncula de Sestertio*, page 356, was reprinted the same year in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. CXC. p. 383. V. There are two letters written by Dr Barrow to Mr Willoughby, and printed in the *Philosophical Letters between Mr Ray and his Correspondents*, p. 360, 362, upon the following subjects. The former, dated March 26, 1662, contains the *Method, whereby Mons. Roberval was said to have demonstrated the Equality of a Spiral Line with a Parabola*. And in this letter he signifies his intention of reading lectures upon *Archimedes De Equiponderantibus*; but whether he afterwards put that design in execution is uncertain. In the latter, dated October 5, 1665, he approves Mr Willoughby's *Discourse, insuring the Solidity of the Sphere from the Surface, by comparing the concentrical Surfaces of the Sphere with the parallel Arches of the Cone*, and acquaints him with his own method of doing it. Here follows a short account of several curious papers of Dr Barrow, written in his own hand, and communicated by William Jones, Esq; to the author of the *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (48). I. A Latin volume in quarto, wherein are contained: 1. *Compendium pro Tangentibus*. 2. *Equationum Constructio per Conicas Sectiones*. 3. *Equationum Constructio*

(42) B. lib. heque Universelle, T. III. p. 325.

(43) See The Publisher to the Reader.

(47) Dr Barrow's Works, Pref. to the Treatise, &c.

(44) Ubi supra, p. 161.

(45) Letter to Mr John Collins, dated Easter-Eve, 1669, MS. Mr Jones. apud Ward, ib.

(46) Hill, ubi supra.

(48) Page 166, 167.

(b) Ward, ubi supra, p. 164.

(c) Hill, ib.

(d) This picture was painted by Mrs Beale, and is now in the possession of James West, Esq;

of his Sermons [Y], which he generally transcribed three or four times, his greatest difficulty being always to please himself (b). He left little behind him, except books, which were so well chosen, that they sold for more than the prime cost. Though he could never be prevailed with to fit for his picture (c), some of his friends contrived to have it taken (d) without his knowledge, whilst they diverted him with such discourse as engaged his attention (e). As to his person, he was low of stature, lean, and of a pale complexion, and negligent of his dress to a fault [Z]; of extraordinary strength, a thin skin

(e) Ward, ibid. p. 163.

struſtio Geometrica. 4. Additamenta de Curvis. These tracts seem to have been written before his *Geometrical Lectures*. II. *Theorema generale ad lineis curvis tangentibus, et curvarum figurarum areas, per motum determinandas*; i. e. A general Theorem for determining the tangents to curve lines, and the areas of curve figures, by motion. *folio, half a sheet.* III. *Letters to Mr John Collins upon various mathematical subjects*; viz. 1. *Concerning Parabolical Conoids*: without a date. 2. *Rectifying a mistake of Mr Collins, concerning the parallel Sections of the cubical parabolical Conoid*: without a date. III. *Rules to compute the portions of a Sphere or Spheroid.* September 5, 1664. IV. *A Character of Mengolus's Elementa Geometriæ Speciosæ, with whom he is displeas'd for his affectation of new Definitions, and uncouth terms.* November 12, 1664. 5. *He thanks him for a Catalogue of Mathematical books which he sent him. Gives a character of Alsted's Admiranda Mathematica, which he thinks a work of no great importance.* November 29, 1664. 6. *Concerning a parabolical Conoid cut parallel to the Axis.* January 9, 1664. VII. *About printing his Archimedes, Apollonius, and Theodosius; as also a new edition of his Euclid.* March 3, 1665. 8. *Concerning the Area of the common Hyperbola, found by Logarithms.* February 1, 1666. 9. *Containing a variety of Rules relating to the Circle and Hyperbola, with Theorems concerning the curve surfaces of Conoids and Spheroids.* March 6, 1667. 10. *A Continuation of much the same subject.* March 26, 1668. 11. *A farther Continuation of the same subject.* May 14, 1668. 12. *Concerning the Linea Secantium; with two papers, one of the figure of Secants and Tangents, applied to the Arch or Radius; the other concerning the Cissoidal Space.* March 13, 1668. 13. *Concerning the publication of his Lectiones Opticæ.* Easter-Eve, 1669. 14. *Sends him some few things to be inserted in his Lectiones Geometricæ, which were then printing.* March 29, 1670. 15. *Concerning the publication of those Lectures.* April 23, 1670. 16. *Sends him his Apollonius and Perspective Lectures.* October 11, 1670.

(49) Ubi supra, p. 147.

[Y] The extraordinary length of his sermons.] Dr Pope gives us (49) the following instances hereof. He was once requested by the Bishop of Rochester, Dean of Westminster, to preach at the Abbey, and withal desired not to be long; for that auditory loved short sermons, and were used to them. He replied, *My Lord, I will shew you my sermon*; and pulling it out of his pocket, put it into the Bishop's hands. The text was the 10th chapter of the *Proverbs*, the latter end of the 18th verse; the words these; *He that uttereth a slander is a liar.* The sermon was accordingly divided into two parts; one treated of slander, the other of lyes. The Dean desired him to content himself with preaching only the first part, to which he consented, not without some reluctancy; and in speaking that only, it took up an hour and a half. An other time, upon the same person's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on an holiday. Here I must inform the reader, that it is a custom for the servants of the church, upon all holidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the sermon and evening prayers, to shew the tombs and effigies of the Kings and Queens in wax, to the meaner sort of people, who then flock thither from all quarters of the town, and pay their two-pence to see the *Play of the Dead Folks*, as I have heard a Devonshire clown not improperly call it. These perceiving Dr Barrow in the pulpit, after the hour was past, and fearing to lose that time in bearing, which they thought they could more profitably employ in receiving; these, I say, became impatient, and caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over playing till they had blowed him down. But the sermon of the greatest length was that concerning charity, before the Lord Mayor and Alderman at the Spital; in speaking which he spent three

hours and an half. Being asked, after he came down from the pulpit, whether he was not tired; *yes indeed,* said he, *I began to be weary with standing so long.*

[Z] He was negligent of his dress to a fault.]

This could not but expose him to some inconveniences, and was apt to prejudice his hearers against him, where he was not known; of which Dr Pope gives us (50) the following very remarkable instance. Dr Wilkins, then Minister of St Laurence-Jewry, being forced by some indisposition to keep his chamber, desired Dr Barrow to give him a sermon the next Sunday, which he readily consented to do. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he came, with an aspect pale and meagre, and unpromising, slovenly and carelessly dressed, his collar unbuttoned, his hair uncombed, &c. Thus accoutred, he mounts the pulpit, begins his prayer, which whether he did read or not, I cannot positively assert or deny. Immediately all the congregation was in an uproar, as if the church were falling, and they scampering to save their lives, each shifting for himself with great precipitation; there was such a noise of pattens of serving-maids and ordinary women, and of unlocking of pews, and cracking of seats, caused by the younger sort hastily climbing over them, that, I confess, I thought all the congregation were mad; but the good Doctor, seeming not to take notice of this disturbance, proceeds, names his text, and preached his sermon, to two or three gathered, or rather left together, of which number, as it fortunately happened, Mr Baxter, that eminent Nonconformist, was one; who, afterwards gave Dr Wilkins a visit, and commended the sermon to that degree, that he said, he never heard a better discourse. There was also amongst those who stayed out the sermon, a certain young man, who thus accosted Dr Barrow as he came down from the pulpit, *Sir, be not dismayed, for I assure you, it was a good sermon.* By his age and dress, he seemed to be an apprentice, or at the best a fore-man of a shop, but we never heard more of him. I asked the Doctor, what he thought, when he saw the congregation running away from him? *I thought,* said he, *they did not like me, or my sermon, and I have no reason to be angry with them for that.* But what was your opinion, said I, of the apprentice? *I take him,* replied he, *to be a very civil person, and if I could meet with him, I'd present him with a bottle of wine.* There were then in the parish a company of formal, grave, and wealthy citizens, who having been many years under famous Ministers, as Dr Wilkins, Bishop Ward, Bishop Reynolds, Mr Vines, &c. had a great opinion of their skill in Divinity, and their ability to judge of the goodness and badness of sermons. Many of these came in a body to Dr Wilkins, to expostulate with him, why he suffered such an ignorant, scandalous fellow, meaning Dr Barrow, to have the use of his pulpit. I cannot precisely tell, whether it was the same day, or some time after in that week, but I am certain it happened to be when Mr Baxter was with Dr Wilkins. They came, as I said before, in full cry, saying, they wondered he should permit such a man to preach before them, who looked like a starved Cavalier, who had been long sequestered, and out of his living for delinquency, and came up to London to beg, now the King was restored; and much more to this purpose. He let them run their selves out of breath; when they had done speaking, and expected an humble, submissive answer, he replied to them in this manner. *The person you thus despise, I assure you, is a pious man, an eminent scholar, and an excellent preacher; for the truth of the last, I appeal to Mr Baxter here present, who heard the sermon you so vilify. I am sure you believe Mr Baxter is a competent judge, and will pronounce according to truth.* Then turning to him, *Pray, Sir,* said he, *do me the favour to declare your opinion concerning*

(50) Ibid. p. 139, &c.

skin, and very sensible of cold; his eyes grey, clear, and somewhat short-sighted; his hair a light brown, very fine, and curling (f). He was of a healthy constitution, very fond of tobacco, which he used to call his *Panpharmacum* or *Universal Medicine*, and imagined it helped to compose and regulate his thoughts (g). If he was guilty of any intemperance, it seemed to be in the love of fruit, being of opinion that if it kills hundreds in autumn, it preserves thousands (b). He slept little, generally rising in the winter months before day (i). His conduct and behaviour were the most amiable imaginable: for he was always ready to assist others, open and communicative in his conversation, in which he generally spoke to the importance, as well as truth, of any question proposed; facetious in his talk upon fit occasions, and skilful to accommodate his discourse to different capacities; of indefatigable industry in various studies, clear judgment on all arguments, and steady virtue under all difficulties; of a calm temper in factious times, and of large charity in mean estate; he was easy and contented with a scanty fortune, and with the same decency and moderation maintained his character under the temptations of prosperity (k). In short, he was the greatest scholar of his times; and, as an ingenious writer expresses it, 'he may be esteemed as having shewn a compass of invention equal, if not superior, to any of the moderns, Sir Isaac Newton only excepted (l).'

(f) Hill, ibid.

(g) Dr Pope, ib. p. 145.

(b) Hill, ib.

(i) Dr Pope, ib.

(k) Hill, ib.

(l) Preface to Dr Pemberton's *View of Sir I. Newton's Philosophy*.

'the sermon now in controversy, which you heard at our church the last Sunday. Then did Mr Baxter very candidly give the sermon the praise it deserved; nay more, he said that Dr Barrow preached so well, that he could willingly have been his auditor all day long. When they heard Mr Baxter give him this high encomium, they were pricked in their hearts, and all of them became ashamed, confounded, and speechless; for tho' they had a good opinion of their selves, yet they durst not pretend to be equal to Mr Baxter; but at length, after some pause, they all, one after another, confessed, they did not bear one word of the sermon, but were carried to dislike it, by his unpromising garb, and mien, the reading of his prayer, and the going away of the congregation; for they would not by any means have it thought, if they

'had heard the sermon, they should not have concurred with the judgment of Mr Baxter. After their shame was a little over, they earnestly desired Dr Wilkins to procure Mr Barrow to preach again, engaging themselves to make him amends, by bringing to his sermon their wives and children, their manservants, and maid-servants, in a word, their whole families, and to enjoyn them not to leave the church till the blessing was pronounced. Dr Wilkins promised to use his utmost endeavour for their satisfaction, and accordingly solicited Dr Barrow to appear once more upon that stage, but all in vain; for he would not by any persuasions be prevailed upon to comply with the request of such conceited, hypocritical Coxcombs.'

T

B A R R Y (G I R A L D) better known by the name of G I R A L D U S C A M B R E N S I S, i. e. *Girald of Wales*, and by some called *Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis*, (which addition of *Silvester* is certainly (a) erroneous) is one of those writers, whose style is so puerile and affected, so diffuse and full of quibbles, and gingling conceits, (especially in his treatises relating to Ireland, which were writ in his younger years) that it can by no means please men of sober taste. He was born (b) near Pembroke in South Wales, in the castle of Mainarpir, about the year 1146, and was descended of a noble family, with which circumstance he takes care that the world should not be unacquainted [A], since he often repeats it in his Works. While he was a boy, the omens of his future learning and reputation were so extraordinary, that he could not pass them over in silence, and yet in themselves so trifling, that it is irksome to repeat them [B]. He was not very lucky in his early education; for keeping company with his brothers, he followed them in their play, grew a truant, and neglected his books, and had like to have

(a) Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112. Whart. Angl. Sacra Pref. to Vol. II. p. xx.

(b) Whart. Pref. to Vol. II. of the *Anglia Sacra*, p. xx. & Camb. de Reb. a se Gest. lib. i. cap. i.

[A] Descended of a noble family, with which circumstance he takes care, that the world should not be unacquainted.] 'Patre (inquit) natus Willielmo de Barri, viro egregio, matre Angareth filiâ Nestæ, nobiliis filiæ Rhafi, Principis Sudwalliæ, scilicet, filii Theodori (1). — My father (says he) was William de Barry, a man of extraordinary fame, my mother, Angareth, the daughter of Nestæ, who was the noble daughter of Rbees, Prince of South-Wales, the son of Tudor.' This, in fact, was his genealogy; but it would have come with more decency out of the mouth of a Herald than his own.

[B] Omens irksome to repeat.] 'Ex fratribus quatuor germanis et uterinis minor, tribus aliis nunc castra, nunc oppida, nunc palatia puerilibus, ut solet hæc ætas, præludiis in sabulo vel pulvere protrahentibus ac construendis modulo suo, solus hic (i. e. Giraldus) simili præludio semper ecclesias et monasteria erigere satagebat. Pater hæc considerans, ductus prognostico quodam ipsum literis et liberalibus disciplinis applicandum præfaga mente decrevit, eumque suum episcopum vocare consuevit. — Being the youngest of four brothers by the same mother, while the other three employed themselves, as children will do, in raising castles, towns and palaces in dirt, Girald alone, tho' he busied himself in the like work, yet his employment was to erect churches and monasteries. His father taking this matter into his consideration, and prognosticating what his child would come to,

'ominously determined to educate him to learning, and the liberal arts, and used frequently to call him his little Bishop.' — And then he proceeds to tell us, that in some hostile invasion, when all people were running to their arms, that he desired to be carried to the church, declaring by a wonderful forethought in a child, that the immunity of the house dedicated to God ought to be secured; from whence people made a judgment, that in time to come he would prove a champion and protector of the liberties and immunities of the Church. — It is certainly the most difficult task in the world, for a man to write the history of his own actions, nor should any body attempt it but a man of mortified passions, which was by no means Girald's case. Self-love, on the one hand, will not suffer him to vend any thing to the disadvantage of himself; on the other hand, if he speaks in his own praise, every mortal will cry out on his vanity: This last particular has been the fate of the author now under consideration; every page of his book, intitled *de Rebus a se gestis*, is stuffed with this kind of vanity, and so full is he of himself, his learning, his importance, and his conduct in great affairs, that it is impossible to turn him over without being surfeited: and the same self-sufficiency runs through all his other writings, so that he often stops short, and rambles from his subject, in order to dwell upon his dear self; and thus much enough to observe in this place once for all.

[C] Obtained

(1) De Reb. a se Gest. lib. i. c. i.

have disappointed those omens, which were conceived of him. But his uncle, the Bishop of St David's, took him to task, and his masters wrought a reformation in him, which was effected more out of a principle of shame than fear: From which time he altered his course, and applied himself to his books with such diligence, that he soon got the start of all his school-fellows. He was three times sent to France for the sake of improvement, and at first continuing there three years, he obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick [C], which upon his return in 1172, soon brought him into notice, and he was promoted unto several ecclesiastical livings in Wales and England, in the last of which places he was Canon of Hereford (c). His busy temper, especially in what related to Church affairs, soon made him notorious, and, as he designed it, proved no small motive to his advancement, in an age, when the temporal interest and splendor of the Church, were more considered than the piety and virtue of it's members. He gives two instances (d) of his vigilance in this particular, one of which, it must be confessed, does not redound much to his honour [D]. Being invested with the archdeaconsry of Brechin, in the manner mentioned in the remarks, he behaved himself with great activity in his archidiaconal visitations, and reformed many abuses. In 1176, he was elected, by (e) the Chapter of St David's, Bishop of that See, not then exceeding thirty years of age; but he declined the election, fearing to be foiled, as also, because the King had not been previously consulted, nor issued his licence to go to election, as the law required. King Henry II, was a Prince exceeding jealous of his prerogative, and tho' the Archdeacon's seeming modesty might have excused this over hasty step in the Chapter, yet the King did not like to see even the appearance of his growing interest, which would be a means of fortifying the power and grandeur of his relations in Wales, in his Majesty's opinion too considerable already; and so he expressed himself, in a consultation held with the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the occasion [E], which was followed by the election and consecration of another Bishop. Notwithstanding this shew of modesty in declining the election, yet he could not well digest the disappointment, and the more so, as it afforded him a proof of the King's inclinations, and a demonstration, that those qualities, which would have advanced another man, served only to depress him. Being informed of what passed at the consultation, he at once determined to quit his country for a time; and accordingly the same year he passed a second time (f) into France, in order to pursue his studies at Paris, that is, to add to his knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, the study of the Civil and Canon Laws, with the more important one of Divinity. With his usual vanity he boasts (g), what a prodigious fame he acquired here, especially in the knowledge of the Decretals [F]. In 1179, he was elected Professor of the Canon Law in the university of Paris; but rejected the honour, out of an expectation of more solid advantages in his own country. In 1180, he returned (h) home through Flanders and England, and in his way stopped at Canterbury, where he emphatically describes (i) (what may be well allowed him) the great luxury of the Monks of that place. At length he got home, where he found the whole country in a flame, the Canons and Archdeacons of Menevia having joined with the inhabitants, in driving out the Bishop of that See [G], the administration of

[C] Obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick] Probably it was during this first journey that he was made Rector of the publick schools in Paris, which (as he (2) says) he governed for some time.

[D] Two instances of his vigilance, one of which does not redound to his honour.] He tells us (3), that observing through the diocese of St David's that by the negligence of the Prelates, neither tithes of wool nor cheefes were payed, he informed Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Pope's Legate, of this loss to the Church, and by that means in 1175, obtained a Vice-Legantine authority from the Archbishop through all Wales, to visit and see these and other excesses amended; and by a strict discipline he effected a thorough reformation. This would have been tolerable, and might have been imputed to zeal for the service of the Church; but the other instance carries in it the appearance of covetousness, and a sordid baseness: The story is best heard from his own mouth (4). Being informed that an aged Archdeacon of Brechin, in the diocese of St David's kept a concubine, (a crime not very uncommon among the Ecclesiasticks of England in that age, as will appear in the sequel of Girald's life) he suspended him and seized his archdeaconsry, which he put into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishop made Girald a complement of the fruits of his information, and advanced him to the Archdeaconsry in the room of the degraded old man. Virtue or honour would have persuaded him to have refused the promotion; and by that means he would have convinced the world, that conscience, and the good of the Church, were the motives to this action, and not covetousness, or the desire of stepping over the head

of his brother. His refusal would have been the result of an honourable principle, as his acceptance implied, that he was actuated by something opposite: And as this was the case of an aged man (who do not often keep concubines, as younger Clerks might have done) it gives a strong presumption, that he had cast his eye upon the warm Archdeaconsry, and made his appetite to that, the motive of his information.

[E] And so the King expressed himself, in a consultation held with the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the occasion.] When the King had information given him of the election of Girald, he was much moved, and sent (5) for the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, to consult what should be done in the election of a Bishop of St David's. They were of opinion, that Girald ought to be consecrated, both on account of his birth and learning, and as he was a man of courage, parts, and activity. But the King told them, that for the reasons they had given, he by no means thought Girald a fit person to fill that station; because his advancement would strengthen the power and interest of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, to whom the Archdeacon was a near relation, as he was to most of the grandees of that country.

[F] Acquired great fame in the knowledge of the Decretals.] The Decretals are that part of the Canon Law that consists of the Papal Constitutions, called *Litteræ Decretales*, or Rescripts of Popes, by which some difficulties in the Ecclesiastical laws are cleared up.

[G] In driving out the Bishop of Menevia] Menevia is an antient episcopal See, seated on the west side of Pembroke-shire in Wales, subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and known better

(c) Whart. Angl. Sacr. Pr. l. 10 Vol. II. p. xxiii.

(d) De Gest. Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(e) Ibid. cap. vi.

(f) Ibid. lib. iii. c. i.

(g) Ibid. cap. iv.

(h) Ibid. cap. iv.

(i) Ibid. cap. v.

(2) Epist. Girald. ad Capit. Hereford.

(3) De Gest. Girald. c. p. iii. iv.

(4) Ibid. cap. iv.

(5) Ibid. cap. x.

of which was committed (k) to our author, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Under (k) this authority he governed the See of St David's for three or four years, and made wonderful reformations in it. The abdicated Bishop, whose name was Peter, did not acquiesce in the conduct of his clergy; but by letters he suspended and excommunicated the Canons and Archdeacons, uncited and unheard: and at length, Girald, not having power to redress them, resigned his charge to the Archbishop, who absolved the excommunicated. Bishop Peter imputed his disgrace, or at least the continuance of it, to Girald; upon which great contests and bickerings arose; appeals upon the occasion were made to Rome; but at length they were reconciled, and the Bishop restored. About the year 1184, King Henry II sent (l) for Girald to Court, and made him his Chaplain; and at times he attended the King for several years, and was very useful to him in keeping all matters quiet in Wales. Yet though the King approved of his services, and in private often commended his prudence and fidelity, yet he never could be prevailed on to promote him to any ecclesiastical benefices, on account of the relation he bore to Prince Rhee, and other grandees of Wales. In 1185, the King sent (m) him to Ireland with his son John, in quality of Secretary and Privy-Counsellor to the young Prince; but the expedition did not meet with success, because Earl John made use only of youthful counsels, and shewed no favour to the old adventurers, who were men experienced in the affairs of Ireland. While Girald thus employed himself in Ireland, the two bishopricks of Ferns and Legthin fell vacant, which Earl John offered to unite and confer on him (n); but he rejected the promotion, and gave the Earl an answer worthy of a great and good man [H]. He took this opportunity of collecting materials for writing two books; which he compiled and published a few years after [I]. In the spring of the year 1186, John Comyn (o), Archbishop of Dublin, convened a Synod of his clergy, in Christ-Church in that city. The first day of the meeting, the Archbishop himself preached on the

(k) *Ibid.* cap. vii.
(l) *Ibid.* cap. viii.
(m) *Ibid.* cap. x. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.
(n) *Ibid.* cap. xii. Harris's Bishops, p. 439. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.
(o) *Ibid.* cap. xiii. Harris's Bishops, p. 315, 439.

better by the name of St David's, from the founder of a church here, St David, the patron of Wales. The land about Menevia, is called (5) *Kantrew Dewi, i. e. David's Cantred*, but Ptolemy's name, for it is *Oc-tapitarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the Octapitæ. A late Antiquary (6) thinks this word of Ptolemy to be corrupted, and that it ought to be *Oreo Petrarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the eight rocks, *ὄρεα πετρῶν*, which eight rocks are those called the Bishop and his Clerks. The notion carries with it a good deal of weight.

[H] *An answer worthy of a great and good man.* He told the Prince, that if he saw him inclined to be beneficial to the Church of Ireland, he would cheerfully accept the honour he offered him; but because he found by his actions that he had no regard to that particular, he chose rather to continue in a private station, than, being unprofitably placed in power, to be able to do no service.

[I] *Materials for two books, which he compiled and published a few years after.* They bear this title, namely, *Topographia Hiberniæ*; 'A Topography of Ireland;' and *Historia Vaticinalis de expugnatione Hiberniæ*; 'The Vaticinal History of the Conquest of Ireland.' The reason he gave such a whimsical title to the last of these treatises, appears in the first preface to his Description of Wales, where he says, 'that he had given the name Vaticinal, to the said history, because he had sprinkled up and down in it, the prophecies of Caledonius and Ambrosius Merlin, in such convenient places as the subject required.' He might have added also, the prophecies of Moling, Braccan, Patrick, and Columbkille, which he has also inserted in the said work. The Topography contains three books or distinctions, and not four, as Bale says (7), and the Vaticinal History contains only two books and not three; and thus they came originally out of Girald's hands. For he himself says (8), 'Se *Hibernicam Topographiam, cum abditis suis, et naturæ secretis, in tribus distinctionibus trennii labore digessisse, & Vaticinalem expugnationis Hibernicæ subsequenter Historiam, duabus distinctionibus biennali lucubratione complevisse.* — That he had employed three years labour in digesting the Topography of Ireland, with the hidden things thereof, and the secrets of nature in three distinctions; and that by the study of two years, he had afterwards completed the Vaticinal History of the Conquest of Ireland in two distinctions.' He writ indeed a preface (9) to a third book of the Vaticinal History; but it seems he never finished it: Bale (10) also makes him the author of a Vaticinal History distinguished from that on the conquest of Ireland; but the error of that writer manifestly appears in the reasons given before by Girald (11), why he called his book Vaticinal; as also from the

catalogue he has himself furnished (12) of his writings, wherein he mentions not a word of any other Vaticinal History than that of the Conquest of Ireland. The same reason extends to set aside other inventions of Bale in ascribing (13) to Girald, *one book of the Caledonian Merlin, and one book of Merlin Ambrosius*, as also, *Illustrationes Merlinorum*; — 'Illustrations of the Merlins in two books,' beginning *Quoniam in Prioribus Libris Merlini*. For these words are taken from the beginning of the preface of the third book of the Vaticinal History of the Conquest of Ireland, which he intended to have written. Bale makes him the author of another book called *Distinctiones Giraldis*, beginning, — *Nunc ad ea quæ contra naturæ cursum*; but this is manifestly the same with the second book of the Topography of Ireland. Girald began his Topography and Vaticinal History while he was in Ireland; but finished them after his return to Wales. They lay in manuscript from about the year 1190 to the year 1602, when they were first published by Mr Camden at Frankfort, as appears from what Peter Lombard says (14), who being educated under Mr Camden at Westminster-school must probably have known the matter; and he having writ his Commentary on Ireland, a short time before the Frankfort edition of Girald came out, though not published till after, taking occasion to mention this author's Topography, says *Topographia ista non est excussa typis* — 'That Topography of Girald's is not yet printed.' When it first came out in manuscript, Girald heavily complains (15) of the Carpers and Critics who had then taken it to task; but when it appeared in print, the many invectives contained in it against Ireland, and the natives of it, the fables with which it abounded, and the gross errors through the whole, alarmed many of the Irish, and set their pens a going. Stephen White, a Jesuit of that country, first took up arms upon the occasion; and in an Historical Treatise confuted those base and scandalous aspersions related by that writer. A part of this work was in the custody of John Lynch (16), though so imperfect that it could not be fitted for the press, a loss to be lamented, since so good a Judge as Archbishop Usher (17), calls the author: 'Virum Antiquitatum, non Hiberniæ solum suæ, sed aliarum etiam gentium, scientissimum; — *A man of exquisite knowledge not only in the antiquities of his own country, Ireland, but also of other nations* (*).' Philip O-Sullivan (†) next took Cambrensis to task, a writer much inferior to White, who in a treatise intitled *Zoilomastix, or a Whip for Zoilus*, exposed that writer, as well as Stanihurst; but it does not appear that this Treatise of O-Sullivan's was ever printed. For in an encomiastick copy of verses prefixed to another work (18) of O-Sullivan's by George Mendoza, a Portuguese, there are the following

(12) Wharton's Angl. Sacra, Part II. p. 445.
(13) Waræus de Script. p. 116.
(14) Commentatio de Hib. p. 9.
(15) Prefat. Prima ad Expugn.
(16) Cambrensis everlus, cap. i. p. 1. cap. xiv. p. 127.
(17) Primord. 4^{to}. p. 400.
(*) See Steph. White.
(†) See the article O-SULLIVAN (PHILIP).
(18) Patriciana decas.

(5) *Camd. Brit. Vol. I. p. 756.*

(6) *Baxter in Gloſſario, p. 186.*

(7) *De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.*

(8) *Prima Prefat. in Descript. Cambri.*

(9) *Ufferii Sylloge Epist. Hib.*

(10) *De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.*

(11) *Prima Prefat. in Descript. Cambri.*

the Sacraments of the Church. The second day, Albin O-Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglas, afterwards Bishop of Ferns, made a prolix discourse on the continence of the clergy, wherein he inveighed bitterly against the clergy that came from England and Wales to Ireland, and by their evil examples, had vitiated the probity and innocence of the Irish clergy, and shewed how great their chastity was, before they had contracted contagion from the evil examples of corrupted foreigners. After the sermon was ended, the English clergy of Wexford were accused and convicted by the testimony of witnesses, for cohabiting publicly with harlots, and received sentence of suspension, which gave no small mirth and triumph to the Irish clergy. The third day Girald mounted the pulpit, by order of the Archbishop, and preached on the pastoral duty. He did not conceal what he had truly to say in praise of the Irish clergy; but afterwards he took occasion to enlarge on their vices, and taxed them with that of drunkenness; and turning his discourse to the Prelates, he proved their neglect of the pastoral charge, by irrefragable reasons. He seems to have valued himself much upon this sermon, since he has given it to the world at large, both in his Topography (p), and in his Life (q). The same evening, Felix, Bishop of Offory, happening to sup with the Archbishop, was asked, How he approved Girald's sermon? Felix, who was suspected to be an eunuch Monk [K], answered, That it was true, Girald said many scandalous things well, and with a good grace; but he called us, added he, drunkards. Indeed I could scarce contain myself from flying in his face, or at least from returning him in words a like treatment. It seems to have been at this same Synod, that Maurice, Archbishop of Cashel, made that stinging and poignant repartee, that Girald (r) takes notice of [L]. Having obtained a great fame in Ireland, as he has the modesty

(p) Distinct. last.

(q) Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

(r) Topogr. Hist. dist. iii. cap. xxxii. Waræi Comment. de Præsul. p. 163.

ing lines; where the Poet having first complimented his published works, proceeds thus.

Divulgata typis hæc; sed sunt condita plura,
Quæ tamen in tenebris aurea scripta latent.
Invidiæ partus, mendaciæ magna Gyraldi.
Rejicit, et Stolidus quæ Stanihurstus habet.
Notitiâ variâ pulchrum, sermone politum,
Zoilomastix et dicitur illud opus.

(||) See the article
LYNCH
(JOHN).

The next who undertook Girald was John Lynch ||, under the feigned name of Gratianus Lucius; who doubtless had good aid from White's Fragment, which, he confesses, was in his hands; and it may be not improbable, but that he had White's whole treatise, and destroyed it to inhance the value of his own performance. Such things have been done in ancient and modern times, and will be done again till pride be rooted out of the human constitution. Lynch's book, intitled, *Cambrensis Everus*, was printed in folio in 1662, and in that he has pursued Girald step by step, and chapter by chapter; wherein he shews not only his ignorance and malice; but has demonstrated, that he had not one quality fit for a Historian. Nor has Giraldus escaped the censure of Sir James Ware (19), who expresses himself with an asperity uncommon to him: 'Admonendus est (inquit) interim lector, Topographiam eam cautè legendam, id quod ipse Giraldus quodammodo fatetur in apologia, quam habemus in primâ suâ prefatione in librum Expugnationis Hibernicæ, cum ob fabulosa, jam dictæ Topographiæ inserta, infimularetur; cui hanc etiam admonitionem è retractationum suarum tractatu hic adjicere visum. — De Topographiâ Hibernicâ, laborè scilicet, nostro primævo ferè nec ignobili, ubi multa nova, aliisque regionibus prorsus incognita (ideoque magis miranda) scribuntur, hoc pro certo sciendum, quod quorundam, quinimo et plurimum per diligentem et certam indagacionem, a magnis terræ illius, et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus, de cæterisque talibus terræ famam potius secuti fuimus. De quibus omnibus cum Augustino sentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ solum fama celebrat, nec certa veritate fulciuntur, loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum, nec prorsus abneganda decrevit. — Sic ipse Giraldus. — Atqui non possum non mirari viros aliquos hujus sæculi, alioquin graves et doctos, signenta ea Giraldi mundo iterum pro veris obtulisse. — Yet (says the learned Knight) I must admonish the reader to turn over that Topography of Cambrensis with great caution; which Cambrensis himself in some sort acknowledges in an Apology made by him in his first Preface to the History of the Conquest of Ireland, after he had been taxed with the fabulous reports inserted in his said Topography, to which it is proper also to add this admonition taken out of a treatise of his called, his Retractions. — Concerning the Topogra-

(19) Antiq. cap. xxiii.

phy of Ireland (says he) our first, and not altogether contemptible labour, in which many things new, and unknown to other countries, and therefore the more wonderful, are written, the reader may with certainty be convinced, that we have obtained the knowledge of some, nay, of most of the things therein related by a diligent and painful inquiry from the authentic testimonies of men of weight and reputation in that country, and in other particulars we have contented ourselves to follow the reports and fame of the whole kingdom. Concerning all which we are of opinion with St. Augustin, who, in his book de Civitate Dei, speaking of things which fame only has spread abroad, and which are not supported by indisputable evidence, says, that as such things are not positively to be affirmed, so neither are they to be wholly rejected. — Thus much Cambrensis himself owns: — But I cannot forbear expressing my astonishment, that some men of this age, who in other respects, are men of gravity and learning, should again obtrude these fictions of Cambrensis upon the world for truths. — Yet Cambrensis himself had the confidence (20) to obtrude them on a body of grave and learned men. For in a catalogue that he furnishes of his own works, this is what he says of his Topography: — Item de Topographiâ Hibernicâ, liber, scilicet, de situ terræ illius, et mirabilibus ejusdem multis exaratus, apud Oxoniâ per tres dies continuos in publicâ cleri audientiâ recitatus: — This book (says he) of the situation of Ireland, and the wonderful things in it, written at large, was read over at Oxford for three whole days in a publick audience of the Clergy.

In an epistle (21) to William Vere, Bishop of Hereford, he is in raptures upon that part of the third distinction of his Topography, wherein he treats of the Irish harp and other musical instruments, and with vanity enough imagines, that he has handled the subject with an elegance suitable to the dignity of it. The author (22) of Cambrensis Everus hints, that Girald had maliciously destroyed a great many old annals of Ireland, that his own performance might carry the greater weight; but the consequence drawn by Stillingfleet (23) from this action is not just; namely, that he had therefore better authorities to build his history on than Keating; but unfortunately, whatever number of Irish annals might have been in his hands, he could make no use of them, as he had not the least knowledge in the language.

[K] Suspected to be an eunuch Monk.] Girald's (24) words are, 'Monachus mutilatus, ut videbatur, et eunuchatus: — A mutilated Monk, as it seemed, and one gelt.'

[L] A poignant repartee that Girald takes notice of.] Cambrensis objected to Archbishop Maurice, that there never were any martyrs in Ireland, who suffered for the faith: It is true, said the Archbishop; for tho' our country be looked on as barbarous, uncultivated, and cruel, yet they always have payed

(20) Nicholson's Irish Hist. Libr. 7, P. 3.

(21) Uffer. Epist. Hib. Sylloge, p. 115.

(22) Lynch, p. 40, 41.

(23) Orig. p. 263.

(24) Ibid. cap. xv.

modesty to tell us himself (s), between Easter and Whitsuntide, 1187, he returned to Wales, and employed all his time in writing and revising his Topography, to which, when he had put the last hand, he took a journey to Oxford, and repeated it in a publick audience of the university; and as it consisted of three distinctions, he repeated one every day of three successively: and in order to captivate the people, and secure their applause, the first day he entertained all the poor of the town, the next day the Doctors and scholars of fame and reputation, and the third day the scholars of the lower rank, the soldiers, townsmen, and Burgessees. In the year 1188 (t), he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a journey through the rough and mountainous parts of Wales, in order to preach up to the people the necessity of taking the cross, and engaging in an expedition in defence of the Holy Land. Here our author runs riot in his own praise, and shews the vast success his eloquence met with, in persuading the greatest part of the country to engage in this foolish adventure; whereas the Archbishop was able to do nothing. Girald himself took the cross at this time, and it afforded him the opportunity of writing a book, mentioned below in the remarks [M]. The same year he posted over into France, in the retinue of King Henry II, which he did by the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, Chief-Justice of England; but the King dying the year after, he was dispatched back by King Richard I, to assist upon this alteration in keeping the peace in Wales, which was then in great confusion. He effected this commission with great address, and the King the same year, going to the assistance of the Holy Land, left the chief government of the kingdom in the hands of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Lord-Chancellor, and joined Girald in commission with him [N]; but he was under the necessity of obtaining a dispensation from the Pope's Legate, for not pursuing the voyage to the Holy Land, having been signed with the cross for that purpose, in the year 1188. In the year 1190, the Bishop of Ely and the Pope's Legate, offered to advance him to the See of Bangor, then void by the death of the Bishop of it, which he declined. About the same time he advised Earl John, the King's brother, to go over to Ireland, and make a final conquest of it; but without success, the Earl aspiring to usurp the kingdom of England in his brother's absence. In 1191, Earl John having obtained the chief rule in England, by expelling the Bishop of Ely, offered to advance Girald to the bishoprick of Landaff; but this promotion he also refused, waiting for the opportunity of stepping into the See of St David's, which he had his heart set upon from his youth. In the year 1192 (u), Girald retired from Court, where he saw promotions did not go according to merit, and removed to Lincoln for the sake of studying Divinity, as to a more secure and quiet port; and here, it is said, he remained six or seven years (w). In this retirement he employed his pen in writing some works [O]. Upon the death of Peter, Bishop of St David's, in 1198, he was advised by the Chapter and the Barons of that country, to bestir himself in seeking this promotion, and in procuring the interest of the King, to whom and his father he had been upon many occasions eminently serviceable. But he rejected the motion, and

(s) De rebus a se Gestis, Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

(t) Ibid. cap. xvii; xviii.

(u) De Rebus a se Gestis, Lib. iii. cap. i.

(w) Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. ut supra.

reverence and honour to the Ecclesiasticks, and never would stretch out their hands against the Saints of God. But now, added he, there is come a people among us, who know how, and are accustomed, to make martyrs.' Alluding to the affair of Thomas Becket.

[M] Gave him the opportunity of writing a book mentioned below in the remarks.] This book passes under different titles: Bale (*) calls it in two words, *Itinerarium Cambrie*. Mr Wharton (25) enlarges the title from some of the manuscripts of Girald, and shews us not only what the book was, but the time and intention of writing it; namely, *Itinerarium Giraldi, et laboriosa Baldwini Cantuarenfis Archiepiscopi legatio, devotaque per Walliam in crucis obsequium predicatio; i. e.* The Itinerary of Girald, and the laborious embassy of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his devout preaching up the duty of taking the cross through Wales. Girald (26) himself calls it, *Itinerarium laboriosum per hispida et inaequalia Walliae loca; i. e.* A laborious Itinerary through the rough and mountainy places of Wales. Bale (27) has split this treatise into two, one of which he calls, *Itinerarium Cambrie*, and the other, *Itinerarium Baldwini*, both which are manifestly one and the same work; nor does it contain three or four books, as he says, but two. It has been printed (28), with the annotations of David Powell, under the title of *Itinerarium Cambriae, seu laboriosa Baldwini Cantuarenfis Archiepiscopi per Walliam legationis accurata descriptio*. Probably, it was at the same time he compiled, *Kambriae totius Mappam* (29); i. e. A Map of all Wales, which Bale (30) calls, *Cambriae Mappa expositionem, lib. 1.* whereas it is a coloured Geographical Map yet extant, as Mr Wharton says, and oc-

sides, rivers, mountains, and the sea-coasts, and the neighbouring places of England, it lays down 43 towns of Wales.

[N] Joined Girald in the commission of government with the Bishop of Ely.] This fact is unnoticed by the Historians of England, and for what we know, only told by Girald (31) himself, out of a vanity to enhance his own importance. As the Bishop of Ely was Chancellor, as well as chief governor, perhaps he appointed Girald, his deputy, or co-adjutor in the custody of the Great Seal, to ease him of part of the burthen, that was too heavy in the whole administration of the kingdom; and this is the most we can upon this occasion allow to our author.

[O] In this retirement he employed his pen in writing some works.] In 1193 he writ the *Life of Geoffry, Archbishop of York*, called by Bale (32), *Certamina Galsfridi Eboracensis, i. e. the Strifes of Geoffry, Archbishop of York*: lib. 1. but he himself (33) intitules it, *Librum de promotionibus et persecutionibus Gausfredi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi*; i. e. a book of the promotions and persecutions of Geoffry, Archbishop of York, divided into two books. About 1197 he writ *Gemmae Ecclesiasticam, subsequenter de sacramentis ecclesiasticis salutis animarum per necessarios, et de Clericali continentia et honestate*. This is the title he gives it himself (34); and some (35) think it is the same book with the *Gemma Animae*, published at Mentz, by John Cochlaeus, an. 1549, without prefixing the author's name to it; which opinion seems no way improbable, since both books begin with the same words, (viz.) *Agmen in castris aeterni Regis*. ——— Certainly the latter part of this tract, called de Clericali continentia, is the same with a book ascribed to him by Bale; intituled, *de Honestate Clericali*. lib. 1.

(31) De Rebus a se Gestis, Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

(32) Cent. III. No. 59.

(33) Epist. ad Capit. Hereford. de libris a se scriptis, in Wharton Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(34) Epist. ad Capit. Hereford. ut supra.

(35) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

[P] He

(*) Cent. III. No. 59.

(25) Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

(26) Epistola ad Capitulum Herefordense, in Wharton. Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(27) Cent. III. No. 59.

(28) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

(29) Epist. ad Capit. Heref. ut supra.

(30) Cent. III. No. 59.

and made use of a memorable saying [P], which perhaps was the fashion of the age, and equivalent to the term, *Nolo episcopari*, I won't canvas or make interest for a bishoprick. Yet being put in nomination for it the beginning of the year following, he was active enough in supporting his interest. For two of the Archdeacons, and four of the Canons of St David's, in September, nominated three persons for the bishoprick, to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chief-Justice, and in the first place the Archdeacon of Brecknock, Girald; to whom they added Reginald Foliot, an Englishman, of whose success they did not think there was any likelihood. The Archbishop rejected Girald, and when the Canons expostulated with him, and desired to know his reasons, why he refused a discreet and learned man, a gentleman, and one born in lawful matrimony; he told them, 'That the King would have no Welshman a Bishop in Wales, and especially him, who was so near in blood to the Prince of Wales.' And the Archbishop rejected not only Girald, but all the Welshmen who were put in nomination. Besides the political reasons beforementioned, the Archbishop had a private one of his own, namely, a particular pique against Girald. On the twenty-ninth of June 1199, the Chapter went again to election, and without one discordant voice, chose Girald. The day following he passed over into Ireland, (where his kinsman Meiler Fitz-Henry was then Lord-Justice) in order to strengthen his interest among his great relations there, and probably to supply himself with money to prosecute his claim. Having received promises of their assistance, in less than three weeks he returned to St David's, where he was informed, that, during his absence, the Canons had received a mandate from the Archbishop and Justice, to elect and admit Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, for their Bishop. Girald appealed to the Pope, and the Canons, by letter, requested his Holiness to consecrate him. Furnished with these credentials, he took a journey to Rome, where he arrived, about the feast of St Andrew, and presented his letters to the Pope. The Prior of Lhanthony was not behind him in supporting his interest; and he also went armed with letters from the Archbishop, stuffed, as Girald says (x), with nothing but calumnies and lies. All the letters being read, and the suit canvassed during the whole winter, the Pope perceived that the cause would not soon be determined, and therefore to provide in the mean time that the See should receive no detriment, and to give Girald some seeming satisfaction, in May 1200, he appointed him Administrator both in spiritualities and temporalities of the bishoprick of St David's, during the continuance of the litigation, and sent him home. At this time he published one of his treatises mentioned in the remark [Q]. In the year 1201, about Midlent, he again went to Rome, and finding his suit not far advanced, he returned to England before the end of summer; and in November 1202, he took his third journey to Rome, where he continued till the fifteenth of April 1203, on which day the Pope gave a definitive sentence in the cause, and vacated both candidates claims, and in August, Girald returned home to solicit a new election. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by him; Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, was elected by the Canons, and Girald, finding it to no purpose to withstand the Archbishop's weight, desisted from all further pretences to the See of St David's, and soon after resigned the archdeaconry of Brechin, to a nephew of his called William. He seems to have spent the remainder of his life in a state of inaction, and for the most part buried in retirement, where he writ many books, of which the reader may see a catalogue below [R], partly collected from his own works, and partly from the observations and collections

(x) De Rebus a se Gestis, ut supra, where the letters are set forth at large.

(36) De Rebus a se Gestis, Lib. iii. cap. iii.

(37) Script. p. 225.

[P] He made use of a memorable saying.] He tells (36) us himself the saying, namely, *Virum Episcopalem peti non petere debere*: — That a man ought to be courted to accept a Bishoprick, instead of suing for it.

[Q] At this time he published one of his treatises mentioned in the remark.] The treatise here mentioned, was that, *De Rebus a se Gestis*; lib. 2. which Ward (37) calls *de Vita sua*; lib. 2. There are two reasons that induce us to think, that the birth of this piece was at the time mentioned. First, As it sets forth all the great actions in which Girald was concerned, in lively colours, and with no little share of vanity; so it seems calculated to fortify his interest with the Pope, by letting him see how fit a man he was to serve the Pope's views in point of activity and consequence, a matter of no mean consideration with Innocent the third. Secondly, As the book breaks off abruptly just at the time, the Archbishop of Canterbury's letters against Girald were read before the Pope, after which he returned to Wales.

[R] The reader may see a catalogue of such books he writ after his retirement.] Several of our author's books are mentioned before in the remarks I, M, O, Q, which therefore we shall not repeat. The others are these, namely.

Epistola ad Capitulum Herefordense de libris a se scriptis; — i. e. *An Epistle to the Chapter of Hereford concerning the books written by himself.*

Chronographia Metrica, et Mundi nascentis Descriptioniuncula; — i. e. *A Chronology in Metre, or a Description of the growing World.*

Cosmographia pentametris versibus exornata; — i. e. *A Cosmography embellished with pentameter verses.* — Bale calls this piece *Cosmographia Mundi*, lib. I.

Ecclesiæ Speculum, sive de Monasticis Ordinibus et Ecclesiasticis Religionibus variis Distinctionum, Lib. IV. — i. e. *The Mirror of the Church, or four books of Distinctions concerning Monastick Orders, or Ecclesiastical Religions.* — Mr Wharton (38) says, 'That

Girald bore an immortal hatred to the Monks, inso-
' much that to his Litany he added this deprecation; —
' A Monachorum malitiâ, libera nos Domine — *From*
' *the malice of the Monks, good Lord deliver us*; —
' which he used in his daily prayers, and advised his
' friends to do the like; and in all his writings he
' takes a delight in railing at their hypocrisy, frauds,
' and ignorance. But he took three years in compiling
' his *Speculum*, that he might to the full indulge his
' spleen against the Monks, and lay an eternal brand
' of infamy on them.' Bale has given us the title of
Ecclesiæ Speculum; but then has formed two other
tracts out of it (viz.) *de Monachis et Clericis*, lib. I.
and *de Cisterciensium Nequitia*, lib. I.

Librum de Invectionibus; — i. e. *A Book of Invec-
tives*; — which Bale calls, *Invectiones Triennales*,
alluding to his three years journies to Rome, in each
of which it is not improbable, but that Archbishop

(38) Pref. to Angl. Sacra. p. 22.

Hubert

collections of Mr Wharton; and though he lived till after the year 1220, yet we do not find that he engaged in any publick business, except that in the year 1215, he was offered his favourite bishoprick of St David's, upon some terms that he looked upon as unreasonable, and therefore rejected it. The time of his death is not mentioned by any author that we know of. Bale (y), in giving his character, describes his person as particularly as if he had been his intimate acquaintance. — 'Adolescens staturâ procerus, facie & formâ nitidus, &c. — *A young man tall of stature, and of a delicate form and countenance.*' It is more certain that he was a man of learning, and of considerable address and merit; but that his other good qualities were much tarnished by an excessive vanity; and whoever reads his works cannot but see, that he was either extremely credulous

(y) Cent. iii.
4^{to}, 60.

Hubert wrote sharp letters against him, to which this book of invectives was an answer. Bale multiplies these invectives in his catalogue, and thereby makes Girald the author of another book called, *Ad Invectiones Huberti*, lib. 1. which manifestly is the same with the former. In another place (*) our author enlarges his former title, and shews therein the cause of his writing it. Thus he calls it, *Liber Invectionum Romæ in Giraldum acriter inchoatus, et ibidem ab ipso, Papa monente, in pleno Consistorio ad injurias respondente, et objecta crimina non incompetentèr evacuante pariter et refundante; nec non et utilia quædam adjiciente consummatus.* — i. e. *A book of Invectives severely set on foot at Rome against Girald, and by the advice of the Pope, an answer given in a full Consistory to the injuries and crimes objected; wherein the same are sufficiently retorted and confuted, and some other useful things added.*

Epistolæ: — These are what Bale calls Remordentes Epistolæ; and he has some reason for it. Because our author says (39), that to his *Speculum Duorum* he hath added, *Epistolæ paucas ad injurias illatas respondentis ac remordentes, quasi querulum carmen.*

Symbolum Elektorum, sive Epistolæ variz a semet ipso collectæ. In his sunt plures invectivæ adversus Wibertum, Abbatem de Bethlesdene, ordinis Cisterciensis, Epistolâ proluxa ad Petrum Menevensem Episcopum de officio Episcopi; altera ad Adamum, Abbatem Evehemensem de laude amicitiz, et alia. — i. e. *A collection of pieces, or various Epistles collected by himself. In which are many invectives against Wibert, Abbot of Bethlesdene, a Cistercian Monk; a prolux Epistle to Peter, Bishop of St David's, concerning the office of a Bishop; another to Adam, Abbot of Eveham in praise of friendship, and other things.*

Speculum Duorum, Commonitorium et Consolatorium, et quod sola peperit indignatio, quasi querulum carmen emissum. — i. e. *A double Mirror, Commonitory and Consolatory, set forth in the form of a querulous copy of verses, produced by indignation alone.* Bale makes two separate books of this one, which consists of two parts.

Liber de Principis Instructione; — i. e. *A Book for the Instruction of a Prince;* in three distinctions.

Dialogum; i. e. *A Dialogue.* This single Dialogue Bale has enlarged into a volume, intitled *Dialogus Profanos*, lib. 1. and indeed it may be well called a volume, if (as is highly probable) it be the same tract, which is called, *Liber de Gestis Giraldi laboriosissimis, Menevensi Ecclesiz futuris fortè diebus pernecessarius;* — i. e. *A Book of the most laborious actions of Girald, which in future times may be very necessary for the Church of Menevia;* written in the form of a dialogue between *Quærens* and *Solvens*; from whence Bale takes occasion to father on him a treatise, de *Quærente et Solvente*, lib. 1. but it is the same with the dialogue de *Jure Statûs Menevensis Ecclesiz*, divided into seven distinctions.

De Fidei orthodoxæ fructu, Fideique defectu. — i. e. *Of the advantages of the orthodox Faith, and of the failing of Faith.*

Vita S. Edelberti Martyris Herefordensis egregii, S. David, S. Caradoci, loci ejusdem Heremitz nobilis et Presbyteri, S. Remigii, Lincolnienis Episcopi primi, et S. Hugonis, sedis ejusdem Episcopi. — i. e. *The life of St Edelbert, the excellent Martyr of Hereford, the life of St David, the life of St Caradoc, a noble Hermit and Priest of the same place; the life of St Remigius, the first Bishop of Lincoln; the life of St Hugo, Bishop of the same.* In the short catalogue he gives (40) of his own works, he intitles this piece, de *Legendis Sanctorum;* i. e. *of the Legends of the Saints,* and then enumerates the foregoing lives.

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Topographia Cambriæ, et tam terræ quam morum gentis illius compendiosa descriptio; cujus in fine satis succinctus ac dilucidus, tam *Retractationum Tractatus, quam librorum nostrorum catalogus non incompetentèr est appositus.* — i. e. *A Topography of Wales, and a compendious description of both the land and customs of that nation; to which is added, a Treatise of Retractions succinct and clear enough, and a catalogue of our books is not incompetently annexed.* This is the title Girald himself gives. Bale divides this Topography into four books; but it consists only of two, the first of which intitled, de *Laudabilibus Cambiorum;* — i. e. *of the Praises of the Welch,* was published by David Powell with annotations; but the second intitled, de *Illaudabilibus Cambrorum,* out of zeal to his country, was left by him unpublished; which omission has been since supplied by Mr Wharton (41), and intitled, *Giraldi Cambrensis liber secundus, de Descriptione Walliz, seu liber de Illaudabilibus Walliz;* — i. e. *The second book of the Description of Wales written by Girald Cambrensis, or a book of the Dispraises of Wales.* In ten chapters. This book escaped the industry of Sir James Ware (42), who unjustly imputes it as an invention of Bale, that Girald wrote de *Illaudabilibus Cambrorum.*

(41) Ibid. p. xxi.
Pref.

(42) De Scriptor. p. 117.

Retractions: — Catalogus librorum suorum, mentioned under the foregoing head.

Epistola ad Stephanum Langton, Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem; — i. e. *An Epistle to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury;* the purport of which is to advise him not to resign his See.

Epistola ad Willielmum Vere Episcopum Herefordensem; see before under remark [I].

Carmen de Miseriâ conditionis humanæ. — i. e. *A copy of verses on the Misery of man's condition.* It begins with *Unde superbit homo.*

Liber Carminum et Epigrammatum. — i. e. *A book of Verses and Epigrams.*

De Proemiis operum suorum. — i. e. *Of the Prefaces to his own works.* This piece is mentioned in his epistle to the Chapter of Hereford.

Epistolæ et Dictamina ad varias personas variis temporibus destinata, lib. 1.

Rhetoricas Orationes; these were dispersed through his other works as they were occasionally written.

De Dictis Quatuor, per totidem distinctas particulas artificiosè contextas, sicut delectabile, sic et opus non inutile compaginare curavit; — says he in his epistle to the Chapter of Hereford. This treatise contained a collection of the four immediately preceding pieces.

Bale, who upon many occasions was fond of multiplying the works of writers, has been liberal to Girald, and has ascribed many treatises to him, which nobody else ever dreamed of, some of which have been observed before, as they occurred in the remarks. Among the spurious pieces, are the *Topographia Britanniz Primæ*, lib. 4. — *Relationem Dormientium*, lib. 1. — In Opera quædam *Seneczæ*, lib. 1. — *De Planctu Lachrymabili*, lib. 1. — *Pro reddenda Talione*, lib. 1. — It is probable this is another title for his *Liber de Invectionibus*, the subject being the same, and contains returns to the Archbishop's invective letters against him. — *Acta Regis Johannis*, lib. 1. — *De Avibus et eorum naturis*, lib. 1. This is manifestly a part of his *Topographia of Ireland.* — *Querulum Carmen.* — the same as his *Speculum Duorum.* — *De Flosculis Philosphicis.* — *De Mahumeto et ejus nequitiis*, lib. 1. — *Pro Guidone Warwicensi*, lib. 1. — *Prerogativarum Computum*, lib. 1. — *De Mundi Mirabilibus*, lib. 1. — *Descriptiones Magnorum Virorum.* — i. e. *the Characters of Great Men.* — are certainly a part of the history of the conquest of Ireland.

(*) Cambrensis Catal. brev. Libr. suorum in Angl. sacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

(39) Epist. ad Com. Hereford.

(40) Wharton, as before.

credulous or dishonest, in endeavouring to impose manifest falsehoods on the world for truths.

(43) Append. ad
Gefner. Biblioth.
Ware, de Script.
p. 117.

Josias Simler (43) erroneously ascribes to Girald, a book de Viti-Saxonum Regibus, lib. 1. And another called Anglorum Chronicon, lib. 1. But he was led astray by the first edition of Bale's writers of Britain; for they are not mentioned in the second. — The books also Demonâ Insulâ, and de Vitâ S. Patricii, which are extant in manuscript in the publick library

at Cambridge, are none of his; though some have made a handle from their being mentioned by Dr Thomas James in his Eclogâ Oxoniâ-Cantabrigienfi to ascribe them to Girald. But that writer only enumerates them as bound together in one volume with some works of Girald. D

B A R R Y (JAMES) Lord Baron of Santry. The family of the Barrys were originally Welch, seated in Pembrokeshire, and descended from the Princes of that country by a female line. Several of them passed into Ireland among the first adventurers in 1169 [A], of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Barry (a) [B], commonly called Cambrensis, who was of the same family. Camden (b) makes this Robert an Englishman, meaning, it may be presumed, that he was born within the allegiance of the King of England, to whom the Princes of Wales paid homage, and to understand that careful writer in any other sense, would be to detract from his skill in genealogy, of which indisputably he was a great master; and yet it may be doubted, whether one small error in relation to this family of the Barrys settled in Ireland may not be imputed to him [C]. It is certain therefore, that Robert de Barry was a Cambro-Briton, and nephew to Robert Fitz-Stephen, who first invaded Ireland in aid of Dermot Mac-Murrough, King of Leinster, a year or two before Earl Strongbow's arrival. From which of the four branches mentioned in the remark (A); the gentleman, who is now our subject, is descended, must be left to the Heralds to trace; but both his father and grandfather were bred to merchandisè in the city of Dublin, by which they not only acquired a considerable estate, but also enjoyed, and with sufficiency executed, the several posts of honour in the government of the city [D]; which his father represented more than once in Parliament. He educated this his son in the study of the Law, who did not disappoint his expectations: for being called to the bar, he practised in his profession for several years, with great reputation and success. In 1629, the King thought him a proper person on whom to confer the office of his Majesty's Serjeant at Law (c), for the kingdom of Ireland, at a yearly fee of twenty pounds ten shillings, sterling, and in as full a manner, as the same office was granted before to Sir John Brereton, Knt. This was a prelude only to his future advancement. For the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, found him in this post when he first arrived Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and soon discovered his abilities, and took him under his protection. His Excellency laid hold of the first opportunity he had to promote him; and accordingly on the fifth of August 1634, he obtained a grant (d) of the office of Second Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland, to hold during pleasure, with such fees, rewards, and profits, as Sir Robert Ogelthorpe, Sir Lawrence Parsons, Sir Gerard Lowther, or any other Second Baron did or ought to receive; and he soon after received the honour of knighthood. He obtained this favour, notwithstanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another,

(a) Expugn. Hib.
Lib. i. cap. iv.

(b) Brit. N. edit.
p. 1339.

(c) In Offic. Rot.
Hib. 6th. Octob.
5 Car. I.

(d) Pat. in Offic.
Rot. Canc. Hib.
5 Aug. 10 Car. I.

[A] Several of the Barrys passed into Ireland in 1169.] We read in history of four principal adventurers of the name of Barry, who arrived in Ireland upon the first invasion undertaken by Robert Fitz-Stephens, namely, 1. Robert Barry the elder. 2. Robert Barry the younger. 3. Philip Barry, and 4. Walter Barry; besides Girald Barry (1) the Historian, an Ecclesiastic, who went thither in Earl John's retinue in the year 1210.

(1) See the preced-
ing article.

[B] Of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Cambrensis.] The character Cambrensis gives of Robert de Barry is this, 'That he was a young gentleman ambitious rather to be really great than to seem so, was by nature both noble and valiant, and could not bear either to glorify his own actions, or to hear others do it. That he was of a sedate, stayed courage, one whom no sudden misadventure could terrify, was always ready at his arms, forward in battle, and the first that received a wound in the conquest of Ireland.'

[C] Whether one error in relation to the Barrys may not be imputed to Camden.] Camden makes Robert de Barry the ancestor of the family of Barry-mor, or Barry the great (one of whom was created Baron Barry, afterwards Viscount Buttevant, and they are now Earls of Barrymore). Whereas it is strongly to be presumed that that branch of the family are descended from Philip de Barry, to whom his uncle, Robert Fitz-Stephen, made large grants in the county of Cork, which that family enjoy to this day, as appears from from King John's Charter of confirmation (2). For then (says the Charter) 'Johannes Rex confirmavit. Wil-

(2) Pat. in Rot.
cur. Birmingham
de anno nono Joh.
han.

'lielmo de Barry donationem. quam Robertus Filius Stephani fecit Philippo de Barry, (ejus et forore nepoti) patri ejusdem Willielmi, cujus hæres ipse fuit de tribus Cantredis in terra sua de Corcaia, scilicet Oletan, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et aliis duobus, scilicet, Muscherie Dunegan, et Cantredo de Killede, per servitium decem militum, sicut charta prædicti Roberti, quam inde habebat testatur. — King John (says the Charter) confirmed to William de Barry, the donation which Robert Fitz-Stephen made to Philip de Barry, his sister's son, father of the said William, whose heir he is, of three Cantreds, or hundreds, in his land of Cork; namely, Oletan with all his appurtenances, and two others, namely Muschery Dunnagan, and the Cantred of Killede, to hold by the service of ten Knights, as the said Robert's charter, in the hands of the said William, testifies.'

[D] His father and grand-father enjoyed the several posts of honour in the government of the city.] His grand-father, James Barry, was one of the Sheriffs (3) of the city of Dublin in 1577. His father, Richard Barry, was also Sheriff (4) of the same city in 1604, and Mayor thereof in 1610. He likewise served as Member of Parliament (5) for the city in 1613, with his colleague, Sir Richard Bolton, Recorder; and again in 1634 (6), with Serjeant Catelin, who was the King's Serjeant, Recorder, and Speaker of the same Parliament. Lord Wentworth speaks of him to Mr Secretary Coke in terms of respect, and as a good Protestant.

(3) Archives in
the chamber of
the city of Dub-
lin, MS.

(4) Ibid.

(5) List of Mem-
bers, MS.

(6) Strafford's
Letters, 24 June,
1634.

[E] He

another [E], and it was merely the fruit of the Lord Wentworth's friendship, of which he had occasion soon after of making a publick acknowledgment [F], and of doing justice to his patron's merit. In the mad times that followed in the year 1640, when the Parliament of Ireland were upon the point of sending over a Committee of their body to England, to impeach the Earl of Strafford, he joined all his weight and interest with Sir James Ware (e), and other moderate members of the House of Commons, to oppose those measures; though the torrent was so violent, that all he or his party could do to stop it was vain and fruitless, and he had nothing left him but prayers to avert the fate of his noble friend. Times of distraction and confusion afford only few opportunities to gentlemen of the long robe, to display their talents in; the gown upon such occasions must give way to the sword, and therefore we hear little of our Baron during the long course of the rebellion, till a little before the Restoration of King Charles II, in the year 1660, when he was appointed Chairman of the Convention, which voted his Majesty's Restoration without any previous conditions, in which Revolution no doubt he was useful; since we find his Majesty took his merit into consideration in a very short time after. For on the seventeenth of November that year, the King issued a privy-seal (f), for advancing him to the office of Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench in Ireland, and another (g) on the eighteenth of December following, in consideration of his eminent fidelity and zeal, shewn in his Majesty's service, for creating him Lord Baron of Santry in the kingdom of Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body, and separate patents (h) accordingly passed on the eighth of February ensuing, and he was presently after called into the Privy-Council. He died some time in March 1672, and was buried in Christ-Church, Dublin, having left behind him issue to inherit his estate and title [G].

(e) Autograph.
Jacob. Ware.

(f) Rot. Canc.
Hib. 17 Nov.
12 Car. II.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid.

[E] *He obtained this favour, notwithstanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another.*] This recommendation was from Dr Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury in behalf of Mr Chadwick. Lord Wentworth takes notice of it in a letter (7) to his Grace of Canterbury at that time. 'Your Grace (says he) recommends unto me Mr Chadwick, in your letter of the 23d of June, for a second Baron's place in the Exchequer: But I had, with the advice of the Chief Baron, promised it before to Serjeant Barry, the King's Serjeant, so as I could not with honesty recall it. Besides, Mr Chadwick is not held here so fit as yet for the Bench; nay, the Chief Baron has a very mean opinion of his judgment in his own profession. But I will be answerable to your Grace, he shall be by me effectually remembered in virtue of your Lordship's recommendation, at one time or other, and as soon as ever any occasion shall present itself.'

[F] *Of which favour he had occasion soon after to make a publick acknowledgment.*] This acknowledgment appears in a book he published in the year 1637, intitled, *The Case of Tenures upon the Commission of defective Titles, argued by all the Judges of Ireland, with the Resolution and the Reasons of their Resolution.* Dublin 1637, folio; *ibid.* 1725, 12mo. In the report of this case he displays his own abilities in the Law, and in the dedication of it to the Lord Strafford, he acquaints the world with his gratitude to his patron in terms very full and expressive: 'This work, (says he) my Lord, is your's by more than one interest, and therefore it returns naturally unto you; for to lay aside my particular respects (it being by your Lordship's

favour that I serve his Majesty in this place) you are Pater Patriæ, and not more so by your office, than by your love to this nation, and your most equal, and indifferent dispensation of justice, (next under his Majesty) the father of this Church and Commonwealth: And for whom can an oblation of this nature be more proper? Besides, all that is here, as it was at first spoken, in an humble obedience to your Lordship's order, so it was after upon a noble invitation from you digested into this form, and it is now made publick by your commandment; so that in all the passages of it, it carries your image, your superscription, and therefore by this dedication, I do not so much give it, as restore it. If there be any thing in it, that is mine, that answers your expectation, even in that, that it answers your expectation, I have my reward; for all that are below your Lordship, I hope it shall have their use, to satisfy them that your Lordship's proceedings in this business have been in all points agreeable both to honour and justice, &c.'

[G] *Having left issue to inherit his estate and title.*] He married Catherine, daughter to Sir William Parsons of Bellamont in the county of Dublin, Baronet, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in the year 1640, and ancestor to the Earl of Ros's; and by her had issue Richard, Lord Santry, the father of Henry, Lord Santry, who by Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Domville of Temple-Oge, Baronet, and half sister to the present Sir Compton Domville, had issue Henry, Lord Santry, who unfortunately forfeited the title. D

B A R R Y (GERAT) a gentleman descended from the noble family of Barrymore, Earls of that title in Ireland, as he tells us himself in a book of his writing, mentioned in the remarks [A]. He served many years with reputation as an inferior officer in the armies of the King of Spain, in Germany and the Low-Countries, being (as we apprehend) of the Popish religion, from the circumstance of his not being employed at home; and in the Spanish service he never rose higher than to the office of a Captain of foot, few foreigners in that age obtaining considerable posts, at least he styles himself only Captain in the title of his book, which was in the library of Dr King, late Archbishop of Dublin, and is now in the Diocesan library at Cashell; a scarce piece, but of little intrinsic value. What became of the author, or when he died, I know not, having met with no account of him, but in his own Preface; but of whatever sufficiency he was in the army, he seems to have been very ignorant in other respects, not being able even to spell in the manner used in his time; of which his title-page and the whole work are manifest proofs.

[A] *A book of his writing mentioned in the remarks.*] The title of the book here referred to is as follows. A Discourse of Military Discipline, divided into three bookes, declaring the Partes and Sufficiency ordained in a private Souldier, and in each Officer serving in the Infanterie, till the Election and Office

of the Captain-Generall; and the last booke treating of Fire-Wourks of rare Executions by Sea and Lande; as also of Fortifications. Composed by Captain Gerat Barry Irish. Brussels 1634, folio. Dedicated to David, Earl of Barrymore. D

BARRY (LONDOWICK) a gentleman of Irish birth, flourished in England about the middle of the reign of King James I; and, it seems, must have been a man of some figure, since Anthony Wood (a) is pleased to complement him with the title of Lord Barry, which is certainly a mistake; nor would we think him worth introducing into this work, but to correct that error. Mr Langbaine (b) ranks him among the dramatick poets, and makes him the author, as well as Anthony Wood (c) does, of a Comedy, intituled, *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, Printed at London, 1611, acted by the children of the King's revels, before the year 1611, but printed that year. Some have ascribed this Play to Philip Massenger; but the author (d) above quoted clears that mistake. The plot in this Play of Will. Smallhanks decoying the widow Taffeta into marriage, is the same with that in Killigrew's *Parson's Wedding*, and both taken from the *English Rogue* (e), where a servant is introduced decoying his mistress into a wedding, by bribing the city musick to play under her window, and with her joy of her marriage, when at the same time he appeared at the window of her bed-chamber in his shirt, and threw them money.

D

(a) Stapleton call's her *Anne Barton*, Vita Th. Mori, p. 281. Several other authors call her *Barton*, but none else *Anne*.

(b) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. *Thomas Cobbs*. Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 24.

(c) Godwin's Annals, 1534. Fox's Martyrs, p. 333. Hollinshed's and Speed's Chronicles.

(d) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 150.

(e) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. See her Speech.

(f) Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 86. Hall's Chron. p. 220. Hollinshed's Chr. Vol. I. p. 936. Burnet, ubi supra.

BARTON (ELIZABETH) (a) when or where born we do not find, 'tis more than probable she was of no great extraction or family, since we first meet with her in the character of a servant to one Thomas Knob of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1525, in whose service, and much about which time, she first began her pranks (b): for being troubled with hysterical fits, and the usual symptoms of risings in her throat, faintings, deliria, &c. which strangely distorted her limbs, and threw her body into very unusual agitations; it was no difficult matter in an age of credulity and superstition, to make people believe, there was something more in her fits than a bare paroxysm of the disease (c), and she accordingly become the object of their wonder and surprize: thus her strange fits and odd gesticulations, together with a little success (she accidentally met with) in divination [A], soon spread her fame abroad, and made people believe she was really inspired of God. This affair coming to the ears of Masters, the parson of Aldington, he immediately resolved to set her up for a prophetess, in hopes perhaps thereby to prop the sinking foundation of the Romish Church (though the event turned out directly the contrary) [B]: this, or at least the hopes of making his chapel famous, that he might reap thereby the advantages of pilgrimages, offerings, &c. (d) made him very ready to contribute to, and carry on the imposture. To this end his first care was, to advise her to pretend (or at least to persuade her to believe) she had a supernatural impulse, and that what she said was truly prophetic: for when her fits were over, and she had forgot all she had said in them, Masters, the Priest, took care it should not go so, but persuaded her, all she had said was of the Holy Ghost, and that she ought publickly to confess it was so (e); this distemper holding her for some time, she had thereby an opportunity (as it were by daily habit and experience) of attaining such perfection in counterfeiting her fits, that when cured, she could so exactly imitate them, as would have deceived any body, so ready and expert was she at it, to which her own application and observance, and the diligent tuition of her preceptors, *Masters* and other Monks and Friars, did not a little contribute (f): For having by her art brought the fit upon her, she would lie as it were in a trance for some time, then coming to herself, (after many strange grimaces and odd gesticulations) she would break out into devout ejaculations, hymns, and prayers, sometimes delivering herself in set speeches, sometimes in uncouth monkish rhymes, pretending to prophesy, and that she had been honoured by God with many strange

visions,

[A] Together with a little success (she accidentally met with) in divination.] It happening, that a child of her master's, that was sick in the cradle by her, being near death, just as she was come out of one of her fits; she asked, with great pain and groaning, whether it were dead or not? And hearing it was alive, she said it would die anon; which words were scarce out of her mouth, but the child fetched a deep sigh and died; as might be naturally suggested without any great skill in divination (1): This success however, simple as it was, together with her odd fits, soon set her up for a Prophetess: For a little while after this, she took upon her to tell things that were done at church, court, and other distant places, where she could not be present, or have any apparent information; nay so low did her divinations descend, that she would also tell in particular on any night, what meat the Hermit of that chapel had for his supper, and many other things told her concerning him, to the great admiration of those about her; delivering her speeches, as the lay immovable, and as it were dead, all which she seemed (by signs that she gave) most lively to behold, as it were with her eyes —

[B] In hopes thereby to prop the sinking foundation of

the Romish Church, though the event turned out directly the contrary] For the foulness and wicked designs of this imposture says Burnet (2), did much alienate people from the interest of Rome, and made the other acts pass more easily, and be better received by the people; inasmuch that it was generally believed, or at least least shrewdly suspected, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the visions and miracles, by which religious orders had raised their credit so high, were of the same nature; on which account, it was not a little instrumental in making way for the destroying of all the monasteries in England, tho' all the severity which at that time followed on it, was that the Observant Friars at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcastle*, were removed out of their houses, and put with the other Grey Friars, and Augustin Friars were put in their houses (3). — This however, was the first that provoked the King against the regular Clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the rest of this reign, and not undeservedly; for had it fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after visions, the King might have lost his crown by it*.

(2) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. B. II. p. 153.

(3) Stowe, p. 570.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[C] Saying

vifions, heard heavenly voices and melody, and had the revelations of many things, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, &c. [C] declaiming againft the wickednefs of the times, and evil life, in no bad manner; and was always particularly vehement againft Herefy and innovations, exhorting to frequent the church, to hear maffes, to ufe frequent confeffion, and to pray to our Lady and all Saints, and to all the fuperftitions of the Romifh Church. The artful management of this impofture, together with her pretended piety, virtue, and austeri- ty of life, gained her undoubted credit to all fhe faid; the common people looking on her with a kind of reverence, as a perfon truly infpired of God, and not only the commonalty were deceived, but feveral learned men of uncommon underftanding, and perfons of great characters were wrought upon to give credit to her pretended revelations (g). Among the reft was Sir Thomas More, and Fisher Bifhop of Rochefter, who are by fome reported (though falſely) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her [D]; as alfo Warham, Archbifhop of Canterbury; to whom Mafters having fet this holy Nun off in an extraordinary manner, by relating her pretended revelations, divinations, and long fpeeches (b), Warham ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new trances, &c. fhe might afterwards fall in; to whom was joined Dr Bocking a Canon of Chrift- Church in Canterbury, and Mr Hadley and Barnes, two Monks of the fame place, together with Father Lewis his official of Canterbury (i), and others, as commiffioners to examine

(g) Cott's Trial of Witchcraft, p. 64.

(b) Hall's Chron. fol. 219.

(i) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 150.

[C] Saying that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions, and heard heavenly voices and melody, and that ſhe had the revelations of many things to come, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, &c.] In her trances ſhe would often ſay, that ſhe would go home; and ſometimes when ſhe came out of them, that ſhe had been at home; and being aſked where her home was; ſhe ſaid it was in Heaven, where St Michael weighed ſouls, and St Peter carried the keys; and where ſhe had the company of our Lady of Court of Strete, who had commanded her, to offer a taper up to her in her chapel, and that then ſhe would immediately be cured; dif- covering great pleaſure in the thoughts of being talked of for the miracles: Saying, our Lady would ſhow more miracles there ſhortly, and that if any one ſhould chance to depart this life ſuddenly, or by miſchance, or in deadly ſin; if they vowed heartily to our good Lady at Court of Strete, they ſhould be reſtored to life again, to receive ſwift and bouſell, and ſhould after depart this life with God's bleſſing (4).

It was alſo given out that ſhe had much converſation with, and many revelations from, Mary Magdalen, who gave her a letter that was wrote in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being wrote in golden characters; this was however afterwards found to be wrote by one Haukerſt, a Monk of Canterbury (5).

She pretended alſo to be preſent at Henry the VIII's interview with the French King at Calais, and that God being diſpleaſed with King Henry, an angel, when he was at maſs, took away the ſacrament out of the Prieſt's hand inviſibly, as he was going to adminiſter it to the King, and gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, and that ſhe was immediately waſted over ſea again to her monaſtery, as ſhe had been carried from it (6).

In the chapel of St Giles in the monaſtery of Chrift Church, Canterbury, ſhe is ſaid to have been particu- larly honoured by God with the ſight of heavenly lights, the ſound of celeftial voices and melody, and ſenſation of unſpeakable joys; to which chapel, ſhe, by the peculiar command of God, is ſaid oftentimes to have reſorted (eſpecially by night) to receive viſions and revelations, the door of the dormitory, opening itſelf to her by the power of God, and not only to her, but to Dr Bocking and ſome others; however, her ſtealing forth of the dormitory by night, (which ſhe did four or five times a week) was at laſt found not to be for ſpiritual buſineſs, nor to receive revelations of God, but rather for bodily communication and plea- ſure with her friends, who could not have ſo good lei- ſure and opportunity with her in the day (7). —

The books and papers wrote about her, mentioned the devil's having appeared to her, and tempted her in diverſe forms and faſhions, ſometimes like a man wantonly dreſſed, &c. ſometimes like a deformed bird, and ſometimes in other ſhapes (8). —

One of her prophecies or revelations was, that there was a root with three branches, and till they were plucked up, it ſhould never be merry with England, interpreting the root to be the late Lord Cardinal, the firſt branch the King, the ſecond, the Duke of Nor- folk, and the third, the Duke of Suffolk (9). —

[D] Among the reſt were Sir Thomas More, and Biſhop Fisher, who are by ſome reported (though falſly) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her.] Sanders (10) has the following paragraph,

‘ Quam ſceminam, cum inter caeteros Roſſenſis & Morus diligenter examinarent, confeſſi ſunt ſe nullo indicio deprehendere potuiſſe, eam fanatico ſpiritu (quod in ejus invidiam tunc ſpargebatur) agitatum fuiſſe: Unde et ipſi in ſuſpicionem, apud Regem venerunt, quod cum illa ſentirent, &c. — Which woman (ſpeaking of the Holy Maid of Kent) when, among the reſt, Biſhop Fisher and More had carefully examined, they confeſſed, that they could not by any ſign or token find out, that ſhe was poſſeſſed by a fanatical ſpirit, (as was then re- ported in her diſpraiſe) upon which they themſelves, as agreeing with her in ſentiments, became ſuſpected by the King, &c.’ Stapleton (11) in his life of Sir Thomas More is ſtill ſtronger in this reſpect; his words are theſe, ‘ Hujus rei invidia in Thomam Morum, qui illam juſſu Regis examinaverat, devolvitur, quod præ- examinationis tempora, ſecreto cum ipſam contu- lerit; quodque literas ad eam miſerat, ad eaque ac- ceperit: Jamque adeo accuſatur, &c. — The blame of this affair turned chiefly on Sir Thomas More, who having examined her by the King's command, did never- theleſs, after the time of examination was over, hold private conferences with her, writing and receiving letters from her, for which reaſon, &c.’ Both theſe authors, but eſpecially the laſt quoted, make Sir Thomas, as one among the reſt, appointed by the King to examine her and her aſſociates in this affair: But this ſeems highly improbable, for in the firſt place, we find no other circumſtances in hiſtory to corroborate it; and in the next place, Sir Thomas, in his long letter of juſtification to Cromwell (in note K) tells us, the manner of his being brought acquainted with her, the ſeveral conferences, &c. he had with herſelf and her accomplices about her; but throughout all his letters in no way intimates any command he ever had to viſit her, or inſpect into the affair, which had it been true, beſides being too material a point to be omitted by in- advertency, would have been too good an excuſe, to have been paſſed by in ſilence; nay, the paſſage marked with an aſteriſm thus *, in his long letter (note K) indicates directly the contrary: — In this letter he acknowledges he had eſteemed her highly, not ſo much out of any regard he had to her prophecies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holineſs and humility; but he adds (12) that he was then convinced, that ſhe was the moſt falſe, diſſembling hypocrite, that had been known; and guilty of the moſt deteſtable hypocriſy, and devilish diſſembled falſhood; he alſo believed that ſhe had communication with an evil ſpirit, and had, we find by his other letters, as well as this, a very mean opinion of her, looking on her as a weak woman, and in diſcourſe with his beloved daughter Roper, he commonly called her the Silly Nun (13): — And Fisher diſowned her when the cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before (14): See note [F] for Fisher's opinion of her, &c.

(10) De Schifma- te Anglicano, lib. i. p. 106, 107.

(11) Tres Thomæ Viræ — In Vita Thomæ Mori, per Stapleton, p. 231.

(12) Burnet's A- bridgement of the Hiſt. of the Re- formation, Vol. I. p. 115. See his letter in note [K].

(13) Roper's Letter in Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 143.

(14) Burnet's Er- rors and Falſhoods of Sanders's Book of Engliſh Schifm.

(4) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. Alſo the Pam- phlet, as quoted in note [A].

(5) Hall's Chron. p. 220.

(6) Hall's Chron. The Pope's New Year's Gift, by B. G. Citizen of London, as before in note [A].

(7) Hall's Chron. Pamphlet, ibid.

(8) Hall's Chron. See Sir Thomas More's converſation with her, in note [K].

(9) Hall's Chron.

(k) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 25.

(l) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 550.

(*) See the Letter at large, in Bibliotheca Cotton.

(†) For Court at Strete.

(m) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 150.

(n) Hall's Chron.

(o) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 24. See the latter end of note [C].

(p) Hall's Chron. Cotta of Witchcraft, p. 64. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. I. an. 1534.

examine further into this affair (k). However, for all this piece of outward ceremony, Warham (as he was a violent, persecuting Papist) was not a little suspected, with some others, to have countenanced this imposture underhand. And if he was not really privy to the contrivance, he must have been most egregiously imposed on. For Fisher, in his letter of excuse to Cromwell (l), seems to throw the chief of his credit or belief in this affair, upon the testimonies and accounts he received from Warham; his words are these: 'Finally, my Lord of Canterbury, that then was both her Ordinary, and a man reputed of high wisdom and learning, told me that she had many great visions; and of him I learned greater things, than ever I heard of the nun herself, &c.' (*) Masters, and the rest (thus commissioned by Archbishop Warham) finding her upon examination a staunch Catholick, that they might reap some benefit from the noise her inspiration and revelations had made in the world, instructed her to say, in her counterfeit trances, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and that she never could recover, till she went and visited her image, in the famous chapel that was dedicated to her, and was called the Chapel of our Lady, of Court of Strete (†). Accordingly, the day being made publick that she intended to go and visit the image of the Virgin, a mob of above 3000 people gathered together to attend her there, as did likewise several persons of quality of both sexes, and the hopeful commissioners made a part of the solemn procession (m). At her entrance she was saluted in a hymn, with *Ave Regina Caelorum*; when she came before the image of our Lady, she fell down before it in one of her trances, delivering therein rhymes, speeches, &c. all tending to the honour of that Saint, and the Popish religion (n): she wished also that there was a singing Priest to attend the chapel; and said, that she herself was by the inspiration of God called to be a Religious; and that it was also the will of our Lady, that Bocking should be her Ghostly Father, but there were violent suspicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was her carnal as well as spiritual Father (o). It was now given out, that she was, by the intercession of our Lady, miraculously recovered of her former distemper; and on the report made by the faithful commissioners, the Archbishop ordered the wench to be put into the nunnery of St Sepulchre's in Canterbury, where she feigned to have frequent returns of her former trances, visions, and revelations, working (as was pretended) many miracles, on all such as would but make a good profitable vow to our Lady, at Court at Strete. The design of the contrivance was now in some measure answered; the Priests had made plentiful gains of her, the Hermit thrived well on the offerings, and the convent was much pleased with the new Nun, who was in such great credit and vogue, that there were several books wrote, about her sanctity of life, visions, revelations, and prophecies [E]: and thus matters went glibly on for divers years together. But now the Roman clergy being apprehensive, that the King's marriage with Anna Bullen would prove very detrimental to their religion; they set every engine at work to prevent it, and among the rest, Bocking and her other associates were prevailed upon, to persuade her to menace the King, with death or the loss of his crown: she, puffed up with her former success, and the credit she bore in the world as to sanctity, &c. was hardy enough to be governed by this advice, and made no scruple to declare publickly, that God had revealed to her, that in case the King went on in the divorce, and married another wife while Queen Catherine was living, he should not be King of England a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God, not one hour longer, but should die a villain's death. This she said was revealed to her, in answer to the prayer she had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's proceedings or not (p). This coming to the ears of the Bishop of Rochester, and some others who adhered to the Queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices [F], concealing

[E] That there were several book wrote about her sanctity of life, visions, revelations, and prophecies.] Among which books, one pamphlet contains twenty-four leaves, printed by Robert Red-Man, intituled, A marvellous work done of late at Court of Strete in Kent, and published to the devout people of their time for their consolation. John Deering, a Monk in the monastery of Christ-Church (says the act) made, wrote, or caused to be wrote, sundry books, both great and small, both printed and written, concerning the particularities of the false and feigned hypocrisy and revelations of Elizabeth Barton, in defence and great praise of the same: ——— And one Edward Thwaites, Gentleman, translated and wrote diverse quires and sheets of paper, concerning the said false, feigned revelations of the said Elizabeth: ——— And Thomas Laurence of Canterbury, being Register to the Archbishop, at the instance and desire, of the said Edward Bocking, wrote a great book of the false and feigned miracles and the revelations of the said Elizabeth in a fair hand, and ready to be a copy to the Printer; Laurence was also her interpreter to one of the Pope's Legates (15).

[F] This coming to the ears of the Bishop of Rochester, and some others who adhered to the Queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with her and her ac-

complices, &c.] Not to break into the life of Fisher*, and to avoid being tedious, we shall only give extracts of the two letters that passed between Cromwell and Fisher on this occasion, the original whereof may be found as in the margin. ——— Upon the first discovery of this cheat, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him, to reprove him, for his carriage in that affair, and to advise him to ask the King's pardon, for the encouragement he had given the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: But Fisher by letter (16) excused himself, and said, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not? He confessed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any falshood in her; it is true, she had said some things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King herself. She had named no person that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him, if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. Upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter (17), wherein he shewed him that he had pro-

* See the Article FISHER, (JOHN) Bishop of Rochester.

(16) Bibliothec. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 87.

(17) Cotton. Libr. Cleopat. E. 4. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. collect. 49.

(15) Hall's Chron.

concealing what she spoke concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others, to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with several of the fathers of the Nuns of Sion, and the Charter-House in London, and Shene, and of the Observants of Richmond, Canterbury, and Greenwich; and a great many other persons, which appeared, however, most signally at Greenwich [G]. Nor was this all; but the Fathers that were in the conspiracy, had agreed to publish these revelations in their sermons up and down the kingdom: for by Sir Thomas More's long letter, as well as by the act itself we find, that Rich, Risby, and several other Monks and Friars, made it their business to travel up and down the countries, artfully introducing and insinuating themselves, not only to the commonalty, but into every family of note, and all degrees of men. Where they took an opportunity to report, in the most advantageous manner and terms, the hypocritical holiness, and feigned revelations, miracles, &c. of this imposture. By this means, poisoning and prepossessing the minds of the people, not only against the King's intended marriage; but against the King himself, declaiming against the wickedness of his life, and declaring, that he had abused the sword and authority committed to him by Almighty God; stirring up rebellion, withdrawing and absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him, by publicly preaching and declaring, that he was no longer King according to revelation. They had also given notice of these her prophecies to the Pope's Embassadors, and had the maid brought to declare her revelations to them; they also sent an account of them to Queen Catherine, to encourage her to stand out, and not submit to the laws (g). Of this confederacy Thomas Abel (r) was likewise one. The thing being now far from a secret, the King, who had hitherto despised it, thinking it now proper to take notice thereof, ordered that, in November 1533, the maid and her accomplices (Richard Master, Dr Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold a parson in London, Hugh Rich an Observant Friar, Richard Risby, Thomas Gold, and Edward Thwaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence) should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a numerous appearance of Lords, &c. Upon examination, they did all, without any rack or torture, confess the whole to be a contrivance and imposture [H], and were first sentenced to stand at St Paul's Cross, on a scaffold built on purpose for them, all sermon-time, and after sermon the King's officers was to give every one of them their bill of confession, to be opened and publicly read by each before the people, which was accordingly done the Sunday after; the Bishop of Bangor preaching, and giving an account of their treasonable practices to the audience. This publick manner was thought, upon good grounds, to be the best way to satisfy the people, of the imposture of the whole affair, and it did very much convince them, that the

(g) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 152. &c.

(r) See the article ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS)

ceeded rashly in that affair, being so partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him also, how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations; since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold and crafty impostor; yet, in the conclusion, he advised him again to ask the King's pardon for his rashness, and he assures him, that the King was ready to forgive that and every thing else by which he had offended him. But *Fisher* was obstinate and would make no submission, and so was included within the act, yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble.

[G] This appeared most signally at Greenwich.] Where the King chiefly resided in the summer, for one *Peto*, an Observant, being to preach in the King's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face. His text was the Prophet Elijah's reproof of *Abab*; where the fate of that Prince is denounced in these words: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine.* *Peto* quickly discovered his meaning in taking this text, and drove the application strong upon the King; he told him, notwithstanding the countenance and opinion of learned men, his second marriage was altogether unlawful, and as for himself, he was resolved, like *Micajah*, to deliver some unacceptable truths, tho' he was sensible, he should suffer for his plain-dealing, but pretended a divine commission for his freedom; upon presumption of this warrant, he told the King, his Highness was furnished with a great many Preachers to justify his marriage with *Mrs Boleyn*; but that these were men of no sincerity, that courted the King's fancy, and applied to his inclination for wealth and promotion in the Church: These were extraordinary fallies, however, the King bore the reprimand with great temper, and suffered *Peto* to go off without trouble (18).

[H] And upon examination, did all, without any rack or torture, confess the whole to be a contrivance

and imposture.] Sanders nevertheless has the following encomiums on her, calling her and those that suffered with her, Martyrs; his words are, 'Celebre erat his diebus Elizabethæ Bartonæ Monialis, nomen, quæ propter samam sanctitatis, Virgo sancta Cantiana, vulgo appellabatur. Hæc asserbat Henricum non amplius jam esse Regem, eo quod ex Deo non regnaret, Mariam vero Catherinæ filiam, quæ tunc minus legitime nata habebatur, ad Regni gubernacula suo jure fessuram esse: Ob quæ verba in jus vocata & in publicis regni comitiis una cum cæteris—(qui omnes eam Spiritu Dei afflatam credentes) capitis condemnata fuit, & post ludibria publica, omnes constanter supplicium ultimum subierunt, &c. (19)——— Much about this time, Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, was in great esteem, who was so highly famed for her sanctity as to acquire the title of the Holy Nun of Kent. She affirmed that Henry the eighth was no longer King, because he did not now reign of God*, and that Mary, the daughter of Catherine, tho' then esteemed illegitimate, should succeed by her own right to the government of the kingdom; on account of which words she was, with her accomplices, accused in Parliament, and there with them, who all believed her inspired by the Holy Ghost, condemned to die; which, after having been publicly exposed, they all did with great constancy.'

(19) Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, p. 106.

(*) Alluding to her Prophecy.

Upon this paragraph of Mr Sanders's, Burnet has the following evident remarks, viz. First, that her associates knew she was not inspired, and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such tricks as was proved by their own confessions and other evidences. Sanders also says, 'that they all died with great constancy; and in the margin calls them seven Martyrs.'——— Now the Nun herself acknowledged the imposture at her death, and laid the heaviest weight of it on the Priests that suffered with her, who had taught her the cheat; so that they died both for treason and imposture; and this being Sanders's faith, as appears by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it (20).

(20) Burnet's Appendix concerning the Errors and Falshoods in Sanders Book of the English Schism, p. 282, 283.

[I] The

(18) See more of this in Stowe, and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. &c.

(t) Burnet, Hall, &c. as before.

(t) 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

(u) Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

(*) 12 in the Statute-Book. 31 in the Record. 7 in the Journal.

(w) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 209.

the cause must needs be bad, where such methods were used to support it (s). From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the meeting of the Parliament, during which time, some of their accomplices sent messages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that she had said, and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad, of her being forced or cheated into a confession, made the King think it necessary to proceed more severely against her. The thing being brought before, and considered in Parliament (t), it was judged a conspiracy against the King's life and crown, and the Nun, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Ribby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high-treason; and Fisher Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeson, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure (u). But in the conclusion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance, by these impostures, except the persons abovenamed, were, at the earnest intercession of Queen Anne, (as it is expressed in the act) pardoned. On the reading the bill about them the third time, on the sixth of March, the Lords addressed the King to know his pleasure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at least as concealers, might not be heard for themselves in the Star-Chamber (*). By this we find, Sir Thomas More was at first inserted in the bill of attainder, and though the King was at last, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to let his name be erased, yet he was nevertheless so highly displeased with him for the conference and correspondence he had carried on with the Nun herself, and her accomplices, that this was afterwards laid hold on, and made the ground-work of his ruin [I]. And yet the care and caution he used in this affair was very extraordinary, and his grandson says (w), 'that he demeaned himself so discreetly in all his talk with her, that he deserved no blame, but rather great commendation, as was afterwards evidently proved, when it was fore laid to his charge.' The same was also very conspicuous from his letter of justification to Secretary Cromwell, which lays open the artifices, by which he was drawn in to have so high an opinion of her, as he at first had, as also that he was at last thoroughly convinced of the forgery and imposture of the whole; but as this letter contains several remarkable passages of the Nun herself, and will give some light into her character and genius, as well as into those of the clergy that adhered to the interest of the Court of Rome, we thought it not improper to give it at length, as below in note [K]. Soon after the

[I] *The King was at last, with some difficulty prevailed upon, that no bill of attainder should pass against him, he was nevertheless highly displeased with him, &c. that it was made the ground-work of his ruin.* 'Now after the report made of this their examination of Sir Thomas to the King, by the Lord Chancellor and the rest, King Henry was so highly displeased with Sir Thomas More, that he plainly told them, that he was resolutely determined that the aforesaid Parliament bill should undoubtedly pass against them. Yet to this the Lord High Chancellor and the rest said, that they had perceived that all the Upper-House, was so powerfully bent to hear Sir Thomas speak in his own defence, that if he were not put out of the bill, it would be utterly overthrown, and have no force against the rest; which words although the King heard them speak, yet needs would he have his own will therein, adding, that he would be personally present himself at the passing of it. But Lord Audley and the rest, among whom was Cromwell*, seeing him so violently bent upon it, fell down on their knees, and besought his Majesty not to do so; considering, that if in his own presence he should be confronted and receive an overthrow, it would not only encourage his subjects ever after to contemn him, but also rebound to his dishonour for ever throughout Christendom; and they doubted not in time, but to find some other fitter matter against him; for in this case of the Nun, they said all men accounted him so clear and innocent, that for his behaviour therein, every one reckoned him rather worthy of praise than of reproof; at which words of theirs, the King, at their earnest persuasion, was contented to condescend to their petition; yet was not his displeasure against Sir Thomas More any whit abated, but much more incensed (21). Sir Thomas, however, wrote a letter to the King upon that occasion, to this effect (22).

He clears himself of having any communication with the Maid of Kent to the King's displeasure (23); and for this he refers his Majesty to his long letter lately written to Secretary Cromwell; he takes the freedom to tell the King, that if he should miscarry and fall under the forfeiture of the Law, either by bill of attainder or otherwise, he should have the satisfaction, after his own short life, and the King's long

one (as he wishes it) was over, after this he said, he should have the satisfaction to meet his Highness once again, and be merry with him in Heaven, where among other pleasures, this would be one, that his Majesty would clearly see there, whatever his opinion might be now, that he had always been his faithful subject. In the close of the letter he desires the King, that no bill of attainder may pass against him, because it must be drawn upon untrue suggestions, misreport him to the world, and stick a blemish upon his memory.

[K] *We thought it not improper to give it at length.*

Right Worshipful,

AFTER my most hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your goodness, in accepting my rude long letter; I perceive that of your farther goodness and favour towards me, it liked your Masterhip to break with my son Roper, of that that I had had communication, not only of divers that had acquaintance with the lewd Nun of Canterbury, but also with herself; and had over that, by my writing declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liked you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by myne own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine years ago, sith I heard of that house-wife first, at which time the Bishop of Canterbury, that then was, God assyl his soul, sent unto the King's Grace a roll of paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her trances; whereupon it pleased the King's Grace, to deliver me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein; whereunto at another time, when his Highness asked me, I told him, in good faith, I found nothing in these words, that I could any thing regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in rhyme, and that, God wot, full rude also, for any reason God wots that I saw therein; a right simple woman, might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit, well enough:

Taken from the Norfolk MS. in the Royal Society Library.

* Which also appears by Sir Thomas's Letters. See his Works, p. 1423.

(21) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 216, 217. Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 36. Hoddefson's Hist. of Sir Thomas More, chap. xii. p. 83, ibid. xxxix. p. 87.

(22) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 181.

(23) Sir Thomas More's Works, by Rastal, p. 1423.

the condemnation of these delinquents, viz. on the twenty-first of April (*), the Nun, and Bocking,

(*) Several authors have it the twentieth of April.

‘ Howbeit, I said, because it was constantly reported for a truth, God wrought in her, and that a miracle was shewed upon her, I durst not nor would not be bold, in judging the matter; and the King’s Grace, some thought, esteemed the matter as light, as after it proved lowd.

‘ From that time till about Christmas was twelve-month, albeit that there was continually much talking of her, and her holiness, I never heard of any talk rehearsed, either of revelation of her’s or miracles, saving that I heard divers times in my Lord Cardinal’s days, that she had been both with his Lordship and with the King’s Grace, but what she said either to the one or the other, upon my faith I never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about Christmas was twelve-month, Father Risby, Friar Observant, then of Canterbury, lodged one night at mine house, where, after supper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her commendation of holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the works that God wrought in her; which thing I answered, that I was glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof: Then he told me that she had been with my Lord Legate in his life, and with the King’s Grace too, and that she had told my Lord Legate a revelation of her’s of three swords, that God had put into my Lord Legate’s hand, which if he ordered not well, God would put it fore to his charge; the first he said was, the ordering the spirituality under the Pope as Legate; the second, rule he bore, in order of the temporality under the King as his Chancellor; and the third he said was, the meddling he was put in trust with by the King, concerning the great matter of his marriage; and therewithal, I said unto him, that any revelation of the King’s matters, I would not hear of. I doubt not but the goodness of God should direct his Highness with his grace and wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the King’s honour and the surety of the realm: When he heard me say these words or the like, he said unto me, that God had specially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he break again into her revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his soul was to be saved by her mediation and without any other communication went into his chamber; and he and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter; nor since his departing on the morrow, I never saw him afterwards to my remembrance, till I saw him at St Paul’s Cross.

‘ After this, about Shrove-tide, there came unto me a little before supper, Father Rich, Fryar Observant of Richmond; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father Risby, how he did? Upon that occasion he asked me, whether Father Risby had any thing shewed me of the holy Nun of Kent? And I said yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue; I would not, quoth he, tell you again what you have heard of him already; but I have heard and known many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already; and therewith he asked me, whether Father Risby had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? And I said yea; then he told you (quoth he) of the three swords; yea verily, quoth I: Did he tell you (quoth he) of the revelations she had concerning the King’s Grace? Nay forsooth, (quoth I) nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing: Nor verily, no more I would indeed; for sith he have been with the King’s Grace herself, and told him, methought it a thing needfuls to tell me, or any man else: And when Father Risby perceived, that I would not hear her revelation concerning the King’s Grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my supper was set upon the board, where I required him to sit with me; but he would in no wise stay, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice; once in mine own house, another time in his own garden at the Fryars, at every time a great space, but not of any revelations touching the King’s Grace,

‘ but only of other mean folk I know not of whom; which things, some were very strange, and some were very childish. But albeit that he said he had seen her lie in a trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great spiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that she had told him those tales herself; for if he had, I would for the tale of Mary Magdalene, which he told me, and for the tale of the hottie, which I have heard she hath said, she was houseled at the King’s mass at Calice; if I had heard it of him, as told unto himself by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same tale of Rich or of Risby, or of neither of them both, but of some other man, since she was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well, when and wherefoever I heard it, methought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some man of her dream; who told it out for a revelation; and, in effect, I little doubted but that some of those tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet, since I never heard them reported as spoken by her mouth, I thought nevertheless, that many of them might be true, and she be a virtuous woman too; as some lies be peradventure virtuous of some that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

‘ After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things, that some of them misliked in her, and in this talking they wished I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her: Whereupon afterwards when I heard she was there again, I came thither to see her and to speak with her herself. At which communication had in a little chappell, there were none present but we two; in the beginning were I shewed, that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of such thing as folks talked that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her; but for the great virtue I had heard for many years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her, I therefore had a great mind to see her and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers; whereunto she gave me a good virtuous answer, that as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor wretch, was worthy; so she feared, that many folks yet besides that, spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her far above the truth; and that of me, she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would, whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one Hellen, a maid at Tottam, of whose trances and revelations, there hath been much talking, she hath been with me of late, and shewed me that she was with you; and that after the rehearsing of such visions as she had seen, you shewed her that they were no revelations, but plain illusions of the Divil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind; and verily she gave therein good credit unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer to such visions of her own, whereupon she sayeth, she findeth your words true; for ever since she has been the less visited with such things, as she was wont to be before: To this, the answered me, forsooth, Sir, there is in this point no praise unto me; but the goodness of God, as it appears, hath wrought much meekness in her soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her spirit and her visions reprov’d. I liked her, in good faith, better for this answer, than for many of those things that I heard reported of her. Afterwards she told me, upon that occasion, how great need folk have that are visited with such visions, to take heed, and provc well of what spirit they come of; and in that communication she told me, that of late the Divil, in the likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in her chamber, and suffered himself to be taken, and being in hands, suddenly changed in their sight that were present, unto such a strange, ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

Bocking, Masters, Deering, Risby, and Gold, (Rich is not named, being perhaps dead or

‘ For conclusion, we talked no word of the King’s Grace, nor any great personages else, nor in effect, of any man or woman, but of herself and myself; but after no long communication had, for as soon as ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth I had a great, good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the letter I wrote unto her: For afterwards, because I had often heard, that many right worshipful folks, as well men as women, used to have much communication with her; and many folks are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, as better were to forbear, of which things I nothing thought, while I talked with her of charity; therefore I wrote her a letter thereof, which, sith it may be peradventure that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very copy thereof in this present letter, these were the very words.

‘ Good Madam, and my right dearly beloved Sister in the Lord.

‘ **A**FTER most hearty commendations, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth; and pardon me, that I am so homely, as of myself unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom, for thy good inspirations and great revelations, that it liketh Almighty God of his goodness, to give and shew to many wife and well learned, and very virtuous folk, testify, I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice; for surely, good Madam, sith it pleaseth God sometimes to suffer such as are far under, and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such as are in the light of the Spirit far above them, that there were between them no comparison, as he suffered his prophet Moses to be, in some things, advised and counselled by Jethro; I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which, in my poor mind, I think highly necessary to be by your wisdom considered, referring to the end and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not but you remember, that, in the beginning of my communication with you, I shewed you that I never was, nor would be curious of any knowledge of other mens matters; and least of all of any matter of Princes, or of the realm, in case it so were that God had, as to many folks beforetime, he hath any time revealed unto you such things; I said unto your Ladyship, I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now, Madam, I consider well, that many folk desire to speak with you, which was not all, peradventure, of my mind, in this point, but some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and some might, peradventure, hap to talk of such things as might afterwards turn to much harm, as I think you have heard how the late Duke of Buckingham, moved with some one who was reputed a holy Monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disinheriting of his blood, and great slander and infamy of religion. It suffices me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any person, especially with high persons of such manner and things, as pertain to Princes affairs or the state of the realm, but only to commune and talk with any person, high or low, of such a manner of things, as may to the soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus my good Lady, and dearly beloved Sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the Blessed Trinity preserve and increase in grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayer.

‘ At Chelsea this Tuesday, by the hand of

‘ Your hearty loving Brother, and Beadman,

‘ THOMAS MORE, Kt.

‘ At the receipt of this letter, she answered my fervant, that she heartily thanked me: Soon after this, there came to mine house the Prior of the *Charter-House at Sheen*, and one Brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the great joy they took in her virtue, but of any of her revelations they had no communication; but at another time Brother Williams came unto me, with a long tale of her being at the house of a Knight in Kent, that was fore troubled with temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor could have done of likelihood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good man, to tell the tale with all the circumstances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was profession, some of the Fathers asked me how I liked the said Nun, and I answered,* that in good faith I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she’s never the nearer tried by that, for, I assure you, she were likely to be very bad if she seemed good, e’er I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and, in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelihood of some cloaked evil; for in that case, although I nothing suspected the person myself, yet no less than if I suspected him so, I would, as far as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as you yourself hath done very prudently in this matter, wherein you have done in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehoods, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this woman so handled herself, with the help of that evil spirit that inspired her, that, after her own confession declared at Paul’s Cross, when I sent word by my fervant to the *Prior of the Charter-House*, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite, the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scarcely believe me therein; howbeit, it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good man besides, as little marvel was, upon so good report, till she was proved naught: I remember me farther, that in communication with Father *Rich* and me, I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming, e’er themselves spake thereof, and such good fruit, as they said, that many men had received by her prayer, he and such other so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much return to the glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the Ordinary, and such as had authority thereunto, so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermixt among them, or else the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of the things that were true; and when he told me the tale of *Mary Magdalen*, I said unto him, Father *Rich*, that she is a good virtuous Woman in good faith I hear so many folk so report, that I verily think it true, and think it well likely, that God wrought some good and great things by her; but yet are you wot well these strange tales no part of our Creed, and therefore, before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel not to wed yourself so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, least that if it should hap, that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loss; to this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after, that I cannot tell.

‘ Thus have I, good Mr Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myself can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this matter; wherein I am sure, that not one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man else, report of them, as I trust verily no man will, I wot well, truly no man can, any word or deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of

or (y) pardoned) were drawn to Tyburn, where the Nun made a speech, as in the note (y) Hall's Chron. below, acknowledging her crime, and the justness of her sentence [L], and was then executed with her abovenamed five accomplices, who were all beheaded, and their heads set up in different parts of the town; as to the Nun's head, Stowe informs us, that was set upon London-Bridge.

' my legal truth and duty towards my most redoubted Sovereign and natural liege Lord; I will come to mine answer, and make it good, in such wise as becometh a true poor man to do, that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue; for I neither in this matter have done evil or said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad and rejoiced of them that were reported for good, which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good folk, for the false cloaked hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem Judas the true Apostle for Judas the false Traytor.

' But so propose I to bear myself in every man's company while I live, that neither good man or bad, neither Monk, Fryar, nor Nun, nor other man or woman in this world, shall make me digress from my truth and faith either towards God, or towards my natural Prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer, for other pleasures can I not do you; and may the Blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

' I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you of mine own hand-writing, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my breast that I have used in writing; and thus oftfoons I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.'

Concerning this Letter, a curious discovery has been made, viz. that *Rastal*, who published Sir Thomas More's works in Queen Mary's time, and among them other letters of his to Cromwell relating to that long one, which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed, but that long one was left out, though *More* refers to it in all his following letter, which is a little unac-

countable, viz. that the referring letters should be preserved, and the original letter, referred to in all the others, suppressed—but it is highly probable this was done on purpose, and with design; for in Queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that story of the Nun and canonize her, since she was thought to have suffered on her mother's account, and was called a Martyr to her mother's marriage, and there was no want of miracles to justify it; therefore a letter so plain and full against her was thought fit to be kept out of the way; and that one of their Martyrs might not lessen the esteem of another, it was thought fit to suppress it: This, however, Burnet acknowledges to be only a conjecture, leaving it to the judgment of the reader to determine (23).

[L] *The Nun made a speech, acknowledging her crime and the justness of her sentence.* Her dying words, as recorded in Hall's Chronicle, are, *Hither I am come to die, and I have not only been the cause of mine own death, which most justly I have deserved, but also I am the cause of the death of all those persons which at this time here suffer; and yet to say the truth I am not to be blamed, considering that it was well known to these learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might easily have perceived, that the things that were done by me could not proceed in no such sort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I have feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasie with myself, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case; and for which now I cry God and the King's Highness most heartily mercy, and desire you all good people to pray God to have mercy on me, and on all them that suffer here* (24).

(23) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. Book i. p. 143.

(24) Hall's Chronicle. R

BARWICK (JOHN) an eminent English divine in the XVIIth century, and Dean of St Paul's. He was born at Witherflack, a little village in Westmoreland, the twentieth of April, 1612 (a). His father's name was George Barwick, and his mother's, Jane Barrow. They were far from being considerable either for rank or riches, but were otherwise both of them persons of great merit, and remarkably happy in their family [A]. John was the third son, and his parents intended him from his childhood for the Church. In his nonage he went to school in the neighbourhood, and lost much time under masters deficient alike in diligence and in learning. At length he was sent to Sedberg school in Yorkshire, where, under the care of a tolerable master, he gave early marks both of genius and piety (b) [B]. In the year 1631, and the eighteenth of his own age, he was admitted

(a) Vit. Johanne Barwick, p. 1. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, where it is (perhaps by mistake) printed *Wappenflacke*, p. 610.

(b) Ibid. p. 23.

[A] *Persons of great merit and remarkably happy in their family.* Mr George Barwick was descended of a very antient family of that name in Lancashire. The village of Wetherflack, where his small estate lay, is about six or seven miles from Kendal in Westmoreland, but is considerably nearer the borders of Lancashire. Old Mr Barwick was a great oeconomist, and, though he bred up a large family, made a handsome figure, and did a great deal of good in the neighbourhood where he dwelt. He was blessed with five sons who lived to mens estate, besides one who died young. Nicholas and William, the two eldest, settled in the country, each having a farm; Nicholas that which descended from his ancestors; and William another purchased by his father. John and Peter we have particularly accounted for, and as for the youngest, Edward, he was bred a Herald-Painter, and became a very eminent man in his profession; as well as very remarkable for his loyalty and steady courage, as will be observed in the course of this life (1).

[B] *He gave early marks both of genius and piety.* The master of this school at that time was Mr Gilbert Nelson, who, we are told, taught his scholars Latin very well, and Greek indifferently. Dr Peter Barwick says, ' He was a very pleasant, facetious man, and by his

' merry comments rendered so very agreeable, what uses to give most uneasiness in learning, that his scholars became fond of their books tho' never so hard. They were wonderfully delighted, when he undertook to explain any of the dramatick Poets, particularly Terence or Plautus; for whatsoever in them seemed difficult to the weaker capacity of the boys, he expounded with so much wit and merriment, that all who had the least ingenuity were extremely in love with that sort of learning. In order also more clearly and thoroughly to explain the meaning of those Poets, whether Comedians or Tragedians, he used to teach such of his scholars as he found fit for it, to tread the stage now and then for their diversion, and act the several parts of those plays; without which kind of knowledge he knew he might fit them for the lives of Monks or Hermits, but not to bear any offices in the state, or perform the duties of civil life. Among such as were most skilful in acting plays, he took greatest delight in John Barwick, and was mightily pleased to see him act so much to the life, the part of Hercules raving in the tragedy, as to gain the applause of all the spectators. This shewed that our young scholar had now laid aside all childish sports, and was fit to converse with men before he

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(c) E. Registr. Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(d) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 9. See also the English Translation of that Life, p. 11. Vit. Richard Holdsworth, à Richard Pearson, Script. & suis Oper. præfix.

(e) Fuller's Hist. of the university of Cambridge, p. 167.

Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 16.

(f) Ibid. p. 17.

(g) Querela Cantab. p. 2, 3, &c.

(h) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 25.

admitted of St John's College at Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Fothergill, who proved at once a guardian and a preceptor, supplying his necessities as well as instructing him in learning (c). By this gentleman's help Mr Barwick quickly distinguished himself to such a degree in his college, that when a dispute arose about the election of a Master, which at last came to such a height as to be heard before the Privy-Council, the college chose Mr Barwick, then little above twenty, to manage for them, by which he not only became very conspicuous in the university, but was also taken notice of at court, and by the Ministry, who in those days were encouragers of learning (d). In 1635 he became Bachelor of Arts while these affairs were still depending [C]. April the fifth, 1636, he was created Fellow without opposition, though a party was already formed against him in the college by such as were inclined to Puritanism. In 1638 he took the degree of Master of Arts. When the civil war broke out, and the King wrote a letter to the university, acquainting them that he was in extreme want, Mr Barwick concurred with those loyal persons who first sent him a small supply in money, and afterwards their college plate (e), and upon information had, that Mr Cromwell, afterwards the Protector, lay with a party of foot at a place called Lowler Hedges, between Cambridge and Huntingdon, in order to make himself master of this small treasure, Mr Barwick made one of the party of horse, which conveyed it through by-roads safely to Nottingham, where his Majesty had set up his standard (f). By this act of loyalty the Parliament was so provoked, that they sent Cromwell with a body of troops to quarter in the university, where they committed such outrages, as would scarce have been credible in succeeding times, if Mr Barwick, in conjunction with many other learned members of that celebrated society, had not transmitted an authentick account of them to posterity (g) [D]. Mr Barwick also published another piece against the Covenant, and having thereby provoked such as were then in power, he thought proper to retire to London, there to render all the service that he was able to the royal cause (h) [E]. Soon after he settled there, he was intrusted with the management of the King's most private concerns, and carried on with great secrecy a constant correspondence between London and Oxford, where the King's head quarters then were. A nice and arduous employment, and for which there never was a man perhaps better fitted, than he. For with great modesty, and

'left school; for Hercules's buskins (as the proverb says) are not fit for children. But he never suffered these diversions to interrupt the steady course of piety, to which he had been remarkably accustomed from his childhood; for I remember when at a break-up for Easter holidays, he came home from school, (as is usual at those great festivals) he spent all Good-Friday at church in devotion, suitable to that solemn occasion; when every one else came home after morning prayer, and went not to church again till evening service (2).'

(2) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 6, 7.

[C] *While these affairs were still depending.* The author of the English translation of Dr Barwick's Life, seems to be a good deal embarrassed as to the chronology of this fact, Dr Gwin, the old master, died in June 1633, upon which a struggle followed between Dr Lane and Mr Holdsworth, wherein though the latter is thought to have had a clear majority of legal votes, yet it was held most for the peace of the University to set both candidates aside; and, in consequence of this expedient, Dr Beale was admitted Master the 20th of February 1633-4 (3). Now the difficulty lies here, Mr Barwick at this time was not so much as Bachelor of Arts, nor is there any entry in the college books, of his being appointed Professor for the society upon this occasion. I am therefore inclined to believe, there might be a subsequent hearing before the Council, in relation to the settlement of St John's college, at which Mr Barwick might assist. Dr Holdsworth was soon after Master of Emanuel-college, and both Dr Beale and he were ejected by the Parliament (4).

(3) E. Registr. Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(4) Fuller's Hist. of the university of Cambridge, p. 170. See also the Latin Life of Dr Richard Holdsworth, prefixed to his Lectures by Dr Pearson.

[D] *An authentick account, &c.* The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of these severities runs thus. 'The rebels at that time threatened some of the greatest men and most learned heads, such as Dr William Beale of St John's, Dr Edward Martin of Queen's, and Dr Richard Sterne of Jesus college, with transportation into the islands of America, and even with selling them to the Algerines. For these great men, with several other eminent Divines, were kept close prisoners in a ship on the Thames, under hatches, almost killed with stench, hunger, and watching; and treated by the senseless mariners with more insolence than if they had been the vilest slaves, or had been imprisoned there for some infamous robbery, or cruel murder; nay, one Rigby, a mean fellow, and of the very dregs of the people,

'did at that time expose these venerable persons to sale, and would actually have sold them for slaves, if any would have bought them (5).' Sir William Dugdale carries this still farther, he says, 'That this Mr Alexander Rigby, twice moved the House of Commons, that those Lords and Gentlemen, who were prisoners for being malignants, should be sold as slaves to Algiers, or sent to the new plantations in the West-indies, because he had contracted with two Merchants for that purpose (6).' Dr Fuller, who was a very cautious writer, and rather inclined to favour, than to exaggerate the proceedings of these people, is pleased to own, that soldiers were quartered in their colleges, their chapels abused, their bridges broken down, materials for building taken away, Jesus-college grove cut down, and a noble collection of antient coins belonging to St John's college, sold by weight for twenty-two pounds (7). Such was the effects of some mens zeal for liberty and reformation! But the best and most authentick account of this persecution, because written at the time, and wherein our author had a large share, is intituled, *Querela Cantabrigiænsis*, or the University of Cambridge's Complaint, at the end of which there is a list of the Heads and Fellows, &c. ejected and plundered, &c.

(5) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 23.

(6) Short View of the Troubles, chap. xlv. p. 577.

(7) Hist. of Cambridge, p. 171.

[E] *All the service he was able to the royal cause.* The title of this piece at large runs thus: Certain Disquisitions and Considerations, representing to the Conscience the Unlawfulness of the Oath intituled, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, &c. as also the Insufficiency of the Arguments used in the Exhortation for taking the said Covenant. Published by Command. Oxford 1644. It contains forty-nine pages in quarto, besides the Printer's postscript to the reader. It seems this was but the second impression, for the first was discovered, and the greatest part of it burnt. The learned persons who joined with our author in composing this piece, were Mr William Lacy of St John's college, Mr Isaac Barrow of Peter-house, Mr Seth Ward of Sidney-college, Mr Edmund Baldero, and Mr William Quarles of Pembroke-hall, and that incomparable disputant against the Schismatics, Mr Peter Gunning of Clare hall, each of whom took his particular share of this Covenant to confute, and bringing his part of the work to Mr Gunning's chamber, there they all conferred, and agreed upon the whole (8).

(8) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 40.

a temper naturally meek, he had a cool settled courage, and so much prudence and sagacity, that as, on the one hand, he never wanted presence of mind, so, on the other, he was never at a loss for expedients (i). He lived upon his first coming to town with Dr Morton, then Bishop of Durham, at Durham-house, which being an old spacious Building, afforded him great conveniences for hiding his papers (k), and at the same time his residence with that prelate as his chaplain, countenanced his remaining in London. One great branch of his employment, was the bringing back to their duty some eminent persons who had been misled by the fair pretences of some of the great speakers in the long Parliament. Amongst those who were thus reclaimed by the care of this religious and loyal gentleman, were Sir Thomas Middleton and Colonel Roger Pope, both persons of great credit with the party, and both very sincere converts [F]. By his application likewise Mr Cresset was convinced of his errors, and became a useful associate in the dangerous employment of managing the King's intelligence (l) [G]. Even after the King's affairs became desperate, Mr Barwick still maintained his correspondence, and when his Majesty was in the hands of the army, Mr Barwick had frequent admittance to him, and received his verbal orders, which he executed both punctually and successfully. To perform his duty the more effectually, he had the King's express command to lay aside his clerical habit, and in the dress of a private gentleman, with his sword by his side, he remained without suspicion in the army, and gave the King the truest lights possible as to the humour both of officers and soldiers, till all intelligence of this sort became unnecessary, by the army's throwing off all pretences to loyalty, and even shew of tenderness towards the King's person. When his Majesty came to be confined in Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, so closely, that guards were posted at all the avenues to his chamber, and even at his windows, to prevent his having any correspondence, Mr Cresset; who was placed about him, through the dexterous management of Mr Barwick, defeated all their diligence, and preserved his Majesty a free intercourse with his friends: For this purpose he first deposited with Mr Barwick a cypher, and then hid a copy of it in a crack of the wall in the King's chamber. By the help of this cypher the King both wrote and read many letters every week, all of which passed through the hands of Mr Barwick (m). He likewise was concerned in a very well laid design for procuring the King's escape, which however was unluckily disappointed [H]. These labours, though they were very fatiguing, did not hinder him from undertaking still greater, for when Mr Holder, who had managed many correspondencies for the King, was discovered and imprisoned, he had so much spirit and address as to procure admittance to, and a conference with him, whereby his cyphers and papers were preserved, and Mr Barwick charged himself

(i) See the grant of an honourable addition of arms to this family, on account of the services performed by the two brothers John and Peter, in the Preface to the Latin Life.

(k) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 26.

(l) Ibid. p. 33. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 143. Dugdale's Short View of the Late Troubles, p. 138.

(m) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 51. Sanderton's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 990. Life of King Charles I. by Dr Perinchieff, p. 95.

[F] *Both very sincere converts.* This Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk-Castle in Denbighshire, had been a Colonel under the Earl of Essex, but was afterwards eminently loyal, which so far irritated General Lambert, that he pulled his fine feat quite down to the ground. John Middleton, Esq; of Chirk-Castle, is the grandson of this gentleman. As for Colonel Roger Pope, he soon after died of the plague, and upon this occasion, Mr Barwick performed an act of piety worthy of immortal memory. The Colonel it seems was under great trouble of mind, and exceedingly desirous of receiving the sacrament, but at the same time afraid of sending for any Clergyman on account of his infectious distemper. Mr Barwick being informed of this, tho' he never had either the measles or small-pox, went immediately to assist his dying friend, and remained with him till he had yielded his last breath (9).

[G] *Managing the King's intelligence.* This gentleman had lived long in the Bishop of Durham's family, and afterwards entered into the service of the Earl of Pembroke, who made so great a figure on the side of the Parliament. He found it impracticable to bring his Lord to a better way of thinking, and was therefore forced to content himself with making him an instrument in doing good without his knowledge. Thus he obtained passports for certain London Pedlars to carry wares into all the quarters of the Parliament army; under the pretext of this commerce, Mr Barwick procured a safe conveyance as far as to the King's quarters, which joined upon those of the Rebels; for not a few messages of great importance, slid in as it were by stealth among the Pedlar's wares, and sometimes also for money and ammunition, furnished by certain Citizens in his Majesty's interest, to be conveyed thence to Oxford by some of the King's party, who waited in those places to receive them. In the mean time, Mr Barwick himself (lying as it were behind the curtain) was known to very few of those of whose help he made use, either by fight, or so much as by name; and those few only persons of the greatest probity, and who knew hardly any thing of what was doing, or indeed desired to know it, but as it

were through a lattice, and enveloped in a mist, to the end that they might more easily clear themselves if they should happen to be taken (10).

[H] *Which however was unluckily disappointed.* The Earl of Clarendon was absolutely misinformed as to this project for the King's escape, he tells us that it was concerted by Osborne and Rolph, the latter designing to kill the King, that his Majesty coming to the window at midnight and putting himself out, discerned more persons to stand there than used to do, thence suspecting some discovery, shut the window and retired to bed; and this, says his Lordship, was all the ground of a discourse which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out of the window, and could neither draw his body after nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a meer fiction (11). To the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, I oppose that of King Charles I, who wrote the following letter with his own hand, which is still preserved by the descendant of the gentleman to whom it is addressed. 'D, (which in the cypher stands for Henry Firebrace, i. e. Sir Henry Firebrace, to whom it was directed) since I see that A, i. e. Cresset cannot stay, you must take the more care to settle the intelligence between my friends and me at London; to which end, I hope you have shewn the packet to F, i. e. Doucet, I have written to W, i. e. Titus, but it is only to refer him to you: Wherefore let him know, that the narrowness of the window was the only impediment of my escape, and therefore that some instrument must be had to remove the Bar, which I believe is not hard to get, for I have seen many, and so portable, that a man might put them in his pocket, and yet of force sufficient to do more than this comes to; I think it is called the Endless Screw, or the Great Force. Likewise acquaint him with those other ways that were in discourse among us, desiring him upon the whole matter (as well upon his own, as other mens inventions) to give his judgment, which is the most probable way to effect this business (12).'

(9) Ibid. p. 594

(11) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 233.

(12) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 380.

(9) Ibid. p. 53.

(n) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 63.

(o) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 151. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 67. Lloyd's Memoirs, of Loyal Sufferers, p. 549.

himself with the intelligence which that gentleman had carried on [I]. After this he had a large share in bringing about the treaty at the Isle of Wight, and upon this occasion rode from London thither in one day, and returned in another (n). By this time he was so well known by reputation to all the loyal party, that even those who had never seen him, readily trusted themselves to his care even in the nicest and most dangerous conjunctures. Thus Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had been condemned to suffer death before the walls of Pomfret, which he had defended against the Parliament, and who, by the assistance of the Lady Saville, had made his escape while he lay under condemnation, after lying some weeks in a hay-stack, came boldly up to London in a clergyman's habit, and remained under Mr Barwick's protection as a poor minister driven from his benefice in Ireland, till such time as an opportunity offered for his safe conveyance out of the kingdom (o). When the King was murdered, and the royal cause seemed to be desperate, Mr Barwick still kept up his spirits, and though harassed with a continual cough, followed by a spitting of blood, and afterwards by a consumption of his lungs, yet would not interrupt the daily correspondence he maintained with the ministers of King Charles II. At last, when he was become very weak, he was content that his brother Dr Peter Barwick should take off a-part of the burthen, by attending the Post-office, which he did for about six months, and then this office was devolved on Mr Edward Barwick, another of his brothers. This gentleman had not been engaged two months in this perilous business, before one Bostock, who belonged to the Post-office, betrayed both him and Mr John Barwick, together with some letters which came from the King's ministers abroad, into the hands of those who were then possessed of the government. These letters were superscribed to Mr James Vandelft, Dutch merchant in London, which was a fictitious name made use of to cover their correspondence. Upon his examination, Mr Barwick did all he could to take the thing upon himself, in order to free his brother Edward. Yet so careful he was of offending against truth, that he would not deny his knowledge of the letters, but insisted that he was not bound to accuse himself. Those who examined him were not ashamed to threaten him, though half dead with his distemper, with putting him to the torture, if he did not immediately discover all who were concerned with him. To this Mr Barwick answered with great spirit, that neither himself or any of his friends had done any thing which they knew to be repugnant to the laws, and if by the force of tortures, which it was not likely a dry and bloodless carcase like his would be able to bear, any thing should be extorted which might be prejudicial to others, such a confession ought to go for nothing. Mr Edward Barwick behaved with the

[I] Which that gentleman had carried on.] This Mr Thomas Holder was Auditor-General to the Duke of York; he had the care of the King's correspondence with the Lady Saville, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and other persons of great quality. He gives the following account of the kindness he received from Dr Barwick; but as he wrote it in the year 1671, the reader will find that he styles him Dean of St Paul's. 'On account of this correspondence, says he, I took up my station in London, where I had an intimate acquaintance with the late reverend Dean of St Paul's, Dr John Barwick, who, as he was a person of great zeal towards his Majesty, so he was of great correspondence also with many Lords, and other eminent persons of the King's Party; and, besides that, of indefatigable industry in the service of his Majesty; to promote which, he and I did often meet twice or thrice in a week, and sometimes oftner, and communicated to each other what we had to make use of from time to time for his Majesty's service; and some post-days, when I was in danger, he was pleased to go himself, and take up my letters and packets at the Post-Office, and bring them to me, and stay with me until I had decyphered them to give him the contents thereof, that he might serve himself of what was fitting amongst his correspondents: And twice, by his means, I procured conveyance of dispatches to, and of returns from, his Sacred Majesty, in the time of no address to him in the Isle of Wight, touching some difficulties that did arise in some of his Majesty's affairs within my correspondences: And he told me since, that he was beholden to one Mr Cresset for effecting that matter of so great an undertaking and danger. And after I had carried on my correspondences throughout the great business of the year, for the most part successfully, I was at last betrayed, and, by order of the Juncto at Derby-House, committed to close prison; and then this worthy Dean, my dear friend and confident, adventured himself, and by my contrivance got to whisper with me through the chinks of a door nailed up, and the hangings before it turned by, in the chamber next to mine at Peter-House, where Major Polwheel was prisoner upon the King's account, by whose fa-

vour we conferred together; of which I made this good use, that by my directions the Dean found all my cyphers, papers, &c. and burnt them; and at my request he also exposed himself to give intimation to some worthy honest gentlemen, (though strangers to him) who had very faithfully acted with me in many things to provide for their own security, which I was very desirous they might have notice of, because I had heard them threatened by those in whose custody I then was. And when I saw myself thus shut up, and past hopes of coming again to be farther serviceable to his Majesty, I asked the good Doctor if he would adventure and engage himself to carry on my correspondences, (not knowing then what had befallen our friends in the North) which he cheerfully resolved on, if I would bring him into a confidence with those persons I had been engaged with; upon which I gave him a short character of my most incomparable Lady Saville; for till that time I had never named her to any person but whom herself had trusted, and by letter recommended him to her, who received him with much esteem and confidence, under the same trusts I had been with her and others: And the worthy Dean going on therein as I had done, (but with more abilities) came at last to my misfortune of imprisonment, which 'tis likely might have befallen any other person that would have adventured to act as he and I did, in such times, under such disadvantages, and with so much danger: And for my part, I thank God that I held out so long as I did, till the very day, (viz. the 17th of August, 1648) on which my Lord Langdale's forces were worsted by Cromwell's army, in fight of the Scotch army. God in his providence so ordering his defeat and my imprisonment on the very same day, and thereby making an end of our correspondence and endeavours for his Majesty's service together. And I must not omit, in gratitude to the memory of my worthy friend the good Dean, to acknowledge the many comforts he afforded me during my imprisonment, and the many kind visits and helps after my escape, until I got out of England. Thomas Holder (13).'

(13) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 94.

the like firmness, so that not so much as one person fell into trouble through their misfortune; and as for Mr John Barwick, he had the presence of mind to burn his cyphers and other papers before those who apprehended him could break open his door (p). This extraordinary fortitude and circumspection so irritated President Bradshaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and others of the Council who examined them, that, by a warrant, dated the ninth of April, 1650, they committed both brothers to the Gatehouse, where they were most cruelly treated, and three days afterwards committed Mr John Barwick to the Tower; and the reason they assigned for this change of his prison was, that he might be nearer to the rack, assuring him, that in a few days they would name commissioners to examine him, who should have that engine for their Secretary. Mr Francis West, who was then Lieutenant of the Tower, put him in a dungeon, where he was not only kept from pen, ink, and paper, and all books, but the Bible, with restraint from seeing any person except his keepers, but, as an additional punishment, had boards nailed before his window to prevent the coming in of the fresh air. In this melancholy situation he remained many months, during which time the diet he used was herbs or fruit, or thin water-gruel made of oatmeal or barley, with currants boiled in it, and sweetened with a little sugar, by which he recovered beyond all expectation, and grew plump and fat. A cure so perfect, and withal so strange, that many Physicians have taken notice of it in their writings, as a most pregnant instance of the power of temperance even in the most inveterate diseases (q) [K]. While he was thus shut up, his friends laboured incessantly for his service and relief, and his Majesty King Charles II, for whom he thus suffered, gave such testimonies of his royal concern, as shewed him to be the worthy master of so faithful a subject [L]. After fifteen months passed in this strict confinement, Mr Orway and some other friends procured a warrant from President Bradshaw to visit him, who were not a little surprized to find him so lusty, and in so good health, whom they had seen brought so low, as to engage this very Mr Orway to take care of his burial. His prudence and patience under this terrible persecution were so great, that they had a happy effect on all who came about him, so that Mr Robert Browne, who was Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, became first exceeding civil to him, and afterwards his convert, so as to have his child baptized by him; and, which was still a stronger proof of his sincerity, he quitted the very profitable post he held, and returned to his own business, which was that of a cabinet-maker (r). Nay, Mr West, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who treated him so harshly at his entrance, and executed to the full, if he did not exceed the orders of his superiors, abated by degrees of this rigour, and became at last so much softened, that he was as ready to do him all offices of humanity as Mr Browne was those of duty and religion, for he removed him out of a noisome dungeon, into a handsome convenient chamber, with a pair of leads over it, where he might enjoy freer air, and sometimes also the company of his friends. He likewise made assiduous application to the Council of State, that while Mr Barwick remained in the Tower, he might have an allowance granted him for his subsistence, and when he could not prevail, he supplied him from his own table. Indeed, after two years confinement, the Commonwealth did think fit to allow him five shillings a week, which he received for about four months. Then, through the same friendly intercession of Mr West, he was discharged on the seventh of August, 1652, but upon giving security to appear at any time within a twelvemonth before the Council of State (s). This procuring his discharge, was the last friendship Mr West did him, who within three days after died of an apoplexy, and was succeeded by Colonel Barksted, a barbarous, bloody man, and so cruel to his prisoners, that Mr Barwick thought it the greatest mercy afforded in his life-time, that he became not one of the number (t). On his deliverance, he went and paid his respects to his old patron the Bishop of Durham, his aged parents, and the incomparable Lady Saville, but the place he chose for his residence, was the house of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Suffex, a man

(p) Vit. Joh. Barwick, p. 75.

(q) Lloyd's Memorials of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 89.

(r) ibid. p. 96.

(s) ibid. p. 98.

(t) See the Groans of the Prisoners in the Tower, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1657. History of Independence, third and fourth Parts. Tryals of the Regicides.

[K] *Even in the most inveterate diseases.* Longbefore Dr Peter Barwick wrote his brother's Life, this circumstance was become famous. Lloyd tells us the Dean of St Paul's was in the Tower sed several years with bread and water; which diet, by God's providence, having saved his life when his vein broke, he drank little or nothing but water almost all his life after, and eat nothing but once in twenty-four or thirty hours (14). A late writer mentions this case of Dr Barwick's as a strong proof of the virtue of water (15). The celebrated Dr Cheyne gives us the following account of it, wherein the reader will see that he has committed some slight mistakes. 'Dr Barwick tells us in the Life of his brother, who in the late civil wars had for many years been confined in a low room in the Tower, during the Usurpation, that at the time of his going in he was under a pthitsis, atrophy, and dyscrasy, and lived on bread and water only several years there, and yet came out at the Restoration sleek, plump, and gay (16).'

[L] *So faithful a subject.* About the time of Mr Barwick's imprisonment, the Lady Saville sent the King

one thousand pounds, out of which his Majesty immediately ordered two hundred pounds to be employed for Mr Barwick's relief. Afterwards he attempted to purchase his liberty in exchange for one who had made an attempt upon his own life, which Dr Barwick thankfully acknowledges in a dedication of his (17). When the King lay encamped near the city of Worcester, a few days before the battle, Dr Peter Barwick coming to pay his duty, and mentioning slightly his brother's confinement, the King was pleased to say with great warmth, 'I well know that honest man, who for my sake, and that of all my loyal subjects, has been treated with great indignity, and suffered the utmost hardships; but now, says he, the time is at hand when I shall either with these arms succour him, and the rest of my dearest friends that groan under the cruel yoke of this usurpation, or willingly lay down this life for them (18).' Many more instances might be given of the King's gratitude, but it will be sufficient to indicate the pages where they are set down in the margin (19).

(17) Prefixed to the Life of Dr Morton, Bishop of Durham.

(18) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 129.

(19) Ibid. p. 178, 181, 227, 294.

[M] A: 295, 301.

(14) Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610.

(15) The Miracles of Water, in answer to Scelera Aquarum, p. 93.

(16) The natural Method of curing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind, p. 210.

(2) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 103.

(w) Ibid. p. 105.

(*) Ibid. p. 118.

(y) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 723. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

man of great integrity as well as learning, with whom he lived for many months (u). After the expiration of the year, to which the recognizance entered into by himself and his friends, Mr Thomas Roylton, student of Gray's Inn, and Mr Richard Roylton of London, Bookfeller, extended, he began to think of getting up his bond, and entering again into the King's service. With this view he found it expedient to pay a visit to President Bradshaw, who received him very civilly, and entered into such a conversation, as deserves particular notice (w) [M]. Having thus received satisfaction, as to his being out of danger from that recognizance, he began to enter again into business, and drew over several considerable persons, such as Colonel John Clobery, Colonel Daniel Redman, and Colonel Robert Venable, to the King's service, with whom he conferred on several schemes for restoring monarchy, in all which they were long disappointed by the craft and industry of Cromwell. His friend, Sir Thomas Eversfield, dying, and his widow retiring to the house of her brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, at Chirk-Castle in Denbighshire, Dr Barwick accompanied her thither, and remained for some time with Sir Thomas, who was his old friend. His own and the King's affairs calling him back to London, he lived with his brother, Dr Peter Barwick, in St Paul's Church-Yard, and there managed the greatest part of the King's correspondence, with as much care, secrecy, and success, as ever (x). While he was thus engaged, he received some interruption, by the revival of that old calumny on the Church of England, the Nag's-Head Ordination, to which he furnished the materials for a full and conclusive answer [N]. His modesty and private way of living, preserved him from much notice even in those prying times; and yet, when proper occasions called for more open testimonies of his principles, Mr Barwick did not decline professing them, as appeared by his assisting Dr John Hewet, while in prison for a plot against Cromwell, and even on the scaffold when he lost his head (y) [O]. By the death of this gentlemen, his branch of intelligence, and the care of conveying some hundred

[M] *As deserves particular notice*] The account of this conversation given in his Life runs thus: ' Mr Barwick finding the year expired, and no indictment against him, goes to Bradshaw, whom Cromwell had now turned out, to consult with him what was to be done in order to get his bond cancelled, since it ought to lay him under no farther obligation to the commonwealth, now changed into a new tyranny. Bradshaw receives him with great courtesy and civility, and professes himself willing to do him any good office, even with Cromwell himself, if he had interest enough in him. But, Sir, says he, there is no occasion that you should be very solicitous about this matter, for such papers are either all lost, or otherwise lie in so much disorder and confusion, that they are never like to give trouble to any one. Hence he took occasion to express himself with great bitterness against Cromwell, and utter the most direful execrations against his arbitrary tyrannical government, but spake as respectfully of the Royal Authority exercised within those bounds prescribed by the laws, as if he had had a mind to return into favour with Kings: But you Cavaliers (says he, smiling) must needs laugh in your sleeves at our dissentions, and the struggle there is amongst us who shall have the government; and promise your King, not without reason, great advantages from our disagreement (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 159, 160.

[N] *A full and conclusive answer.*] The revival of this dispute was occasioned by a little Piece published at Rouen under the title of *A Treatise of the nature of the Catholic Faith, and of Heresy*. The authors of this Piece, for there was more than one, asserted therein, that a Presbyterian Nobleman, who sat in the late Parliament, had written a book with intent to exclude the Bishops from their seats in the house of peers, by shewing that they were not the legal successors of the ancient Bishops for want of due consecration; and, in answer to this, they pretended that the Bishop of Durham stood up and made a solemn speech; in which he averred, in express words, that the first Bishops, after the Reformation, were consecrated in a tavern (the Nag's Head in Cheapside); and added farther, that this was a fact notorious to all the world, and to this the book affirms the Bishops then present assented. In all probability the coiners of this fine tale persuaded themselves, that the Bishop of Durham, who was now in the ninety-fifth year of his age, had been in his grave, and so out of a capacity of contradicting them. But when that grave prelate heard in the country of this strange reflection cast upon him, he sent for his chaplain Mr Barwick, then at London, directing him to bring a Public Notary with him, that by a solemn protestation made before them, and other proper witnesses, he might declare the falsehood of this story (21). When

(21) Signed July 27, 1653.

his Lordship had made this protestation in due form, he employed Mr Barwick to lay it before all those Lords who had sat in that Parliament, and were yet surviving, whether spiritual or temporal, living either at London or in the neighbouring counties; appealing to the faith of them all, that, preferring the sacredness of truth to all other considerations whatever, if they believed him undeservedly aspersed with this calumny, they would freely attest it by subscribing their names (22). And this was readily done, not only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the protestation could be carried (and it was carried to a great many), but by all the clerks also, and other officers of the house, whose business it was to register in authentick journals all such debates if there had been any; but they all declared there was not the least footsteps to be found, either of any such book as was pretended to be laid before the house, or of any such speech, as the adversaries alleged to have been made on that occasion. The aged Bishop, now past managing Church controversies himself, lays his command on his Chaplain Mr Barwick to publish this protestation, together with the noble testimony thereto subjoined: And this he designed to do in a volume; but when he heard that the learned Bishop of Derry (23), then an exile in Holland, intended the same thing (having been engaged before with the same adversaries in that controversy) (24), he readily left this work to his Lordship's irrefragable pen, furnishing him in the mean time with materials proper to end this dispute (25).

(22) Signed July 19, 1658.

(23) Dr John Bramhall.

(24) *Viz.* In his *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 135. In his *Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, p. 253. and in *Schism Guarded*, in answer to Serjeant, p. 422.

(25) Which was done in his treatise, intitled, *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified*; the Bishop of Duresme *Vindicated*, and the infamous *Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's-Head*, clearly confuted. *Life of Dr John Barwick*, p. 424.

(26) *Collection of Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 707. & seq.

(27) *Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers*, p. 553.

(28) *Life of Dr John Barwick*, p. 175.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 274.

[P] *And*

hundred pounds, which he had collected for the King's use, devolved upon Mr Barwick; who, though he had already so much upon his hands, readily undertook and happily performed it. It is indeed surprising, that a person in his circumstances, and so little used to an active life, was able to go through the drudgery of such a correspondence, wherein he met daily accessions of fatigue, and yet durst not take in any assistance; but what is still more wonderful, is the silence of the Earl of Clarendon as to this gentleman's indefatigable service, who never once mentions him, tho' he was his principal correspondent, and his Lordship certainly drew from his intelligence, the fund of that history which he wrote of these times (z). The concern Mr Barwick had for the King and for the State, did not hinder him from attending, when he was called thereto, the business of the Church, in which however he had a very worthy associate, Mr Richard Allestrey, who took the most troublesome part on himself, by performing several dangerous journies into Flanders, in order to receive the King's commands by word of mouth; neither did Mr Barwick's assiduity in this respect, proceed in any degree from that kind of ambition which is but too common amongst churchmen, for with great modesty he declined the episcopal dignity when offered him, and with unfeigned humility consented to receive this office, in case the circumstances of the Church absolutely required it, and no fitter person could be found (a) [P]. In the rising of Sir George Booth, he had a principal concern in the managing of the design, and in providing for the safety of such as escaped after it miscarried. Not long after he narrowly missed a new imprisonment, thro' the treachery of some who were intrusted by the King's ministers: For by their intelligence, Mr Allestrey was seized as soon as he landed at Dover, and one of Mr Barwick's letters intercepted, part of which was, and all might have been decyphered by the famous Dr Wallis, if in pity to those concerned, or perhaps from some prospect of a change in the King's affairs, he had not been content to appear less knowing than he really was (b) [Q]. Secretary Thurloe, with all his intelligence, never gained any notice of Mr Barwick, tho' he carried on so long and regular a correspondence with the King and Chancellor Hyde, of which there are still in being a great variety of instances, which sufficiently discover how industriously he

(z) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life in English. See also the seventh volume of Thurloe's State Papers.

(a) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 139.

(b) Ibid. p. 167.

[P] *And no fitter person could be found.* The business then in agitation was the filling up the vacant Sees, a point of very great consequence, and not more warmly pushed by the Clergy themselves than by the Chancellor Hyde; yet some unexpected difficulties sprung up, which retarded it. Mr Barwick declined the episcopal dignity, because he thought it irregular at least, if not something more, for a Presbyter to be made at once a Bishop without passing through any of the lesser dignities of the Church. When, however, the Bishoprick of Man appeared to have no candidate, several eminent Divines looking upon it as a kind of banishment to be sent thither, Mr Barwick readily accepted of it, and, as we shall see hereafter, as readily resigned the promise he had of it; when, upon a nearer view of possessing it, others thought it worth the seeking (30). The letters which passed between the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Barwick upon this occasion, and which may be found in the Appendix to his Life, are sufficient to shew how large a share he had in the settlement of the Church, and how honestly he discharged it.

[Q] *Less knowing than he really was.* When Chancellor Hyde was informed that letters written by him were not only intercepted, but decyphered, he would scarce believe it; and upon this occasion he wrote March 8, 1660, thus to Mr. Barwick: 'I confess to you, as I am sure no copy could be gotten of any of my cyphers from hence, so I did not think it probable that they could be got on your side the water: But I was as confident, till you tell me you believe it, that the Devil himself cannot decypher a letter that is well written, or find that roo stands for Sir Henry Vane. I have heard of many of the pretenders to that skill, and have spoken with some of them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks; nor did I ever hear that more of the King's letters that were found at Naseby, than those which they they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which they were wrote, were decyphered. And I very well remember, that in the volume they published, there was much left in cypher which could not be understood, and which I believe they would have explained if it had been in their power; but you can easily satisfy yourself in this point, if you either make a cypher yourself, or write half a score lines out of several other cyphers, and send them to the artist, and you will then be convinced yourself, and be able to convince others; and then it will be to no purpose to traffick any more in those commodities (31).' The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of this accident, is

to this purpose: Mr Allestrey, as he was returning home from thence, i. e. Brussels, was betrayed (by whose perfidiousness is unknown); but he was no sooner landed on the English shore, than he was immediately made a close prisoner; and Mr Barwick's letter, with more sent by Mr William Rombald and others, were intercepted by the garrison of Dunkirk, then at enmity with the King; and what was yet worse, although every different person's letter was written in a distinct cypher, and that contrived with great thought, yet they were all decyphered by the art and ingenuity of a certain very famous Mathematician (Dr Wallis), who was hired by the Rebels: For it was the very same artist that made these discoveries, who (too officiously to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decyphered his Majesty's papers written also in characters, and taken at Naseby fight. Yet he had now at last this in him of a good subject, that at this time he discovered nothing to the Rebels, which much concerned the public safety; though he satisfied some of the King's friends, that he could have discovered a great deal; but all those whom it concerned being sufficiently assured that no key of any cypher had fallen into the enemy's hands, it was thought nothing but vain boasting, when the Rebels bragged, that by the help of their friends they were able to find out the most hidden secrets of the Royalists, till Mr Matt. Wren (son to the right reverend Bishop of Ely), who was intimately acquainted with this Mathematician, obtained of him some copies of those letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered severally to the persons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's art (32). — By comparing these passages, the Reader will easily discern that this enquiry by Mr Wren, who was son to the Bishop of Ely, was made in pursuance of my Lord Chancellor's direction, who yet seems, by another letter of his, to have remained fixed in his old opinion, that, without treachery, a good cypher could not be penetrated. There is a letter in Thurloe's collection, supposed to be written by Chancellor Hyde to Mr Barwick, in which the Names of persons are not decyphered, yet upon carefully reviewing the letter, I am very positive that it was not directed to Mr Barwick, because it cannot be read by his cyphers, as all the other letters to him in that collection, which are not a few, may (33). If this was a letter from the Chancellor to any body else, then it would give some probability to his opinion; but as to that I can determine nothing.

(30) Ibid. p. 238, 246.

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 251.

(33) Vol. VII. p. 357.

(31) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 503.

enquired into all that passed here; as well as how true judgment he made of all the schemes of the Cromwellians, and how exact an account he transmitted of them to the King and Chancellor Hyde, which is a secret but lately revealed (c) [R]. In the midst of these difficulties died the good old Bishop of Durham, whom Mr Barwick piously assisted in his last moments, preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards wrote his life, which he dedicated to the King (d) [S]. All the hopes that now remained of a Restoration rested upon General Monk, and though it is certain that Mr Barwick had no direct correspondence with him, yet it is no less certain, that he furnished him with the principal instruments he employed in the most difficult parts of that arduous affair; as for instance, Colonel Daniel Redman, who carried over to Monk the Irish horse, and Colonel Cloberry, whom he intrusted chiefly with the guard of the Parliament, as well as with his messages to them. After the affair was so far ripened, that there seemed to be no longer any doubt of the King's return, Mr Barwick was sent over by the Bishops to represent the state of ecclesiastical affairs. He was received by his Majesty with the most endearing marks of cordial affection, preached before him the Sunday after his arrival, and was immediately appointed one of his Chaplains. Yet did not his great deserts, or these extraordinary marks of the King's favour induce him to make any request for himself, tho' he did not let slip so fair an opportunity of recommending effectually several of his friends, and procuring for them an acknowledgment suitable to each of their services (e) [T]. On his return he visited the university of Cambridge, where he gave a new proof his disinterestedness and generosity, by relinquishing his right to his fellowship in favour of an intruder, because he had the reputation of being a young man of learning and probity (f). Before he left the university, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, upon which occasion he performed his exercise, tho' that might have been well dispensed with, merely to support the discipline of the university, for which he had a very warm and just concern. The thesis made choice of upon this occasion was very singular, viz. That the method of imposing penance, and restoring Penitents in the primitive Church was a godly discipline, and that it is much to be wished it was restored. The Latin disputation upon this question has been preserved, and it was chiefly for the sake of inserting it, that Dr Peter Barwick composed his brother's life in Latin. It is indeed a most learned and instructive piece, and does our author's memory much honour (g) [U]. When the Church of England was restored in all it's beauty by King Charles II, and Deans and Chapters revived, Dr Barwick, according to his usual modesty, contented himself with recommending his tutor, old Mr Fothergill, to a Prebend in the cathedral church of York, but as to himself, he would have rested content with the provision made for him by his late patron, the Bishop of Durham, who had given him the fourth stall in his cathedral, and the rectories of Wolsingham, and Houghton in le Spring, nay when he found of how great value these preferments were, he was inclined to think he had too much (h). Among other extraordinary offices to which he was called at this busy time, one was to visit Hugh Peters, in order to draw from him some account of the person who actually cut off the head of King Charles I; but in this neither he nor Dr Dolben, his associate, had any success (i). Before the Restoration there had been a design of consecrating Dr Barwick, Bishop of Man, but the Countess of Derby desiring to prefer her Chaplain to that dignity, the Doctor readily resigned all title thereto in his favour, upon which,

[R] *Which is a secret lately revealed.*] It is indeed something strange, that, in so long a correspondence, Dr Barwick should never be detected, especially if Thurloe had been as well furnished with intelligence as he is generally supposed. Yet in his voluminous collection I do not find one of Mr Barwick's, or of any directed to him. Those that are in the seventh volume of that work were communicated to the Editor, and not intercepted (34). This shews, that if a man be very prudent and cautious of conversing with strangers, he may avoid great dangers in this way. It was Dr Hewer's foible to converse freely with every man who professed himself a Royalist, and this undid him. Mr Barwick, on the contrary, avoided being known as much as possible, and suffered none of his correspondents to pry into each others affairs, by which means he escaped.

[S] *Which he dedicated to the King.*] He also drew up an Epitaph for him, in which is contained a very just, as well as very accurate, panegyrick on this great man. A circumstance from the dedication of Dr Barwick's book has been before taken notice of, and the title of this Treatise will be given in another note. Here we shall only add, that an account of Bishop Morton's life was written by another Chaplain of his, Dr Joseph Nelson, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgfield.

[T] *To each of their services.*] In his Life we have the instructions given by the Bishops to Mr Barwick, in relation to his laying before the King a state of the Church; and we have also a paper of his containing the requests made by him to his Majesty, such as that he would be pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood

on the eldest son of Sir Thomas Middleton, which was complied with; that his Majesty would take care of Colonel Cloberry, which had also it's proper weight; and that gentleman, soon after the Restoration, had a grant made him of six hundred pounds a year; that some some eminent mark of the King's favour might be shewn to Colonel Robert Venables, the reason assigned for it I must give in Mr Barwick's own words, viz. Because it was sufficiently known that he formerly both could have restored his Majesty to his throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the perfidiousness of some to whom the King's business was trusted, but we are not told what return this representation met with; that such as had transmitted money through his or Dr Hewer's hands might be admitted to kiss his Majesty's hand, and that Dr Hewer's family might be provided for (35).

[U] *Our author's memory much honour.*] The title of this piece in Latin runs thus: *Exomologesis primitivæ Ecclesiæ est Disciplina pia, ejusque Restitutio est maximè optanda.* This dissertation makes about forty pages at the end of the Latin life, and shews the Author's perfect acquaintance with the discipline of the Primitive Church, and how diligently, and to how good purpose, he studied the antient Fathers. It is indeed in every respect so well conceived, and so well executed a piece, that it is surprizing the Editor of the Latin life, and Translator of it into English, did not take the pains to give us a version of it; for though it be true that the subject is handled in a scholastic stile, yet it is no less evident that it's author was as much for Reformation in a right course as any man of his time.

[W] *For*

(c) See a more full account in the following note.

(d) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(e) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 199.

(f) This was Mr John Tuckney, who yet lost the fellowship for Nonconformity, Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 90.

(g) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 257.

(h) Ibid. p. 197.

(i) Ibid. p. 203.

(34) These Letters are in the possession of Jos. Radcliffe, Esq; of the inner Temple. See Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 415, 531, 613, 614, 615, 646, 648, 662, 666, 685, 686, 763, 853, 854, 859, 860, 870.

(35) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 270, 273, 274.

which, the King, of his own motive, would have promoted him to the See of Carlisle, which the Doctor steadily refused, that the world might not imagine, the extraordinary zeal he had shewn for episcopacy, flowed from any secret hope of his one day being a Bishop. Upon this he was promoted to the Deanery of Durham, with which he kept the rectory of Houghton, which is only four miles distant from the city. He took possession of his deanery on the feast of All Saints 1660 (*k*), and as he enjoyed a large revenue, so certainly never any man employed it better, or more conscientiously studied the laying it out for those purposes for which it was given; he repaired publick buildings, relieved the poor, and kept up great hospitality, both at the house of his deanery and at Houghton. But before the year was out, he was called from these cares, in which he would willingly have spent his whole life, by his being made Dean of St Paul's, which though a preferment less in value, and attended with much more trouble than that he already possessed, yet Dr Barwick readily accepted, because he knew he was called thereto, purely for the service of the Church (*l*). As soon as he had done this he put an end to all granting of leases, even where he had agreed for the fine with the tenants, and did many other things for the benefit of his successor, which shewed his contempt of secular advantages, and his sincere concern for the rights of the Church (*m*) [*W*]. He took possession of the deanery of St Paul's, about the middle of October 1661, and found, as he expected, all in very great disorder with respect to the church itself, and every thing that concerned it. He set about reforming these abuses with a truly primitive spirit, and prosecuted with great vigour the recovery of such revenues, as in the late times of distraction had been alienated from the church; though with respect to his own particular concerns, he was never rigid to any body, but frequently gave up things to which he had a clear title (*n*). By his interest with his Majesty he obtained two royal grants under the Great-Seal of England, one for the repair of the cathedral, the other, for enumerating and securing it's privileges. In this respect, he was so tender, that he would not permit the Lord-Mayor of London to erect there a seat for himself at the expence of the city, but insisted that it should be done at the charge of the church (*o*). Towards the repairing the cathedral, he, together with the Residentiaries, gave the rents of the houses in St Paul's church-yard as a settled fund, besides which they advanced each of them 500 £. a piece, and, in many other respects, he demonstrated, that neither the love of preferment, or the desire of wealth, had any share in his acceptance of this dignity (*p*) [*X*]. Though this office might sufficiently have employed, even as active a person as Dr Barwick was, yet he was called to still greater labours by the good opinion of the King, and the universal respect of the Clergy. In consequence of the former, he was appointed one of the nine assistants to the twelve Bishops, commissioned to hold a conference with the like number of Presbyterian Ministers upon the review of the Liturgy; which conference was held at the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy (*q*). As an effect of the latter, he was, by the unanimous suffrage of all the Clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled in Convocation, chosen Prolocutor on the 18th of February 1661 (*r*); in which high office he behaved himself in such a manner, as added even to the great reputation he had before acquired. His application, however, to the discharge of so many and so great duties brought upon him his old distemper, so that in November 1662 he was confined to his chamber: He heightened his disease by officiating at the sacrament the Christmas-day following, after which he was seized with such a violent vomiting of blood, that he brought up whole basons full. Upon this he was advised to a change of air, for the enjoyment of which he retired to Therfield in Hertfordshire, of which he was Rector, but finding himself there too far from London, he returned to Chiswick, where he in some measure recovered his health (*s*). As soon as he found he had a little strength, he applied himself there to the putting in order the archives of St Paul's church, and so threw himself down again. This was followed by an extraordinary flux of blood, which rendered him very weak, and defeated his favourite design of retiring to Therfield. When he first found his health declining, he made choice of and procured this living, intending to have resigned his deanery and office of Prolocutor, to those who had vigour enough to discharge them, and to spend the remainder of his days in the discharge of his pastoral office,

to

[*W*] For the rights of the Church.] This induced him, upon his coming to Durham, to take great care that the prebendal houses should be repaired, and a grammar-school erected from the ground; he brought water into the college, and took upon himself a very hard task, that of bringing all the officers of the church under a good discipline and to a regular life, and at the same time to augment such salaries as were too small, not only of the mother church, but of all the churches depending upon it; and the Chapter not only gave their consent to this, but did all in their power to promote it; yet they were so far from exacting in the matter of fines, upon such as had leases of the church lands, and were so beneficial to all the poor, that, in an age very little favourable to the clergy, they are mentioned with honour to this day for their humanity, candour, and piety: Nay, in many cases they were so bountiful, as to recede from their own right in fa-

vour of their successors, that the revenues of the Church might descend to them with some augmentation (36).

[*X*] Accepting this dignity.] One may safely say, that nothing could have happened more-for the service of the church of St Paul's than Dr Barwick's being appointed it's Dean. He boldly entered into suits for the sake of the church, and was not to be terrified by any interpositions of the Great, or ill grounded calumnies of the Many. He followed a cause even before the Privy-Council, and though it came there with an ill grace, yet he procured a good end to it, and justified his own conduct to the satisfaction of every body. He would have gone a progress into Essex for the settling the estates of the Church there, if he had not swooned at setting out, and even then was hardly prevailed on to desist, and this for no other reason, than because he was afraid the tenants might be squeezed or harrassed by such as were employed in this affair (37).

[*Y*] Equal

(k) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(l) Le Neve's Fasti Ecc. Angl. p. 185.

(m) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 215.

(n) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(o) Vit. John Barwick, p. 219.

(p) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 61. Wherein it appears, that these Residentiaries were Dr Thomas Turner, Dr John Hacket, and Dr Edward Layfield.

(q) See this commission at the end of Dr Nichols's Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, edit. in folio.

(r) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 101.

(s) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 231.

(36) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 103, 108.

(37) Ibid. p. 312, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322, 323.

- (t) *Ibid.* p. 233. to which he thought himself bound by his taking orders (t). But Providence prepared for him a still more quiet mansion, for coming upon some extraordinary occasion to London, he was seized with a pleurisy, which carried him off in three days. He was attended in his last moments by Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and as he lived, so he died with all the marks of an exemplary piety, on the 22d of October, 1664; after he had struggled almost twelve years with this grievous distemper (u). Upon inspection, all his entrails appeared to be decayed, particularly his liver and his lungs, and yet not so much vitiated, but that he might have lived considerably longer, if the mass of blood, had not been in a great measure, by continual evacuations, exhausted. Many good and great men came of their own accords from all parts to his funeral, where Dr Hinchman, Bishop of London, read the service, and Dr Gunning preached the funeral sermon (w). By his will he bequeathed the greatest part of his estate to charitable uses, and this with a judgment equal to his piety (x) [Y]. His body was interred in the cathedral of St Paul's, and his epitaph, composed by Mr Samuel Howlet, then not twenty years of age, is not inferior to the worth of him it celebrates (y) [Z]. The character of Mr Barwick is so easily collected from these memoirs, that nothing in relation thereto can seem necessary in this place, as the extraordinary length of this article forbids any addition which is not absolutely of that kind; I shall therefore conclude with observing, that as his was a life of action, and not a very long one neither, dying at fifty-three, so we have no reason to wonder, that he did not leave behind him a greater number of writings, though what he has left are sufficient to shew, how well he could have expressed his zeal and his loyalty by words, if he had not been better employed, I mean, in expressing them by his actions. Mr Wood has given us a catalogue of his works (z) [AA], which, with those already mentioned, may satisfy the reader on this head, only it may not be amiss to remark, that abundance of his letters to Chancellor Hyde, may be found in the Collection of Thurloe's State-Papers.
- (u) *Ibid.* p. 237.
- (w) *Ibid.* p. 238. The particulars relating to his interment, are taken from a letter of the Reverend Mr John Worthington, communicated to the Translator of Dr Barwick's Life, by his son.
- (x) Vit. J. Han. Barwick, p. 239.
- (y) Le Neve's Monum. Angl. Vol. II. p. 107. Whence we learn that he is buried in the south isle of St Paul's Cathedral.
- (z) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.
- (z) *Ibid.* ubi supra.

[Y] *Equal to his piety.*] He gave to the daughters of his brothers, four in number, one hundred pounds each; to his brother William's son, his only nephew, two hundred pounds; the works of King Charles I. to his dear friend Mr John Otway; the rest of his study to Mr Samuel Howlet; to the school at Sedberg forty pounds; to St John's College, Cambridge, three hundred pounds; to St Paul's church one hundred pounds, all to be employed in the repair of those public buildings. He likewise purchased an estate of about fifty pounds a year, belonging formerly to the Church, but now alienated and applied to secular uses for seven hundred pounds, and out of this he gave, by way of augmentation, to the poor endowment of the chapel of Wetherlack, his native village, thirty pounds a year, which chapel in his life-time he rebuilt from the ground far more elegantly than it was before. The surplus of this estate he directed to be annually disposed of in mending the highways, in the instruction of the sons of the poorer sort, or in marrying their daughters. Thus, for the most part, he disposed of all he had, or was due to him from those whom he thought would readily pay his executors. The residue of his estate, by reason of the doubtful credit of some of his debtors, or the less doubtful indigence of others, he could not reduce to any just estimate; but whatever it should amount to, after his funeral expences and other debts paid, he directed it to be disposed of either for the relief of poor families, or to other pious uses, at his discretion, to whom he intrusted the care and execution of his will. And indeed this surplussage of his estate, by the diligence and faithfulness of some persons that had a just

value for his memory, and were well versed in the practice of the Law, amounted, beyond all expectation, to little less than one thousand pounds; so faithfully did he discharge the public trust committed to him, and so prudently manage his private fortune (38).

[Z] *To him it celebrates*] In this epitaph, which has been often printed both in Latin and English, there is a concise history of Dean Barwick's life, in a very elegant and classic style, though the author was so young a man. He had some relation to the family, being, as I take it, son to Dr Peter Barwick's wife, by her first husband Dean Howlet, and bred at Cambridge in St John's-college under Mr Fothergill, Dean Barwick's own tutor. The text, on which Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, preached on this occasion, was *Philippians i. ver. 22, 23, 24*. His funeral was solemnized on the 27th of October, 1664 (39).

[AA] *A catalogue of his works.*] This worthy person, Dr Barwick, says he, has published, 1. *The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of St Paul*, accommodated to Thomas (Morton) late Lord Bishop of Duresme, in a sermon preached at his funeral in the parish church of St Peter at Easton Manduit in Northamptonshire, on Michaelmas-day, on 2 *Tim. iv. 7, 8*. Lond. 1660, 4to. 2. *A Summary Account of the Holy Life and Death of Thomas late Lord Bishop of Duresme*, printed with the said sermon, which Bishop died at Easton Manduit before mentioned on St Matthew's day, *an. 1659*, aged 95 years. 3. *Deceivers deceived, or the Mistakes of Wickedness*, &c. a sermon at St Paul's cathedral the 20th of October, 1661, on *Prov. xiv. part of the 8th verse*. Lond. 1661, 4to (40).

(38) *Ibid.* p. 346.

(39) This from Dr Worthington's Letter above-mentioned.

(40) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

B A R W I C K (PETER) Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II. He was brother to John beforementioned, and was born some time in the year 1619, at Wetherlack in Westmoreland (a). He went to the same grammar-school with his elder brother, till such time as he was fitted for the university, when he removed to St John's-college in Cambridge. This was about the year 1637, and he continued there about six years, being much furthered in his studies, by the care taken of him by his brother. In 1642, being then in the twenty-fourth of his age, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). In 1644, he was nominated by the Bishop of Ely, to a fellowship of St John's, in his gift (c) [A]. It is very probable that he had left the college before he obtained this presentation,

[A] *To a fellowship of St John's in his gift.*] The industrious and reverend Mr Bedford, editor of Dr Peter Barwick's Life of his brother, the Dean of St Paul's, had the first hint of our author's being not only a scholar, but a fellow of St John's, from his daughter, Lady Dutton. Upon this, he applied to the late excellent Mr Baker of the same college, who, of

all men living, was the most capable of obtaining for him a true account. He searched the college registers to no purpose, which, to a less curious man, would have been a sufficient proof that this report was ill-grounded; but he, to avoid all possibility of mistake, consulted the registry of Ely, where he found an entry to this purpose, That on the third day of Dec. 1644,

Peter

(a) Preface to the Life of Or John Barwick, Dean of St Paul's.

(b) Regist. Coll. S. Joan.

(c) Regist. Elicenf.

presentation, for as he was eminently loyal, as well as his brother, there is little reason to doubt his withdrawing from the university, about the same time his brother did, which was in the foregoing year. It is uncertain, whether, at that time, he had made any choice of a profession or not, so that being invited into Leicestershire, in order to become Tutor to Ferdinando Sacheverell, Esq; of Old Hayes in that county, a young gentleman of great hopes, he readily accepted the proposition, and continued with him for some time (d). In 1647, he returned to Cambridge, and took his degree of Master of Arts, applying himself then assiduously to the study of Physick. While he was thus engaged, he lost his friend and former pupil, Mr Sacheverell, who, as a testimony of his esteem and affection, bequeathed our author an annuity of twenty pounds, which was very punctually paid him (e). How he disposed of himself for some years, does not very clearly appear, because he who so elegantly recorded the loyal services of his brother, as studiously concealed his own. It is however more than probable, that he was engaged in the service of his Sovereign, since it is certain that he was at Worcester in 1651, where he had access to his royal master King Charles II, who testified to him a very kind sense of the fidelity of his family (f). In 1655, he was created Doctor of Physick, and two years afterwards, being then near forty, he took a house in St Paul's Church-Yard, and much about the same time, married the widow of an eminent merchant, who was a near relation of Archbishop Laud's [B]. Being thus settled, he soon gained a very great repute in the city, for his skill in his profession, as amongst the learned, by his judicious Defence of Dr Harvey's Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, which was then, and is still, admired, as one of the best pieces wrote upon that subject (g) [C]. At this house of his, he entertained his worthy brother Dr John Barwick, who repaired at his own expence an oratory he found there, wherein he daily read the service of the Established Church, and with a few steady Royalists, prayed for his exiled master. After the Restoration in 1660, he was made one of the King's Physicians in Ordinary (h), and in the year following, received a still stronger proof of his Majesty's kind sense of his own and his brother's services [D]. On the eighth of May 1661, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, then Bishop

(d) Prefat. Vit. J. Barwick, S. T. P. à P. Barwick conscript. p. v.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Heath's Chr. Vit. J. Barwick, p. 81.

(g) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(h) Ibid. p. vii.

Peter Barwick, Bachelor of Arts, was presented to a fellowship in St John's college, void by the marriage of John Topping, Master of Arts, late Fellow, being in the gift of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Bishop of Ely. Dated the same day from the chamber in which his Lordship was then imprisoned in the Tower of London. This Bishop was the famous Dr Matthew Wren; and the reason why our author made no use of this presentation is obvious enough, the Parliament was then possessed of the University, and none could be admitted there who were not well affected to them. Accordingly, in the college register we find, that on April 26, 1650; John Heath, a Middlesex man, was admitted by the Visitors into this fellowship without any notice taken who he succeeded (1). This little circumstance certainly deserves notice, as it is an early proof of our author's modesty, who, in the title of his books styles himself, formerly a scholar of that college, though, as we see, he might justly have wrote himself Fellow, as having for many years a legal title thereto.

[B] A near relation of Archbishop Laud's] This Lady's maiden name was Brown, descended of the ancient family of Browns in Norfolk. She married first Dr Richard Howlet, a Clegyman of great merit, who became a Dean in Ireland, but being driven from his deanery in the Rebellion, came over into England in very distressed circumstances; on which account, as well as because his wife was his relation, Archbishop Laud collated him to the rectory of Lachingdon in Essex. After his decease she married Mr Sayon, a rich Merchant, whose widow she was when our author espoused her (3). He had by her several children, viz. a son who died an infant, two daughters who also died in their non-age, and one who survived him, mentioned in the text.

[C] Which were then admired as the best pieces on that subject.] The learned Dr Harvey published his useful discovery of the circulation of the blood when our author was between eight and nine years old (3), and yet the disputes about it were very warm after, Dr Barwick had taken his degree, the author himself being still living. As two things were chiefly insisted on, first that the fact itself was still dubious, and next, that admitting it certain, it was a thing known long ago even to Hippocrates, the Father of the Faculty, our author was excellently qualified to shine in this dispute. The learned writings he left behind him on the human system, though they were never published, sufficiently demonstrate his exquisite skill in Anatomy, and his great sagacity in applying the lights he drew

from that science. On the other hand, no man was ever better read than he in the antient authors on Physick, whence he made it evidently appear, that such as attributed this discovery to Hippocrates, did it only out of envy to his friend Dr Harvey. As these fugours from so worthy a person were kindly acknowledged by that venerable old man, so our author himself, as he often told Dr Woodward, reflected on no action of his life with greater satisfaction, than he did on this, of espousing the cause of so worthy a person against a troop of malevolent opponents (4). To this we may add what is likewise a circumstance much to our author's honour, that Dr Woodward, late Professor at Gresham-college, was his pupil, and very probably derived from him that fluency in writing and speaking elegant Latin, for which he is deservedly famous.

[D] His and his brother's services] The patent under the hand and seal of Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter King at Arms, bears date the 20th of November 1661, and recites, That whereas nothing can be more just, than that such as have deserved well of their Prince and of their country, should be properly distinguished, and their merits pointed out to posterity, and whereas nothing hath more effectually answered the former purpose, or furnished stronger incitements to loyalty, or virtuous achievements in the latter, than the rules observed in bearing arms; and whereas the reverend John Barwick, Professor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majesty, late Dean of Durham, and then of St Paul's, and his brother, Peter Barwick, Doctor in Physick, and one of his Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary, during the late troublesome and distracted times, did constantly, faithfully, and assiduously, with their lives and fortunes, support the royal cause, deserving thereby not only an authentick concession of arms to them and their posterity, but also an addition and augmentation to be in them inserted. Know therefore, that I Edward Walker, Principal King at Arms by the name of Garter, by virtue of the authority to me given by letters patents under the great seal of England, do hereby give, grant, and confirm, unto the said John and Peter Barwick, the following arms, which they have hitherto born by the sur-name of Barwick, viz. in a field argent, three bears heads sable, muzzled, gules, and as a crest on a helmet proper, a bear's head sable, muzzled, gules, with a crown Or, by way of collar; signifying their extraordinary fidelity to the King, their many great services and toilsome afflictions by them endured with patience; and I farther give and assign to the said John and Peter Barwick, the addition and augmentation following, that

(4) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, &c. p. xv.

(1) Prefat. in Vit. Johannes Barwick, S. T. P. à Pet. Barwick, M. D. conscript. p. ii, iii, iv.

(2) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick, p. vi.

(3) In his Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis, printed at Francfort, 1628.

Bishop of London, with several other Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c, met in the morning at our author's house, and proceeded thence to the cathedral of St Paul's in order to open the Convocation (i). In 1666, being compelled by the dreadful fire to remove from St Paul's Church-Yard, where he had remained all the time of the plague [E], and been very active and serviceable in his profession, he thought proper to take another house near Westminster-Abbey, for the sake of being near that cathedral, to which he constantly resorted every morning at Six o'clock prayers (k). He was a very diligent Physician, and remarkably successful in the small-pox, and in most kinds of fevers. Yet he was far from making money the main object of his care, for during the many years that he practised, he not only gave advice and medicines gratis to the poor, but likewise charitably administered to their wants in other respects. He was very kind to all who had suffered for the Royal cause, to which he was a constant votary all his life, and with a view to it's service, in 1671, he drew up in Latin, which he wrote with unusual elegance and purity, the Life of the Dean his brother, and took care to deposit it, and the original papers serving to support the facts therein mentioned, in the library of St John's college at Cambridge (l) [F]. Twenty years after this, when our author was in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and his eye-sight so much decayed, that he was forced to make use of the hand of a friend, he added an appendix in defence of the *Ἐικὼν Βασιλική*, against Dr Walker, who was very well known to him, and of whom in that treatise he has given a very copious account (m) [G]. This piece of his is written with a good deal of asperity, occasioned chiefly by the frequency of scurrilous libels against the memory of Charles I. To this appendix, our author, as well as he could, subscribed his name. In 1694, growing quite dark, and being besides frequently afflicted with fits of the stone, he gave over practice, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the service of God, and the conversation of a few intimate friends, amongst whom Dr Busby, the ever-famous master of Westminster school, was one (n) [H]. From this sedentary course of life, his old distemper the stone grew very much upon him, and toward the end of August 1705, being seized with a vomiting and looseness, followed with an intermitting fever, and in a few days, with a great and sudden evacuation of blood, he exchanged this life for a better, the fourth of September the same year, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and by his own direction, was interred without any monument, as well as with great privacy, near the body of his dear wife, in the parish church of St Faith's under St Paul's (o). He was a man of a very comely person, equally remarkable for the solidity of his learning, and for a wonderful readiness as well as elegance in expressing it. His piety was sincere and sublime, his reputation absolutely unspotted, his loyalty exemplary, and his modesty almost without example. In all stations of life admired and beloved, of a cheerful and serene mind in all situations. Happy in the universal approbation of all parties, as he was himself charitable to all, and never vehement but in the cause of truth. He left behind him an only daughter, Mary, who married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherbourne in Dorsetshire, Baronet, and brought to him a very considerable fortune, and her only son Sir John Dutton is now living, together with two daughters, who inherit all the virtues of this their illustrious ancestor (p).

(i) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 60.

(k) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(l) As I was informed by several members of that college.

(m) Vit. J. Barwick, p. 247.

(n) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(o) Ibid. p. xviii.

(p) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick.

that is to say, in the midst of the field abovementioned, a rose gules irradiated Or, which arms, crest, and augmentation shall be born by them and their posterity, &c (5). This we thought, might with greater propriety be taken notice of here than in the life of his brother John, who lived and died a bachelor.

[E] Remained all the time of the plague.] This is taken notice of by Dr Hodges, in his treatise *de Peste*, wherein he says, that there were not wanting many learned and famous Physicians, who, notwithstanding the great danger to which they were exposed, exerted their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the contagion, particularly Dr Francis Glisson, Regius Professor of Physick in the university of Cambridge, Dr Nathan. Paget, Dr Thomas Wharton, Dr Peter Barwick, Dr Humphry Brooks, and others (6). This was a noble instance of piety, fortitude, and publick spirit.

[F] In the library of St John's college.] Our author had a great respect for this learned society, as appeared not only by his depositing these valuable papers there, but also by his lending two hundred and eight pounds to the college for many years without interest, and making at length a present of the whole sum (7). This copy however, was not the only one he left of his book, on the contrary, he left another MS. to his family, which is now in the hands of his grandson, Sir John Dutton, and a third given by him in his lifetime to Dr Woodward, and deposited for some time

with the author's approbation in the library of St Martin in the Fields. Of these the Cambridge copy is most authentick, which is fairly copied, bound up in Turkey leather, with three of the King's original letters, and an acquittance, all in his Majesty's own hand. Together with this volume there is another of the Chancellor's, Dr Barwick's and other original letters and papers relating to the same subject (8).

[G] Of whom in that treatise he has given a very copious account.] This he was very capable of doing, since Dr Anthony Walker, while at the university of Cambridge was pupil to Dean Barwick, and a very indifferent character is given of him, though without mentioning his name, in the life of the Dean written by our author. In this appendix, the conduct not only of Dr Walker, but Bishop Gauden is fully exposed, in relation to the point therein examined.

[H] Dr Busby, the famous master of Westminster school was one.] In Mr Bedford's preface to the Latin life, there is inserted an elegant letter from the ingenious Mr Mattaire, wherein he, of his own knowledge, most pathetically describes the dear friendship there was between those two excellent persons, particularly the infinite pains taken by Dr Barwick, as a Physician, to alleviate the many painful diseases to which, in the latter part of his life, Dr Busby was subjected. The piece itself, though very curious and entertaining, is too long to be inserted here (9).

(8) Preface to the English Life of Dr Barwick.

(9) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Fasti, col. 285, 286, edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) From the information of a friend.

(c) Life of Bishop Morton, 8vo, p. 85.

(d) J. Walker's Attempt towards recovering the number and sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 19. Tit. Durham.

(e) As appears from the university registers.

(f) Wood, ubi supra. In the university register, he is styled, *Vir doctissimus — ingenti & doctrinae ornamentis praeditus*, i. e. a very learned and ingenious man.

(1) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 285.

(*) View of the Government and Publick Worship in the Reformed Churches, Lond. 1662, 4to, Appendix, p. 341.

(2) Note [I].

(3) A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, by Hen. Maundrell, 4th edit. Oxford, 1721, 8vo, p. 67, 68.

(4) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

BASIER, or BASIRE (ISAAC), a learned and active Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in the Isle of Jersey (a), in the year 1607 [A]. In what school and university he received his education is altogether unknown. For some time, he was master of the college or free-school at Guernesey (b): But, at length, became Chaplain to Thomas Morton Bishop of Durham (c), who gave him the rectory of Stanhope, and the vicarage of Egglecliffe, both in the county of Durham (d). In July 1640, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, by mandate (e); and was incorporated in the same at Oxford, the November following (f). About that time he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles I (g). On the twelfth of December 1643, he was installed into the seventh prebend in the church of Durham, to which he was collated by his generous patron Bishop Morton (h). The next year, on the twenty-fourth of August, he was also collated to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, with the rectory of Howick annexed (i). But he did not long enjoy these great preferments. For, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, being sequestered, purloined, plundered; and forced to fly (k), he repaired to King Charles at Oxford, before whom, and his Parliament, he frequently preached (l). In 1646, he had a licence granted him under the publick seal of the university, to preach the word of God throughout England (m). Upon the surrender of the Oxford garrison to the Parliament, not caring to stay any longer within the British dominions, he resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and to go and propagate the doctrine of the English Church in the East, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. (n). Leaving therefore his family in England, he went first to Zante, an island near the Morea, where he made some stay; and had good success in spreading among the Greek inhabitants the doctrine of the English Church, the sum whereof he imparted to several of them, in a vulgar Greek translation of our Church-Catechism (o). The effect of it was so remarkable, that it drew envy, and consequently persecution, upon him from the Latins [B]. This occasioned his voluntary recess into the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia prevailed upon him to preach twice in Greek, at a meeting of some of his Bishops and Clergy, which was well taken. At his departure, he left with him a copy of the Catechism above-mentioned. From thence, after he had passed through Apulia, Naples, and Sicily again (in which last, at Messina, he officiated for some weeks a-board a ship) he embarked for Syria; and, after some months stay at Aleppo, where he had frequent conversation with the Patriarch of Antioch, then resident there, he left a copy of our Church-Catechism, translated into Arabic, the native language of that place. From Aleppo he went in 1652 to Jerusalem, and so travelled over all Palestine. At Jerusalem he received much honour, both from the Greeks and Latins [C]. The Greek Patriarch (the better to express his desire of communion with the Church of England, declared by the Doctor unto him) gave him his bull, or patriarchal seal, in a blank, which is their way of credence, and showed him many other respects. As for the Latins, they received him most courteously into their own convent, though he did openly profess himself a Priest of the Church of England. After some disputes about the validity of our English ordinations, they procured him entrance into the temple of the sepulchre, at the rate of a Priest, that is half is half less than a layman's rate [D]; and, at his departure from Jerusalem, the Pope's Vicar gave him his diploma in parchment, under his own hand and publick seal, in it styling him, 'a Priest of the Church of England, and Doctor of Divinity.'

(g) Ibid.

(h) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York; &c. Lond. 1727, 4to, p. 276.

(i) Ibid. p. 263, 280.

(k) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(l) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra.

(m) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 57.

(n) Wood, Vol. I. Fasti, col. 286. J. Walker, ubi supra.

(o) Letter written by Dr. Basier to Sir Ric. Brown, at the end of The ancient Library of the Britannick Church, Lond. 1661.

[A] Was born in the Isle of Jersey, in the year 1607. This is expressly asserted by A. Wood (1), but it is contradicted by a gentleman, who hath imparted some materials to the author. And Dr Durel, a native of Jersey, and an intimate acquaintance of his, calls him a Frenchman born (*). There is no memorial of him in the island, nor any account of his birth and baptism in the parish registers there, which have been searched upon this occasion. That he was born in the year 1607 appears from his epitaph recited below (2), for in the year 1676 when he died, he was 69 years of age.

[B] From the Latins. The Latins are those members of the Romish Church, dispersed throughout the East; which, because they perform their divine service in the Latin tongue, are thence called Latins.

[C] He received much honour from the Greeks and Latins. Who the Latins are, hath been explained in the last note. As for the Greeks, they are such of the original inhabitants as are Christians and members of the Greek Church.

[D] They procured him entrance into the temple of the sepulchre at the rate of a Priest, &c. Christians having always expressed an uncommon regard, and extreme veneration, for the place of Jesus Christ's burial, (on which a church is built) when the Turks became possessed of those places, they took care to make an advantage of it. And therefore the church doors are guarded by several Janizaries and other Turkish officers; who are placed there to watch, that none enter in, but such as have first paid their ap-

pointed caphar or tribute: This is more or less, according to the country, or character of the persons that enter. For Franks [i. e. Europeans] it is ordinarily fourteen dollars a head, unless they are Ecclesiastics; for in that case it is but half so much, namely seven dollars. Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out gratis as often as you please during the whole feast of Easter; provided you take the opportunities in which it is customary to open the doors. But if you would have them opened purposefully for your own private occasion, then the first expence must be paid again (3). The care of the holy sepulchre formerly belonged to the Greeks; but was in the last century, committed to the Latins: For there being violent disputes and animosities about it between the two nations, so that, in striving which should go in to celebrate their mass, they proceeded to blows and even wounds; the late King of France, in order to put an end to those infamous quarrels, did, about the year 1685, write a letter to the Grand Visier, wherein he requested him to order the holy sepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins. The consequence of which letter, and of other instances made by that King, was, that the sepulchre was appropriated about the year 1690, to the Latins: Since which time they alone have the privilege to say mass in it. And tho' Christians of all nations are permitted to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may solemnize any publick office of religion there, but the Latins (4).

(3) A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, by Hen. Maundrell, 4th edit. Oxford, 1721, 8vo, p. 67, 68.

(4) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

(p) Sacerdotem
Ecclesie Anglicane,
& SS. Theologie
Doctorem.

'Divinity (*p*);' at which title many marvelled, especially the French Ambassador at Constantinople. Returning to Aleppo, he passed over the Euphrates, and went into Mesopotamia, Abraham's country, where he intended to send the Church-Catechism in Turkish, to some of their Bishops, who were mostly Armenians. This Turkish translation was procured by the care of Sir Thomas Bendyshe, the English Ambassador at Constantinople. After his return from Mesopotamia, he wintered at Aleppo, where he received several courtesies from the Consul, Mr Henry Riley. In the beginning of the year 1653, he departed from Aleppo, and came to Constantinople by land, being six hundred miles, without either servant, or Christian, or any man with him, that could so much as speak the Frank language [*E*]: Yet, by the help of some Arabick he had picked up at Aleppo, he performed that journey in the company of twenty Turks, who used him courteously; the rather, because he was by the way, Physician to them and their friends: A study (as he says) whereunto the iniquity of the times, and the opportunity of Padua drove him (*q*). After his arrival at Constantinople, the French Protestants there desired him to be their Minister. And, tho' he declared to them his resolution to officiate according to the English liturgy (a translation whereof, for want of a printed copy, cost him no little labour) yet they orderly submitted to it, and promised to settle on him, in three responsible men's hands, a competent stipend: And all this as they told him, with the express consent of the French Ambassador, but still under the roof and protection of the English Ambassador [*F*]. Before he quitted the Eastern parts, he intended to pass into Egypt, in order to take a survey of the churches of the Cophties, and confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria, as he had done already with the other three Patriarchs, partly to acquire the knowledge of those Churches, and partly to publish and give them a true notion of the Church of England (*r*). But whether he accomplished his design, is not certain. He went next into Transylvania, where he was entertained for seven years by George Ragotzi the second, Prince of that country; who honoured him with the divinity-chair in his new-founded university of Alba Julia (or Weissenburg) and endowed him, tho' a mere stranger to him, with a very ample salary (*s*). During his travels he collated the several confessions of faith of the different sorts of Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, &c. which confessions, he kept by him in their own languages (*t*). His constant design and endeavour, whilst he remained in the East, was, to persuade the Christians of the several denominations there, to a canonical reformation of some errors; and to dispose and incline them to a communion, or unity, with the Church of England (*u*). But his pious intentions were afterwards defeated by the artifices of the court of France (*w*). Upon the Restoration of King Charles II, Dr Basire was recalled by his Majesty to England, in a letter written to Prince Ragotzi. But this unfortunate Prince dying soon after, of the wounds he received in a battle with the Turks at Gyala, the care of his solemn obsequies were committed to the Doctor's care by his relict, Princess Sophia, whereby he was kept a year longer out of England (*x*). At length returning in 1661, he was restored to his preferments and dignities; and made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II (*y*). He wrote several things [*G*]. Having for many years after the Restoration, quietly enjoyed his large revenues, he died on the 12th of October in the year 1676, and in the 69th year of his age (*z*):

And

(q) Letter, as above.

(r) Letter, as above.

(s) Dr Basire's own words, in Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil, &c. fol. Lond. 1723, p. 526. See also Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 236.

(t) Letter to Sir Rich. Brown, as above.

(u) Ibid.

(w) See *Etat present des Nations & Eglises Grecque, Armenienne, &c. par le Sieur de la Croix*. Paris 1695, in the Preface.

(x) Dr Basire, in Kennet, ubi supra.

(y) See his epitaph below.

(z) Ibid.

[*E*] *The Frank language.*] That is any of the European languages. For the Turks give the general name of Franks to the European nations, whether French, English, Dutch, &c.

[*F*] *But still under the roof and protection of the English Ambassador.*] 'How long, adds he, this liberty may last, I know not, because they are all of them bred after the Geneva discipline, and consequently, not like to persevere, or to be suffered to go on in our way, out of which, God willing, I am resolved not to depart, though for it I lose this, as I have lost all.' This passage I take notice of, because it plainly manifests the Doctor's inviolable affection for the Church of England.

[*G*] *He wrote several things.*] Namely, I. *Deo & Ecclesie Sacrum*; 'Sacrilige arraigned and condemned by St Paul, Romans ii. 22. Oxford 1646, 4to. Reprinted at London in 1668, 8vo. II. *Diatriba de antiqua Ecclesie Britannicæ libertate*; written on occasion of Chr. Justell's intended *Geographia Sacro-politica*, but which was never published. It was found in the Lord Hopton's cabinet after his decease, by Richard Watfon, an exile for his loyalty, who not only caused it to be printed at Bruges in 1656, 8vo. but also translated it into English, and put it out under the title of 'The antient Liberty of the Britanick Church, and the legitimate exemption thereof from the Roman Patriarchate, discoursed on four positions, and asserted, &c.' To which are subjoined, 'Three chapters concerning the Privileges of the Britanick Church, &c. selected out of a Latin manuscript intituled, *Catholicæ-Romanus Pacificus*,

'written by F. I. Barnes of the Order of St Benedict.' At the end, there is, 'A Letter, written by Dr Basire to the Honourable Sir Richard Brown, when Resident at Paris for his Majesty of Great Britain; relating his travels and endeavours to propagate the knowledge of the doctrine and discipline, established in the Britanick Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. dated from Pera, near Constantinople, 20 Julii, 1653.' Sir Richard Brown, in a letter to R. Watfon, printed at the beginning of this book, observes, 'That he could never read this letter, but as a kind of nine and twentieth of the Acts.' The Doctor writ some further accounts of his travels, in letters to Sir George Radcliffe, but they could not be recovered. This book, dedicated by the translator to Sir Richard Brown above-mentioned, was printed at London 1661, small 8vo. III. Dr Basire hath also written, 'The History of the English and Scotch Presbytery, Lond. 1659, 1660, 8vo.' IV. *Oratio privata, boni Theologi (speciatim concionatoris practici) partes practicas complectens.* Lond. 1670, 8vo in half a sheet. V. 'The dead man's real speech;' being a sermon on Hebr. xi. 4. at the funeral of Dr John Cofin, late Bishop of Durham, 29th of April, 1672. 'Together with a brief [account] of the life, dignities, benefactions, principal actions and sufferings' of the said Bishop: And an Appendix of his 'profession and practice, and of his last will concerning religion.' Lond. 1673, 8vo. Mr Wood thinks he published some other things, but does not mention what they were (*5*).

(c) Wood's Fasti Vol. I. col. 236.

[H] He

And was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham [H], where a tomb was erected over his grave, with an inscription, set down below in the note [I]. His character sufficiently appears from what hath been said of him in this article: Namely, That he was a learned, active, and industrious man; a true son of the Church of England; and a loyal subject to his two masters, King Charles I and II [K].

[H] He was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham. And, as Wood informs us (6), 'Near the body of an antient servant that had lived many years with him, and not by that of his wife in the cathedral.'

[I] A tomb was erected over his grave, with an inscription, &c. The inscription on this tomb, is as follows, *Deposum* IS. BASIRE, S. T. D. *Archidiaconi* Northumb. *hujus ecclesie Canonici, & Regibus* aug. CAROLO I. & CAROLO II. *a Sacris, qui obdormiuit* 12 die Octob. Anno Domini 1676. anno *Ætatis suæ* 69. 1 *Theff. iv. Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo* (7). i. e. 'Here lie the remains of ISAAC BASIRE, D. D. Archdeacon of Northumberland, Prebendary of this Church, and Chaplain to their Majesties King CHARLES I, and II, who fell on sleep the 12th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1676, and in the 69th year

of his age. 1 *Theff. iv. 14.* Them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.'

[K] A true son of the Church of England; and a loyal subject, &c.] An undeniable instance of this, and a signal proof of his sincerity was, his suffering the loss of his large preferments, rather than submit to what he thought unlawful. And a further confirmation of it was the resolution he took, 'not to exercise his function where the duty of praying for King Charles should be prohibited.' Accordingly, he refused from the Consul at Smyrna the offer of a plentiful support, because that would not be allowed (8). But, let us hear the Doctor's own words to the same effect (9). 'I should now, says he, long for a comfortable *post-liminium* [return] to my family; but yet I am resolved rather *intermori* [to die] in these toilsome ecclesiastical peregrinations, than to decline the least, on either hand, from my religion, or allegiance.' C

(8) R. Watson, in his epistle dedicatory at the beginning of 'The ancient Liberty of the Britanick Church.'

(9) Conclusion of his Letter to Sir R. Brown, as above.

(6) Col. 236.

(7) J. Le Neve Monum. Anglic. from 1650, to 1679, p. 171, n. 432. and Willis, ubi supra. p. 263.

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. Lond. 1709, p. 266. Baleus de Script. cent. iv. n. 15.

(b) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Script. an. 1252.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Leland, ubi supra.

(e) Pits, ubi supra.

(f) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi supra.

(g) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi supra.

BASINGE (JOHN) (a), more commonly known by the name of *Basingstockius*, or *de Basingstoke*, was born at Basingstoke, a town in the north part of Hamshire, and from thence took his surname (b). He was a person highly eminent for virtue, and learning. For having very good natural parts, he so improved them by study, that he became a perfect master of the Latin and Greek languages; and also an eloquent Orator, a compleat Mathematician, a subtil Philosopher, and a sound Divine (c). The foundation of his great learning he laid in the university of Oxford (d), and, for his further improvement, went to Paris [A], where he resided some years (e). Not satisfied with that, he travelled to Athens (f), that agreeable seat of the Muses, and the mother of all polite literature, where he made many curious observations, and perfected himself in his studies, particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue [B]. At his return from thence to England, he brought over with him several curious Greek manuscripts (g), and introduced the use of the Greek numeral figures into this kingdom (h). He became also a very great promoter and encourager of the study of that language (i), which was much neglected in these western parts of the world [C]: And to facilitate it, he translated from Greek into Latin a Grammar (k), which he entituled, *The Donatus of the Greeks* [D]. Our author's merit and learning recommended him to the esteem of all lovers of literature; particularly to the favour of Robert Grossete, Bishop of Lincoln, by whom he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Leicester, as he had been some time before to that of London (l). He died in the year 1252 (m), the 26th of King Henry III.

(b) Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, p. 335.

(i) Leland, ubi supra, p. 267.

(k) M. Paris, & Leland, ibid.

(l) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ibid.

(m) M. Paris, ubi supra.

[A] For his further improvement went to Paris.] The university of Paris was then, and had been for some years before in great reputation, on account of the famous persons that taught there; namely, Peter Abailard, Alberic of Reims, and especially Peter Lombard. See *Cinquieme discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, par l'Abbé Fleury (1).

[B] Particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.] He used to say, that he learned most there, from a young Lady named Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens; who, before the age of twenty, was a prodigy of learning, and, through her great skill in Natural Philosophy, could foretell plagues, earthquakes, thunder, eclipses, and the like (2).

[C] Which was very much neglected in these Western parts of the world.] From the ninth to the fourteenth century, may even to part of the fifteenth, the ignorance in all points of learning, and among the rest in the Greek tongue was extreme. So that, as Espenæus ob-

erves (3), *Græcè nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*; for a man to understand Greek, rendered him suspected; but, if he knew Hebrew, it made him be looked upon almost as a Heretic. The Monk's saying is also well known, *Græcum non est legi*, Greek is not to be read. For more instances of that monstrous ignorance, See An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God, by George Hakewill, D. D. (4).

[D] Which he entituled *The Donatus of the Greeks*.] The rest of his works are, I. A Latin translation of a Harmony of the Gospels. II. A volume of sermons. III. *Particulæ sententiarum per distinctiones*, or a Commentary upon part of Lombard's Sentences, &c (5). — It was he also that informed, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, that he had seen at Athens, a book called *The Testament of the XII Patriarchs*. Upon which the Bishop sent for it, and translated it into Latin (6), and it was printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, Basileæ 1555, fol. C

(3) 2 Tim. iii. D. grossione 17.

(4) Book iii. c. vii. §. 2.

(5) Baleus, Leland, & Pits, ib.

(6) M. Paris, ubi supra.

(1) Hist. Ecclesiastique par M. Fleury, Tom. XVII, Paris, 1721, 12mo.

(2) M. Paris, ubi supra.

BASINGSTOKE (RICHARD) see WHYTE, or VITUS.

BASKERVILE (Sir SIMON) Knight, (of the antient family of the Baskerviles in Herefordshire) (a), an excellent scholar and eminent Physician, famous for his skill in Anatomy, and happy practice (b) in the time of King James the First, and King Charles the First, born at Exeter 1573, was the son of Thomas Baskerville, an Apothecary of that city (c), who observing an early love of knowledge and thirst after learning in his son, gave him a proper education for the university, to which he was sent about eighteen years old, entering him in Exeter-college in Oxford, on the 10th of March 1591, putting him under the care of Mr William Helm (d), a man no less famous for his piety than learning, under whose tutorship he gave such early proofs of his love of virtue and knowledge, that

(c) Danmouli Orient. Illustr. p. 93.

(d) Dr Prideaux's Epist. Dedic. to his Consecration Sermon, as in note [B]. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 539.

(a) Dugdale's History of St Paul's, p. 107.

(b) Dugdale, ut supra.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 778.

(f) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811.

(g) Wood, ut supra.

(b) Danmonii Orient. Illustr. p. 94.

(i) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811. See also Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's, p. 107.

(k) Du, da's Hist. of St Paul's, p. 106, 107, where also see his monument, as below in note [D].

(l) Danmonii Illustr. p. 94.

he was on the first vacancy elected Fellow of that house, before he had taken his Bachelor's degree in Arts, which delayed his taking it, till July the eighth, 1596 (e), to which he soon after added that of Art's-Master; and when he was admitted, had particular notice taken of him (according to our author's own words) for his admirable knowledge in Humanity and Philosophy (f) [A]. After this, viz. 1606, he was chosen Senior Proctor of the university; when he bent his study wholly to Physic, in the knowledge of which useful faculty, he became a most eminent proficient, and was then in as great esteem at the university for his admirable knowledge in medicine, as he had been before for other parts of learning, taking at once by accumulation (on the 20th of June, 1611) both his degrees therein, viz. that of Bachelor and Doctor (g). After many years study and industry, leaving the university, he came to London, where he became of great eminency in his profession; being a member of the College of Physicians, and for some time also President thereof (b). His high reputation for learning, great skill and good success in Physick [B], soon brought him in vogue at court, where he was sworn Physician to King James the First, and afterwards to King Charles the First; with whom, Mr Wood (i) tells us, he was in such esteem for his learning and accomplishments, that he conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. — He, by his practice, obtained a very plentiful estate, and shewed in his life a noble spirit suitable to the largeness of his fortune [C]. What family he left besides his wife, or who became his heir to all his great wealth, we can no ways find: He died July the 5th, 1641, aged 68 years (k), and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the city of London; (unto which, says Mr Prince, ' he had probably, ' been a liberal benefactor.' Adding, where, if he had any monument erected to his memory [D], it fell under the ruins of that church, occasioned by the dreadful conflagration, which happened in the year 1666 (l).

[A] For his admirable knowledge in humanity and philosophy.] He was so noted and eminent for his excellent parts, knowledge of the arts and sciences, and quickness in arguing, that, upon the first coming of King James to see that flourishing university, he was chosen as a prime person to dispute before him in the philosophic art, which he performed with great applause of his Majesty, who was not only there as an hearer, but as an accurate judge. — After this he had the honour to be one of the Proctors of that university, which gave him farther occasion of shewing himself publicly; and, having laid his grounds so firmly in Natural Philosophy, he went on happily in the study of Physic, according to the known method of *Ubi definit Philosophus, ibi incipit Medicus* (1).

[B] His high reputation for learning, great skill and good success in physic.] This gentleman is one of the famous men mentioned by Dr John Prideaux (as the great ornament of Exeter college, 'nay even of the university itself in their time) in his epistle to the reader before his consecration sermon (2); the dedication whereof (to the right worshipful George Hakewill, D. D. Archdeacon of Surrey, and founder of St James's Chapel), after a short preamble, runs thus: ' About ' your standing in Exeter college, what a knot of noted ' scholars appeared in sight of one another, to the credit of our common mother, who supplied her other ' defects with such a fair issue? ' He then enumerates the ' several persons' (and among the rest Dr Baskerville, whom he compliments with the title of a *Worthy Physician*) ' who had there laid those grounds which, ' since improved, have attained that height the world ' now takes notice of.'

[C] He by his practice obtained a plentiful estate, and shewed in his life a noble spirit, suitable to the largeness of his fortune.] No Physician of that age could, we imagine, have better practice than he, if what is reported of him be true, viz. that he had no less than one hundred patients a week; so that it is not at all strange he should amass so great an heap of wealth,

as to acquire the title of *Sir Simon Baskerville the Rich* (3). Fuller, speaking concerning the stoppage of the river Ex in Devon, has the following words: ' Some ' knowing *Sir Simon Baskerville*, a Physician, and native of this place, to have a plentiful purse and a ' public spirit, wished he would have taken the work ' in hand to cure this obstruction; but it was no Physician's work to meddle therewith, nor is it either ' powder or steel, or gilded pills, which can do the ' deed, but only pills of massy gold and silver (4). — As to his spirit being equal to the largeness of his fortune, we have, among others, the following instances recorded of him: That being a great friend to the clergy and inferior loyal gentry, he would never take a fee of an orthodox minister under a Dean, nor of any suffering Cavalier in the cause of King Charles the First, under a gentleman of an hundred a year, but would also with physic to their bodies generally give relief to their necessities (5).

[D] Adding, where if he had any monument erected to his memory, &c.] By this Mr Prince seems to make a doubt, or at least not to know of his having a monument at all. — But in a catalogue of tombs, inscriptions, &c. of memorable persons (6) in London, destroyed by the fire, we find the name of Sir Simon Baskerville, Knight, M. D. as having one; but Dugdale (7) goes yet farther, giving the very figure of the marble tablets, on which were the following inscriptions:

On one,

NEERE THIS PLACE LYETH BURIED THE BODY OF THAT WORTHY AND LEARNED GENT. SIR SIMON BASKERVILE KNIGHT AND DR IN PHYSICK WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 3D OF (it should be the 5th) JULY 1641 AGED 68 YEARS

And on another,

P. M. CHARISSIM : CONJUGIS, P. KATH. RELICTA S: BASKERVILE EQ: AUR. R

BASNET (EDWARD) Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, was an active man at the time of the Reformation, and a Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII, and King Edward VI. He was descended of an Esquire's family, long seated at Eaton in the county of Denbigh, in Wales, and had some relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him [A]; for we find no such names in history or records, planted in Ireland before his time. He was presented (a) by King Henry VIII to the vicarage of Swoids, in the diocese of Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1535, during the vacancy of that see by

[A] Had some relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him.] One Finian Basset was a near relation of his, who was seated at Naugre, in the county of Dublin, to whom Richard Basset of Eaton

in Denbighshire, Esq; was heir. Our Edward, being a married man, had a daughter named Katherine, who was married to one Patrick Dillon.

[B] Elected

(a) Rot. Cap. Hib. 27 Hen. VIII.

(3) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, &c. p. 539.

(4) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 276.

(5) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. p. 635.

(6) Printed in 1668.

(7) History of St Paul's, p. 106.

the murder of Archbishop Alan^(b); and this is the first promotion we find he had in Ireland, so that in all probability he came over the year before in the retinue and under the countenance of Sir William Skeffington, Lord-Deputy. About the latter end of April 1537, he was elected by the Chapter, Dean of the cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin [B], that dignity being void on the eighth of the said month by the death of Geoffrey Fitche, his predecessor; and this promotion gave him a rank almost equal to the episcopal [C]. He was stiled Sir Edward Bafnet, and is so named in an act of Parliament of that time [D]; not that he had been dubbed a Knight, but was called so in the same sense as those are called Sirs, who have taken the first degree in the university [E]. However active he was in the work of the Reformation, when he found his Prince, King Henry the Eighth, was in earnest to shake off the Pope's power, it is certain, he did not shew his zeal in other particulars, by running so fast into it as his Metropolitan, Archbishop Brown had done; who having received an order (c) from the Lord Thomas Cromwell, for removing all superstitious images and reliques out of the churches of his diocese, he set about it immediately, and removed them from all his parish churches. But the cathedral of St Patrick's being not under his jurisdiction, as Ordinary, but under the Dean alone, he could not make any alteration there, but through the Dean in person, who had neglected to carry this order into execution. The Prior of Christ-Church, who was head officer of that cathedral, was guilty of the same disobedience, and both of them had written to Rome for encouragement. The Archbishop attributes this their negligence to their avarice (d), on account of the rich offerings that devotees used to make at the shrines of the saints. Wherefore he applied to the Lord Privy-seal, Cromwell, for a more extensive commission, in the execution whereof, if occasion required, he might be supported by the civil power [F]. It is not likely Dean Bafnet waited to see such a new coercive authority in the hands of his Metropolitan: For he received such honours from his Prince, for his fidelity and personal bravery against the Popish rebels, as wipes off any suspicion of his being a bigot to Popery; further, than standing out a while against innovations, as a prudent man would do (especially where his interest was concerned) until he saw upon what foundation they were built. In 1539, O-Neal and O-Donnel, with some other Irish chieftains, or heads of clans, conspired against the gentleman of the Pale [G], and made terrible ravages in the county of Meath, by burning towns and villages as far as Tara-hill, before the country was able to oppose them.

(b) Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1534.

(c) Cox's Hist. Vol. 1. p. 256.

(d) Ibid. and Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1538.

The

[B] *Elected Dean of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.* The Chapter of this cathedral had a right of electing their own Deans conferred on them by the crown, as early as the beginning of the reign of King Henry III; and this right of election, after the suppression of the cathedral in the last year of King Henry VIII, was expressly renewed to the Chapter, by the charter of renovation of 3d and 4th Philip and Mary.

[C] *Gave him a rank almost equal to the episcopal.* The jurisdiction of the Dean of this church, is called *quasi episcopalis*, as it were episcopal, and is founded upon the model of the church of Sarum in England. He is Lord of a manor extended about the cathedral, and has a fenechal for holding courts leet and baron.

[D] *Named Sir Edward Bafnet in act of Parliament of that time.* He is so named in an Irish statute of 28 Hen. VIII, chap. xiv. for the payment of the 20th parts, whereby it is provided, 'That nothing in the said act should extend to charge the said Sir Edward Bafnet, now Dean of the said cathedral church of St Patrick's Dublin, for the payment of the said twentieth part of the yearly profit or revenue of the said deanery, till the feast of the nativity of our Lord, which shall be in the year 1538.' The same act discharged him, and the other dignitaries of the said church, for the time being, from going or sending to any hosting, road, voyage, or journey, under the penalty of ten pounds forfeiture on the Sheriff who should detain for his or their absence; the weight of which extraordinary charges of hosting for reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the English government, used to be borne by such subjects as were answerable to the English laws; and whenever they failed to send their proportion of armed men and horses, they were amerced in certain sums of money.

[E] *In the same sense as those are called Sirs, who have taken the first degree in the university.* In this sense it is taken by Selden (1), and Chamberlayne (2); and we find in Chaucer and Shakespear, Clergymen frequently introduced under the titles of Sirs, though they were no Knights.

[F] *Applied for a more extensive commission, and required to be supported by the civil power.* All the matter alledged above in the text, appears from a complaining letter (3) of Archbishop Brown's couched in these terms, viz. 'I have observed your Lordship's let-

ter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings till I do know your Lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first. The Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity, and St Patrick's, took off the common people from the true worship; but the Prior and the Dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words: Therefore send in your Lordship's next to me, an order more full, and a chide to them and their Canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chiefe governors may assist me in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the People will be bold, and then tug long before his Highness can submit them to his Grace's orders, &c.'

[G] *Conspired against the gentleman of the Pale.* The Pale was a canton of land, which was sometimes larger, and sometimes less, as the English power prevailed or was depressed. It originally comprehended all Leinster, which, upon the English acquisition, was divided into the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, (afterwards divided into two counties) Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and also properly comprized that district, which, in latter times, was converted into shire ground, and called the county of Wicklow. For all Leinster becoming the property of Earl Strongbow, upon his marriage with Eva, daughter of Mac-Murrough King of Leinster, and on the death of that Monarch in 1171, the whole became subject to the English power, and was called the Pale, from *Palor*, an old Latin word, which signified to inclose with statutes, as though the English by this imaginary fortification were separated from the Irish. What was immediately without the Pale, was called the Marches; all within the Pale was amenable to law, and the King's writ obeyed there. It once extended from Dundalk, the most remote part of the county of Louth, to Carlow and Kilkenny; but in Queen Elizabeth's time was included within much narrower bounds. The notion of the Pale became obsolete when the whole kingdom submitted to the English laws, and now is only to be found in history; the Marches of the kingdom being only the seas surrounding it.

[H] For

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 551.

(2) Present State of England, Part iii. ch. iv.

(3) See Ware's English Annals, in the Life of Geo. Brown, p. 150.

The Lord-Deputy Grey, attended by several of the nobility and gentry, and the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, marched out to suppress the insolence of the rebels; and Dean Basnet, laying aside his sacerdotal habit, served in a military capacity upon this occasion. Both armies were encamped on each side of the river Belahoa, where the English waited till their whole forces were come up; and then passing the river they attacked the Irish, killed great numbers of them, put the rest to flight, and took all their baggage. Stanihurst (e) gives an account of those gentlemen, who distinguished themselves for their courage and conduct in this action, and among the rest, mentions Sir Edward Basnet, Priest, who, on account of his good services to the State upon this occasion, was made one of his Majesty's Privy-Council [H]. In 1541, an act (f) passed in the Irish Parliament, declaring Henry the VIIIth King of Ireland, who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland [I], and making it high-treason in any person to impeach that title. His Majesty was accordingly proclaimed King of Ireland, in St Patrick's cathedral on the 13th of June, the principal nobility attending the solemnity in their parliament robes (g), and Dean Basnet, with all his Chapter in their Pontificalibus; and the joy upon that occasion in banquets, plays, and other entertainments, was very extraordinary. On the 5th of July 1542, the King wrote a letter (h) with his own hand to Dean Basnet, and others of the Privy-Council [K], 'Shewing them the necessity of providing good and faithful pastors through the diocese of Dublin, for instructing the people in the duties of religion, and no less in obedience to those new laws, which every day restored to them more and more of their Christian liberty, and promoted trade and industry through the whole kingdom.' In 1544 a report was made by the Lord-Deputy about the singular merit of Dean Basnet from the Crown. For which the King was pleased to reward him with a grant (i) to him and his heirs of the castle, town, lands, and rectory of Kiltiernan [L], in the marches of the county of Dublin, to hold in capite by the service of one Knight's fee for ever, and three shillings Irish money, *per annum* rent. In 1545, August the 20th, the King, as a mark of his royal indulgence, granted to the Dean a particular favour [M], in which his Chapter, under his countenance, was concerned, which is registered among the records of the deanery (k). About Christmas this year, the Dean was employed to mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger, and the Earl of Ormond [N], whose bickerings and quarrels had caused no little uneasiness to the subjects; but he had the misfortune

(e) Stanihurst in Hollinghed's Ir. Chron. p. 101. and MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.

(f) Ir. Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, Scff. n. chap. i.

(g) Annap. Warræi Lat. ad ann. 1541.

(h) Rolls of Chancery.

(i) Rolls Office, ibid.

(k) Dignitas Decani S. Patricii, MS.

(4) Hollinghed's Chron. p. 101.

[H] For his services upon this occasion was made one of his Majesty's Privy-Council.] Stanihurst (4) alleges, that he was for this service made also Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin; but this must be a mistake, he having been made so two years before this action; and it appears before, remark [B], that it was not in the power of the Crown to promote him to this dignity, the Deanery being elective by the Chapter.

[I] Who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland.] The Kings of England from the first conquest of Ireland to this time, never assumed any other title than Lords of Ireland, though they enjoyed Regal authority and jurisdiction under that stile, in as full a measure as if they had been called Kings: Yet the Irish did not pay the same reverence to the name of Lord, as they did to the name of King, and those who were traitorously inclined often made use of the distinction to inveigle the common people into rebellion. This was the cause of making the statute before mentioned in the text, and it answered the end intended by silencing all objections.

[K] The King wrote a letter to Dean Basnet, and others of the Privy-Council.] The letter here mentioned was sent in answer to an application made by the Privy Council, in favour of Archbishop Brown, to obtain for him a remittal of a sum of money which he owed to Lord Rochford, then a forfeiting person. It may not be unpleasant to the curious reader to see the language and manner of writing in that age. It runs thus (*), 'We bene pleased at youre humble suites to forgyve to th Archbushope of Dublyn the two hundreth and fyfte poundes, whyche he oughte to the late Lorde Rochford, not doubtyng but he woll the better applie his charge and offyce, and provyde that there may be some good prechers, to infructe and teche the people ther duties to God and us; the lacke whereof is grete in thos parties: Wylling therefor, youe, our Deputie and Counsaill, that yeoue have a specielle regard alfoo to this poynte: And as youe may provyde, that they may lerne by good and Catholique teaching, and the mynstracione of justice to knowe Godde's lawes and ours togythir, whyche shall dailie more and more frame and conforme theym in honest lving, and due obedyence to ther owne benefictes, and th univerfalle good of the countrey.'

[L] Grant of the castle, town, lands, and rectory of

Kiltiernan.] Kiltiernan lies about five miles S. S. E. of Dublin, in the road to Power's court; and was part of the possessions of the abbey of the blessed Virgin Mary near Dublin: After the suppression of which it was leased for twenty-one years to Walter Pippard of Kilca, gentleman, whose interest therein probably Basnet purchased; for he lived partly in this castle, and partly in the castle of Dean-Rath, near Cladocan, which belongs to the deanery of St Patrick's. Basnet is distinguished by both places in a pardon (5), that he sued out in 1545, for the death of one William Fowle.

[M] Granted to the Dean a particular favour.] The favour was a licence or privilege, that if the Dean or any of the Canons of St Patrick's, had benefices in any distant diocese, that they should not be obliged to personal residence in those parts, during their continuance in Dublin, as residentiaries near their own cathedral.

[N] To mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger and the Earl of Ormond.] The quarrel between the Lord-Deputy and the Earl of Ormond, had it's rise the preceding year from this motive. The Exchequer being exhausted, and the exigencies of affairs requiring a supply before a Parliament could be convened for that purpose, the Lord-Deputy by his own authority (6), would have laid some new and extraordinary impositions upon the people. The Earl of Ormond opposed the Deputy's proceedings, but finding his own influence could not prevail in obtaining a respite, he wrote letters of complaint to the Council of England, which were intercepted at sea by a friend of the Lord-Deputy, and put into his hands. After perusing them, he employed Dean Basnet, as a person in whose prudence he could confide, to repair in all haste to the castle of Kilkenny, and to communicate his knowledge of the letters to the Earl, that he might see the Deputy was not insensible of his complaints, and he had it in commission, to reason with the Earl about the subject of their quarrel, and, if possible, to end the disputes between them in a private, amicable manner, that neither the Council of England, nor the subjects of Ireland be troubled with their disputes. The Dean found the Earl immoveable, and finding nothing could prevail on him to drop his complaint, he returned unsuccessful. Soon after both parties were sent for by the English Council, who made up the breach between them, and put an end to all disputes.

(5) Filac. Cance.

(6) Stanihurst in Hollinghed. p. 104. Cox, Vol. I. p. 280.

(*) Chancery Rolls.

fortune to fail of success. Notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious favour, lately conferred on the Dean and his Canons, yet, in the year 1546, the King projected (l) the ruin of that ancient cathedral, which he soon effected [O]. The Dean had a pension assigned him of two hundred marks sterling a year, to commence from the day that the church was surrendered, and pensions were settled by the King's Commissioners upon each of the Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, and Vicars, in proportion to the income of their several offices before the dissolution of the cathedral. In the first year of King Edward the VIth, Commissioners were appointed (m), for disposing of all the revenues and buildings belonging to this cathedral. The deanery house, wherein Basnet lived was given to the Archbishop of Dublin, who was desired to accommodate the Lord-Deputy with the Archiepiscopal palace. Another house was ordered for the Lord-Chancellor's dwelling. The plate, jewels, and ornaments, were given to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church, except what was reserved for the parish-church of St Nicholas without the walls, whose service was always celebrated in St Patrick's church. One part of the building was ordered for holding the courts of justice in, while another part was appropriated to the use of the said parish-church. The hall belonging to the Vicars choral, was appointed for keeping a grammar-school, of which one Matthew Talbot was constituted master. The publick records, which before had been kept in Bermingham tower, were removed from the castle, and lodged in the library of St Patrick's; and the college of Minor-Canons and Choristers was fitted up, for an hospital to entertain twelve decayed soldiers, worn out in the service. Sir Edward Basnet lived to see all these changes, and continued a member of the Privy-Council, during the reign of King Edward the VIth; but did not live to see his church restored to it's former dignity, and all it's antient rights and privileges by King Philip and Queen Mary; for he died in the first of that Queen's reign, as appears by an inscription (n) *post mortem Edwardi Basnet*. He continued to write himself Dean after the surrender of his cathedral. For in an act of Council (o) of the fifth year of Edward VI, about sending the records of Bermingham-tower to the Library of St Patrick's, he subscribed himself Edward Basnet, Dean; but a dash of the pen is drawn over the word Dean.

(l) Rymer's Fed. Tom. XV. p. 104. Annal. Waræus, ad ann. 1546. Cox's Hist. Ire. p. 280.

(m) Chancery Rolls.

(n) Chancery Rolls.

(o) Ibid.

[O] *The King projected the ruin of that antient cathedral, which he soon effected.* On the 8th of November, 38 Henry VIII (1546). The King issued a commission (7) to Sir Anthony St Leger, Lord-Deputy, Sir Richard Read, Lord-Chancellor, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, Sir Thomas Luttrell, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, James Bath, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Cusack, Master of the Rolls, empowering them, or any three of them, of whom Sir Anthony St Leger was to be one, to receive a resignation from the Dean and Chapter in person, of the church with all it's revenues, lands, tythes, &c. which was accordingly complied with on the 8th of January following, and the same was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery. But all this was done without the consent of the Archbishop, who is the chief Ordinary there, and the founder and Lord-Paramount of all their benefices. This undue resignation of the cathedral church afterwards occasioned a trial at law (8)

about the validity of a lease perfected by the Archbishop of Dublin, without the consent of this Chapter, to one Brereton, which was only confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church, whereas both Deans and Chapters usually confirmed leases made by the Archbishop. When Archbishop Loftus was advanced to the See of Dublin, he looked upon the lease made to Brereton as bad, and endeavoured to break it. The case was adjudged in Easter-Term, 11 Elizabeth, and certified from England to the Lord-Deputy Sidney, under the hands of the Judges, that the lease was allowed to be good and valid in Law; because that at the time of making it, there was no Chapter in being except that of Christ-Church. A majority of all the Judges of England were of this opinion, although many held the contrary; who maintained, that after the death of the Archbishop who made the lease, it could not bind a successor; because it ought to have been confirmed by both Chapters, as leases always had been before. D

(7) Rolls Office.

(8) Dyer's Rep. f. 282.

BASSANTIN (JAMES) a Scots Astronomer in the XVIth century, whose writings have deservedly transmitted his memory to posterity, was the son of the Laird of Bassantin in the Mers, and born some time in the reign of King James IV (a). He was sent while young to the university of Glasgow, where, instead of applying himself to words he studied things, and while other young men of his age were perfecting themselves in style, he arrived at a surprizing knowledge (for that time) in almost all branches of the Mathematicks (b). In order to improve himself in this kind of knowledge, and to gratify his passion for seeing other countries, he travelled, soon after he quitted the college of Glasgow, through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, fixing himself at last in France, where he taught the Mathematicks with applause, in the university of Paris (c). He fell in there with the common notions of the times, and was either credulous enough to entertain a good opinion of Judicial Astrology, or had so much address, as to make the credulity of others useful to him, by supporting an erroneous system, then in too great credit for him to demolish, even if that had been his inclination (d). For the humour of believing such kind of predictions, never ran so strong as at this time, nor ran any where stronger than in that country [A]. At last, having a desire

(a) Dempsters Hist. Eccles. lib. ji. p. 108.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Mackensy's Scots Writers. Vol. III. p. 81.

(d) See note [A].

[A] *Any where stronger than in that country.* The great end of publishing lives of this nature, and in this manner, is not only to make the history of learned men, but of learning itself thoroughly known, which is a thing equally laudable and useful. In order to have a just notion of this Scots Astronomer's merit, we must

consider him as contemporary with the famous Nicholas Copernicus, and somewhat earlier than the celebrated Tycho Brahe; so that we may thence discern how few helps he had, and what an amazing progress he made, if, as Vossius says, he was unacquainted with Greek, and knew but little of Latin (1). However, Vossius

(1) Voss. de Mathematicis, cap. lxxii, lxxv.

desire to see his relations, and spend his remaining days in his own country, he resolved to quit France, where he had acquired a high reputation and some fortune, and returned home in the year 1562 (e). It seems he made his journey through England, and as he was entering the borders of his native country, he met Sir Robert Melvil, a very worthy gentleman, and a most loyal and faithful servant to his unfortunate mistress, Mary Queen Scots; with whom he entered into a conversation on the then state of affairs, which gained him the reputation of being deeply versed in those styled the Occult Sciences (f). [B].

(e) Dempster, ubi supra.

(f) Melvil's Memoirs, L. nd. 1683. fol. p. 92, 93.

(2) He places him in the XVIIth century, because Torricellus's translation of his book into Latin, was published at Geneva in 1609, and even this seems to have been a second edition, but the original Work had been published in French sixty years before.

(3) Nicéron. Mem. pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illust. Tom. XV. p. 163, 169.

(4) Gaffand. Oper. Tom. p. 745. Mem. de Brantom, Tom. II. p. 56. Lettres de Pafquiers, Tom. I. P. 346.

(5) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

Vossius himself does him injury, by placing him a century later than that in which he flourished (2). In reference to Judicial Astrology, it must be owned it was at this time in so great credit, that almost all who applied themselves to Geometry, Astronomy, or, in short, to any branch of the Mathematicks, struck also into this way, which served in times of so much ignorance to keep up the reputation of this supposed science. As for Tycho Brahe, he was so addicted thereto, that he was wholly guided by it; and though he owned he was mistaken in many, or most, of his predictions, yet he remained obstinate in his opinion, alledging first, that the Astronomical tables then in use were faulty; and when with prodigious labour he had corrected these errors, and still found his judgments wrong, he complained that the rules commonly received were bad or misunderstood, but never laid the fault on the Art itself (3). This conduct of the learned had so bad an effect, that almost every Prince in Europe had his Astrologer. There were, however, more at Paris than almost in any other place. Catherine de Medicis was excessively addicted to this sort of superstition; and we know that the Horoscope of her Husband Henry II, was not only calculated, but published also by Gauric; and some affirm, but without due proof, that his death, and even the manner of it, was predicted by Jerom Cardan (4). Mr Finé, better known by his Latin appellation Orontius Fincœus, who taught Mathematics in the university of Paris, was famous for the judgments given by him upon Nativities; and once, his predictions having offended the Court, he was imprisoned for it a long while in the Bastile, which undoubtedly, had he been truly able to read future events in the Stars, he would have both foreseen and avoided (5). The old friendship and intimacy between the Scots and French nations, joined to the close connection between them at the time he was at school, and while Bassantin flourished, was sufficient to carry all the French customs over thither; and this, amongst the rest, and that in fact this was the case, will manifestly appear by what is related in the next note. If therefore we lay all this together, it will not seem at all strange that a Scotman, who had not comprehensive knowledge, should be led away by so many and great authorities, in a matter which perhaps made the best branch of his business, and for which he had naturally a happy turn; for we may with truth affirm, that no man ever set off the system of the twelve Houses, and the influences of the Planets in them, in a more plausible way, or which seems more free from absurdities. It is likewise more than probable, that as this humour long survived him, and even grew more and more into fashion after his decease, it promoted the reputation of his writings, and procured them so quick a sale. But how well or ill founded this notion may be, we are certain of this, that he laboured the point exceedingly, and left no stone unturned to maintain a doctrine he had too hastily embraced, and from which, so long as he lived, he never departed. His having this kind of taking way of delivering himself on such subjects, must have recommended him in Courts, where such notions frequently prevail; and I can easily conceive, that his being so well received took place in his judgment, made him more satisfied of the rectitude of his opinions, and gave him spirit likewise to profess, maintain, and defend them against all opponents.

[B] *The reputation of being deeply versed in those styled the Occult Sciences.* There are very few books in better credit for the supposed candour and veracity of their author, than the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill, wherein, after describing the decisive Action which obliged Queen Mary to fly into England, proceeds thus (6): 'After the loss of the battle, her Majesty lost all courage, which she had never done before, and took so great fear, that she never rested till she was in England, thinking herself sure of refuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly made her by the Queen of England by word

(6) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

to her Embassadors, and by her own hand, writ before and after she was captive in Lochleven. But God and the world knows how she was kept and used, for not only she refused to see her, of whom she appeared so oft so desirous of a sight and a meeting, but also caused to keep her prisoner, and at length suffered her life to be taken away, or else it was subtly taken against her intention. This puts me in remembrance of a tale my brother Sir Robert told me: The time that he was busiest dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendship, and draw on the meeting at a place near York, one Bassintoun, a Scotman, who had been a traveller, and was learned in high sciences, came to him, and said to him, Good Gentleman, I hear so good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to shew you, that all your upright dealing and honest travel will be in vain: For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at the Queen of England's hands, you do but lose your time and your travel: For first, they will never meet together; and next, there will never be any thing else but dissembling and secret hatred for awhile, and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen from England. My brother answered, he liked not to hear of such devilish news, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. Bassintoun answered, Good Mr Melvil, entertain not that harsh opinion of me, I am a Christian of your own religion, and fear God, and purposes never to cast myself on any of the unlawful arts that you mean; but so far as Melancthon, who was a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the Natural Sciences, which are lawful and daily read in divers Christian universities, in the which, as in all other arts, God gives to some less, and to others clearer knowledge; by the which knowledge I have attained to understand, that at length the kingdom of England shall of right fall to the crown of Scotland, and that at this instant there are some born who shall brook lands and heritages in England: But, alas! it will cost many their lives, and many bloody battles will be fought ere things be settled, or take effect. And by my knowledge, says he, the Spaniards will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.' It has been shewn in the former note, that listening to these kind of predictions was one great foible of those times; and if it had not been so, one could hardly account for so wise a man as Sir James Melvil giving this, and some stories of the like kind, a place in his book. But it is observable, that he gives no judgment upon it, he introduces it only as a tale, and does not at all recommend it to his readers belief by professing it had gained credit with him. A less cautious writer, who repeats this story (7), could not help adding, that all our author's predictions were fulfilled except the last, and even as to that he makes some apology. It may not be amiss therefore to bestow a few remarks, and they shall be but short ones, upon this singular story. I. It does not appear how he should come at this knowledge on the principles of his art, supposing it to be an art. He might indeed have calculated the natiivities of both the Queens, and from thence have predicted what would happen to them; but how could he from thence learn that the crown of England should descend to a Prince of Scotland? It might be answered well enough if King James had been then born, but he was not till four years afterwards; and from the Horoscopes of the two Queens it was impossible, by the rules of Astrology, for him to pretend to foretel what he did. II. It is in the next place clear, that the greatest part of what he foretold was absolutely false; for there was not so much as one battle fought, or a drop of blood shed, to make way for the accession of the King of Scots, which was the act of Queen Elizabeth herself; and the King of Spain was so far from assisting in this, that he actually set

(7) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 82.

But whoever maturely weighs what passed in that conference, of which we have a most authentick account, will see good reason to believe, that our learned author was more a Politician than a Prophet, or else, that he talked at random, and on false or precarious principles. It does not at all appear in what manner he spent the remainder of his life, after he came back to Scotland, but it is certain he did not survive long, since his decease happened, as those who were well acquainted with him attest, in 1568 (g). As to his learning, we are told by those who admired it most, it lay not in languages, of which, except his mother-tongue, he knew none thoroughly, though he spoke and taught in French, but in a very incorrect manner, and wrote much worse (h). He had very clear notions in most parts of his writings, and was far from being a contemptible Astronomer, though the commendations bestowed on him by some authors, very far surpass his deserts. He was too much tinctured with the superstition of the times, not to intermix a vast deal of false, and even ridiculous stuff in his writings, on the virtues, aspects, and influences of the planets; yet in other respects he shews much good sense and industry, which render his works very well worth reading, and ought to secure both them and his memory from oblivion, as they are so many indubitable testimonies of his merit (i) [C]. As to his religion, he is reported to have been a zealous Protestant; and with regard to his political principles, he is said to have adhered to the famous Earl of Murray, then struggling for that power which he afterwards obtained (k).

(g) Dempster, ubi supra.

(h) Vossius de Methesi, cap. lxx. §. 3.

(i) Mackenzys Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 97, 98.

(k) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

set up a title against that Prince, and did all that lay in his power to hinder his succession: So that if this story proves any thing, it must prove that there was either no certainty in this art, or that our author did not sufficiently understand it. III. Upon the whole, it is highly probable that this man was no friend to the negotiation Sir Robert Melvil was then engaged in, and that he said what he did, with a view to hinder that Gentleman from proceeding in it: And if we take the thing thus, he may be allowed to have acted very right as a Politician; but a man must have had very indifferent parts for a statesman, who could be diverted from his duty by such suggestions as these; and it is certain that they had no weight with Sir Robert Melvil, who behaved in all these transactions with the utmost prudence, steadiness, and courage. But when things were over, and Queen Mary in her grave, Sir Robert Melvil told this tale to his brother, who committed it to writing, and so it has passed for a full proof of our author's proficiency in these high sciences; whereas there cannot well be a more convincing argument of the contrary.

[C] So many indubitable testimonies of his merit.] The Works published by our author were these that follow, viz. I. *Astronomia, Jacobi Bassantini Scoti, opus absolutissimum, in quo quicquid unquam peritiores Mathematici in caelis observarunt, eo ordine, etque methodo traditur, ut cuiusvis post hac facile innotescant quaecunque de Astris ac Planetis, nec non de eorum variis orbibus, motibus, passionibus, &c. dici possunt, ingens et doctum volumen ter editum Latine et Gallice*: That is, 'The Astronomy of John Bassantin, a Scot, a compleat work; wherein, whatever the most expert Mathematicians have observed in the heavens, is digested into such order, and in so exact a method, that every one may henceforward apprehend whatever, as to the Stars and Planets, their orbs, motions, passions, &c. can be delivered; a work large and learned, now thrice published in Latin and French.' This is the Title given by John Tornæsius, who translated it into Latin, and published it in a large folio at Geneva in 1599. In his account of our author, in his Epistle dedicatory addressed to Frederick IV, Count Palatine of the Rhine, he represents him as a wonderful proficient in this science; and, as a proof of it, tells him, that this circumstance was very surprising in him, that tho' he was unskilled in polite learning, and understood only his Mother-Tongue, yet he made so great a progress in Astronomy, as to be esteemed one of the greatest Astronomers of the age. And whereas other persons were obliged to learn the Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages, if they were desirous of raising themselves any reputation in that science, our author was born an Astronomer, and not made one. He observes likewise, that Bassantin's book was at first published in French, not as it was written by the author, who was so little master of that language, notwithstanding he lived most part of his time in France, that he could not write even so much as tolerable Grammar; upon which account the stile of his book had been corrected and polished by some other persons who better understood the genius of that language. This affords us a sufficient

account of the author; but, perhaps, the value of his book will be better understood by taking a view of it's contents. In this great work he first of all lays down the necessary axioms and definitions for the understanding of the science, and then gives a table of Sines; after this a treatise of Rectilineal Triangles, in twenty propositions; and another of Spherical Triangles, in thirteen propositions. The next Tract is concerning the Sphere of the World, in thirteen chapters. The first chapter treats of the System of the World in general, and the several parts of it. The second of the Magnitude of the Earth compared with the Firmament. The third of the Circles of the Sphere. The fourth of the Declination of the Degrees of the Ecliptic from the Equinoctial. The fifth of the Ascension and Descension of Signs in a direct Sphere. The sixth of the Ascension and Descension of the Signs in an oblique Sphere. The seventh of the Eastern and Western Latitude. The eighth of the Declination, Ascension, Descension, and Latitude, of the Eastern and Western Stars. The ninth of the Elevation of the Stars above the Horizon. The tenth of the Variation of the Artificial Days and Nights in the different parts of the Earth. The eleventh of the Twelve Celestial Houses, and their Divisions. The twelfth of the Division of the Zones and Climates. And the thirteenth of the Regions of the Earth; to which is annexed, A Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities and places of the world. Then follow the Hypotheses of the Celestial Orbs, containing the Theory of the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. After this he gives an account of the direct retrograde and stationary motions of the Planets, their various Aspects, the Declination of the Stars, the Latitude of the Moon, the Latitude of the three Superior Planets, the Latitude of Venus and Mercury; of their Excentricities, Ellipses, and whatever else relates to the Planets. After he has treated of these things, he gives us the Theory of the Motion of the Eighth Sphere, and concludes with the practical part of Astronomy, in thirty propositions; wherein he gives the figures of many curious instruments, with proper tables, and directions for the use of them. II. *Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe avec une amplification de l'usage, de la Astrolabe*; that is, 'A Paraphrase (or ample explanation) of the Astrolabe, with an improvement as to the uses to which this instrument may be applied.' This Treatise was printed at Lyons in 1555, and again at Paris 1617, in 8vo. III. *Super Mathematica Genethliaca*; i. e. 'Of the Calculation of Nativities.' IV. *Arithmetica*, or 'A Treatise of Arithmetick.' V. *Musica secundum Platonem*; i. e. 'Musick on the principles of the Platonists.' VI. *De Mathesi in genere*; i. e. 'Of the Mathematicks in general.' The very titles of his works, joined to the age in which he flourished, sufficiently justify his right to a place in this work; and though he might have foibles, yet without doubt his practical skill was great, and the pains he took contributed not a little to bring in that accuracy and correctness in observations, which have effectually exploded those superstitions to which, with other great men, he was too much addicted.

X

(a) *Vita Henr. Whartoni Histor. de Episc. et Decan. Londinens. &c.* p. 89, edit. 1693.

(*) In Latin Fulk.

BASSET (FULK *), Bishop of London in the reign of King Henry III (a), was brother of Gilbert Basset, one of the Barons, who died by a fall from his horse, leaving behind

- (b) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter epic Lond. ann. 1244.
- (c) Registr. Grey. Eborac.
- (d) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. edit. Lond. 1640. fol. Vol. II. p. 576.
- (e) Id. ib. p. 650.
- (f) See the article BONIFACE (Abp. of Cant.)
- (g) M. Paris, ubi supra, p. 730, 809.
- (h) Id. ib. p. 915.
- (i) Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 13.
- (k) M. Paris, ib. p. 974.
- (l) Id. ib. p. 987.
- behind him one only son, an infant, by whose death soon after the inheritance devolved to Fulk (b). In the year 1225, he was made Provost of the collegiate church of St John of Beverly, and in 1230, Dean of York (c). In December 1241, he was elected, by the Chapter of London, Bishop of that See, in the room of Roger Niger [A], both in regard of his family and his great virtues, and notwithstanding the King's recommendation of Peter de Egueblanche Bishop of Hereford (d). The See of Canterbury being vacant at the time of this Prelate's election, he was not consecrated till the ninth of October 1244 [B], at which time the solemnity was performed at London in the church of the Holy Trinity (e). In the year 1250, Bishop Basset began to have a warm dispute with Archbishop Boniface (f), concerning the right of metropolitanical visitation [C]; in the course of which he met with very rough treatment from the Archbishop, and at last, after a long contest, thought it best to submit [D], and acknowledge his jurisdiction (g). But he succeeded better in the opposition he made to Rustand the Pope's Legate [E], in 1255 (h). In 1256, this Prelate began to build the church of St Faith, near that of St Paul, on the spot which King John had formerly given to the Bishops and Chapter of London for a market (i). In the latter part of his life, he is said (k) to have tarnished his virtues, by inclining to the cause of the rebellious Barons [F]. He died of the plague in 1259, having sat near fifteen years from the time of his consecration, and was buried the twenty-fifth of May, in St Paul's church (l). Bishop Basset founded a chantry in his cathedral church, near the altar of the Blessed Virgin, for his own soul; and another near the altar of St Catherine, for those of Alan and Alice, his father and mother. He also bequeathed to his church a golden apple, two rich chests for relics, some ecclesiastical vestments, and several books relating to Church matters (m).

(m) Dugdale, Monast. Angl. T. III. p. 330, 309.

[A] He was elected ——— in the room of Roger Niger.] During the vacancy of the See, the King, in consideration that the temporalities were in his hands, ordered his treasurer, January the 17th, 1244 (1), to distribute victuals, on the ensuing feast of the Conversion of St Paul, to fifteen thousand poor people, in the church-yard of St Paul's, and upon that occasion to light up fifteen hundred wax tapers in the church. Whence it appears what large alms were formerly bestowed by the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics (2).

(1) Clauf. 28 H. III. m. 16.

(2) Hen. Wharton, Hist. de Episc. et Decan. Londonens. p. 89.

(3) Ex Instrum. Autograph.

(4) Extant in the Archives of the Church of Canterbury.

(5) See his article.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. edit. Lond. 1640, Vol. II. p. 780.

(7) Id. ib. p. 781.

(8) Ib. p. 782.

(*) Some writers say 6000.

[B] He was not consecrated till the 9th of October, 1244.] About the beginning of that year, Archbishop Boniface, being then in France, commissioned a certain number of Bishops to consecrate Basset at his church in London (3). But, at the intercession of the Chapter of Canterbury, he revoked that commission in February following, under pretence that it was surreptitiously obtained, namely, by dissembling the privilege of the church of Canterbury; so that Basset could not obtain consecration but by entering a solemn protest (4), that he had no design to infringe the rights of that church.

[C] He had a warm dispute with Archbishop Boniface concerning the right of metropolitanical visitation.] The See of Canterbury had from the beginning an undoubted authority over all the churches of that province, received appeals, censured offenders, and occasionally exercised a jurisdiction over the Bishops and Canons of the cathedral churches. But hitherto solemn metropolitanical visitations at stated times were not in use. Boniface was the first who introduced them (5), and loaded the Bishops and Chapters with a prodigious expence, under the name of procurations. On the 12th of May, 1250, he visited the Bishop of London, and, being intolerably insolent, as well as avaritious, treated the good Prelate with the grossest indignities and most opprobrious language. *In crastino autem visitavit episcopum Fulconem, apud quem inverecundiam ab eodem archiepiscopo factam, tum in esculentis, tum in poculentis, tum in ferratura, scilicet equorum deferratorum, si quis enarraret, aures et animos offenderet audientium, imo et corda cruentaret* (6). Designing to visit the Chapter of St Paul's, and the Priory of St Bartholomew, he was opposed by the Canons of both places, alleging that they had a learned and diligent Bishop, who was their proper visitor, and that they neither ought, nor would submit to any other visitatorial power. *Cui respondit unus Canonorum pro omnibus, quod episcopum haberent peritum et diligentem, qui eos habuit, cum necesse fuerat, visitare, nec voluerunt, nec debuerunt ab alio, ne contemptus videretur, visitari* (7). The Archbishop hereupon excommunicated the Canons, and involved the Bishop, as favouring their obstinacy, in the same sentence (8). Both sides appealed to Rome, where the Archbishop, supported by money and the royal favour, pleaded his cause in person; and, notwithstanding the English Clergy, by their Proctors, offered the Pope four thousand* marks to be exempted from the archiepiscopal visitation, he obtained a confirmation of his visitatorial power, with this restriction only, that he

should be moderate in his demand of procurations (9).

[D] He thought it best to submit.] Matthew Paris represents his submission as the effect of fear, lest his holding out against the Archbishop should provoke the King to seize his effects, and ruin his family; and therefore, as the least evil, he chose for the present to humble himself under the Archbishop's authority, rather than experience the consequences of the King's displeasure. *His igitur subtiliter pensatis incommodis, quasi inter duas molas contritus, angustiabatur: hinc honor et causa ecclesie sue, hinc impetus regalis iracundie, ipsum hinc inde disrhebant. Tandem vero, ut minus malum subiret, praelegit, quamvis læsus, et quamvis passus injuriam, ad tempus humiliari, et jurare stare provisioni archiepiscopi licet adversantis, potius quam regalis impetus discrimen experiri* (10).

(9) Id. ib. & p. 142, 366.

(10) Id. ib. p. 309.

[E] He succeeded better in the opposition he made to Rustand the Pope's Legate.] The King and the Pope had agreed, with their joint force, to squeeze a large sum of money out of the English Clergy, and to share the plunder. To this end Rustand, the Pope's Legate, summoned a Council at London in October, 1255, in which he produced a commission from the Pope to demand a certain sum of them. Whereupon the Bishop of London, rising up, said: 'Before I will submit to such great servitude, injury, and intolerable oppression of the Church, I will lose my head.' *Antequam tanta ecclesie consentiam servituti, injuria, et intolerabili oppressioni, profecto decapitabor.* The rest of the Prelates being animated by Basset's constancy, it was unanimously decreed, that the Pope's demand should not be complied with, nor any regard paid to Rustand's authority or censures. The Legate carried his complaints to the King, who, sending for the Bishop of London, reviled him most shamefully, threatening him with the severest Papal censures. To which Fulk replied, 'The King and the Pope, though they cannot justly, yet, as being stronger than me, may force my Bishoprick from me; they may take away the mitre, but the helmet will remain.' *Auferant episcopatum, quem tamen non possunt de jure auferre, Papa et Rex, qui me fortiores sunt; tollant mitram, galea remanebit.* This steadiness, and the decree of the Council, quite disconcerted the scheme (11).

[F] He inclined to the cause of the rebellious Barons.] Take notice, that it is Matthew Paris, a Monk, who censures our Prelate for so doing, telling us, That, by this step, he brought the greater stain upon his character, inasmuch as he was a man of more honour than the rest. *In hoc tanto plus famam suam denigravit, quanto aliis fuerat generosior* (12). And afterwards, mentioning Basset's death, he says of him: 'He was a noble and an honourable man, and, excepting only his last slip, the anchor of the whole kingdom, and the shield of stability and defence.' *Vir quidem nobilis et magnæ generositatis, et, nisi paulo ante titubasset, totius regni anchora, et clypeus stabilitatis et defensionis* (13).

(11) Id. ib. p. 915.

(12) Ib. p. 974.

(13) Ib. p. 987.

BASSET (PETER, Esq;) a gentleman of a good family [A], and a writer in the XVth century, was Chamberlain (a), or Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry V (b). He was a constant attendant on that brave Prince, and an eye-witness of most of his glorious actions both at home and abroad: All which he particularly described, and faithfully related (c). For, beginning at his tenderest years, he gave a full and exact account of his several expeditions into France; his glorious victories, large conquests, and illustrious triumphs in that kingdom; his most advantageous and honourable peace with Charles VI; his marriage with the Princess Catherine, his coronation at Paris: And, finally, his death, and the coronation of King Henry VI, his son and successor. These several remarkable events, Peter Basset comprized in one volume, which he intitled, *The Actes of King Henry V.* This book was never printed; but is extant in manuscript in the college of Heralds, and perhaps in some other places [B]. In one particular he differs from the rest of King Henry Vth's historians: For whereas Montrelet says (d), that that Prince died of a St Anthony's fire; others, of a fever and dysentery (e); or of the disease of St Fiacre (f), which is a flux accompanied with the hæmorrhoids; Peter Basset, who was with him at the time of his decease, affirms, that he died of a pleurisy [C]. This author flourished about the year 1430, under the reign of King Henry VI (g).

(a) Hall, Chronicle, or Unyon of the two Families of Lancaster and Yorke, &c. edit. 1550, fol. 82.

(b) Hollinshed's Chronicles, Lond. 1587, fol. p. 662.

(c) Baleus, Scrip-tor. Brytannie, cent. VII, No. 80. Pits, de Illustrib. Angliæ Script. Æt. XV. ann. 1430, n. 795.

(d) Fol. 325, Paris edit.

(r) Camden. Bri-tannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 635.

(2) Dugdale, Bar-on. Vol. 1. p. 378, &c.

(3) Camden, ubi supra, col. 102, 301, 327, 526, 586, 635, 643, 681.

(4) Dugdale, p. 378.

(5) Fol. 82.

(6) Ubi supra.

(e) Walsingham, Hist. Hen. V, Francof. 1602, p. 406.

(f) J. Des Ur-fins, fol. Paris, 1653, p. 394. R. Gaguin, l. ix. f. 207, edit. Paris, 1521, 8vo.

(g) Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

[A] *A gentleman of a good family.* This noble family, which was seated at Draiton Basset in Staffordshire, derived it's descent from one Turstin, Lord of that place in the reign of Henry I. They grew up into a numerous and considerable family (1). For, from this stock at Draiton, were derived the Bassetts of Welleden, Northamptonshire; Wiccomb, Bucks; Sapcott, Leicestershire; Hedendon, Oxfordshire; (which were all Barons of the Realm) (2), besides several other eminent private families, (3) ———— Ralph Basset, and Richard his son, were successively Justiciaries of England, in the reigns of King Henry I. and King Stephen (4).

[B] *But is extant in MS. in the college of Heralds, &c.* Upon the closest examination it appears, that he is originally quoted only by Edw. Hall in his Chronicle (5), and perhaps by J. Bale (6). What hath been

said of him, or quoted out of his writings, either by Mr Thomas Goodwin in his 'History of the reign of Henry the Vth,' or by other Historians within that period, is visibly borrowed from Hall. Dr Nicolson (7) mentions Basset only upon the authority of Pits, who had taken his account from Bale.

[C] *P. Basset ——— affirms that he died of a Pleurisy.* Edw. Hall, from whom we learn this particular, calls it a *Plurifis*; 'whiche (adds he) at that tyme was so rare a sickenes, and so straung a disease, that the name was to the most part of men unknown, and phisicians were acquainted as little with any remedy for the same, and therefore every man judged as he thought, and named a sickenes that he knew, & shooting not near the pricke, nor understanding the nature of the disease (8).'

(7) English Hist. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 82.

(8) Unyon of the two Families, &c. as above, p. 82.

BASTARD (THOMAS), a Clergyman and a Poet, was born at Blandford in Dorsetshire, and educated at Winchester-school; from whence he removed to New-College in Oxford, where he was chosen Perpetual Fellow in the year 1588, and two years after took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But indulging too much his talent for satire, he was expelled the college for a libel; and not long after, being then in Holy Orders, he was made Chaplain to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Treasurer of England, through whose favour and interest he became Vicar of Beer-regis, and Rector of Amour or Hamer, in his native country, having some time before taken the degree of Master of Arts. He was a person of great natural endowments, well skilled in the learned languages, a celebrated poet [A], and, in his later years, an excellent preacher [B]. His conversation was witty and facetious, which made his company courted by all ingenious men. He was thrice married, as appears from one of his epigrams [C]. Towards the latter end of his life, being disordered in his senses, and thereby brought into debt, he was confined in the prison in All-Hallows parish in Dorchester; where dying in a very obscure and mean condition, he was buried in the church-yard belonging to that parish, April the 19th, 1618 (a).

[A] — *A Poet.* Among other poetical performances of our author's, that had been published, Mr Wood tells us (1), he had seen only the following. 1. *Epigrams*, which were greatly admired in that age, and occasioned Sir John Harrington's addressing one or more epigrams to our author. 2. *Magna Britannia*, a Latin poem in three books, dedicated to King James I. London, 1605, in quarto. Besides which, there is in the King's Library, *Jacobo regi I. carmen gratulatorium* (2), i. e. 'A congratulatory poem to King James I.' Under this head we may mention his *Libels*, two of which Mr Wood met with in his collection of Libels or Lampons, written by several Oxford Students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. One of them is intitled *An Admonition to the City of Oxford*; or his Libel intitled *Mar-prelate's Bastardine*; wherein he reflects upon all persons of note in Oxford, who were suspected of criminal conversation with other men's wives, or with common strumpets. The other, made after his expulsion, and in which he disclaims the former, begins thus; *Jenkin, why man? why Jenkin? sie for shame, &c.* But neither of these were printed (3).

[B] — *A Preacher.* Under this character, he

published, I. *Five Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The three first, on Luke i. 76, are called *The Marigold and the Sun*. The two last, on Luke vii. 37, 38, are intitled *The Sinner's Looking-Glass*. II. *Twelve Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The first, on *Ephef. iv. 26*, is intitled *A Christian Exhortation to innocent Anger*. The second, on *Exod. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5*, is intitled *The Calling of Moses, &c* (4).

[C] *He was thrice married, as appears by one of his epigrams.* It is this (5):

Terna mihi variis ducta est ætibus uxor,
Hæc juveni, illa viro, tertia nupta feni.
Prima est propter opus teneris mihi juncta sub annis,
Altera propter opes, tertia propter opem.

The meaning of which (for it is impossible to give the force of it in an English version) is, that he married his first wife, in his youth, for *love*; his second, when he was grown a man, for *money*; and his third, in his old age, for a *nurse*.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 432.

(2) D. Casley's Catal. p. 197.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 431, 432.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(a) Leland *Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 351* calls him *Bassidunus*.

(b) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. IV n. 92. and Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1310. n. 452.

(c) Hector. B. Eth. Hist. Scot. l. xiv. & Joan. Major. Chronic. l. v. c. iii.

BASTON (a) (ROBERT), a Poet of some note in the XIVth century, and author of several works [A], was descended of a noble family, and born in Yorkshire, not far from Nottingham. In his youth he became a Carmelite Monk, and afterwards Prior of the convent of that order at Scarborough. He was likewise Poet Laureat, and Publick Orator, at Oxford (b). King Edward I, in his expedition into Scotland in 1304, took Robert Baston with him, in order to celebrate his victories over the Scots; but our Poet, being taken prisoner by the enemy, was obliged by torments to change his note, and sing the successes of Robert Bruce [B], who then claimed the crown of Scotland (c). Our author's poetry was somewhat barbarous, but not contemptible for the age in which he lived. He died about 1310, and was buried at Nottingham, being succeeded in his monastery by his brother Philip (d).

(d) Bale and Pits, ubi supra.

[A] *Author of several works.* Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *De Striviliensi obsidione*, i. e. 'Of the Siege of Striveling;' a poem in one book. II. *De altero Scotorum bello*, i. e. 'Of the second Scottish war,' in one book. III. *De Scotticæ guerris variis*, i. e. 'Of the several wars of Scotland,' in one book. IV. *De variis mundi statibus*, i. e. 'Of the various states of the world,' in one book. V. *De sacerdotum luxuriis*, i. e. 'Of the luxury of the priests,' in one book. VI. *Contra Artistas*, i. e. 'Against the Artists,' in one book. VII. *De Divite et Lazaro*, i. e. 'Of the rich man and Lazarus,' in one book.

VIII. *Epistolæ ad diversos*, i. e. 'Letters to several persons,' in one book. IX. *Sermones Synodales*, i. e. 'Synodical Sermons,' in one book. X. A Book of Poems; and XI. A volume of Tragedies and Comedies in English.

[B] *He was obliged to sing the successes of Robert Bruce.* This task he undertook fore against his will, as he intimates in the two first lines:

In dreery verse my rhymes I make,
Bewailing whilst such theme I take (1).

(1) Winstanley's *Lives of the most famous English Poets*, Lond.

T 1687, 8vo, p. 15.

BASTWICK (JOHN) a man more remarkable for the great noise he made, in the last century, than for any singular merit of his own, was born at Writtle in Essex (a), in the year 1593 [A]. He was entered in Emmanuel-college, Cambridge, the nineteenth of May 1614, where he continued but a little while (b). Leaving the university without a degree, he travelled beyond sea for the space of nine years (c), where he spent his time between the schools and the camp (d), and was made Doctor of Physick at Padua (e). Upon his return to England, he settled at Colchester, where he practised Physick for some time (f). But not satisfied with his profession, and being a man of strong zeal, with a warm imagination, and commanding a pure and fluent Latin style (g), he applied himself to write books, especially against Popery. About the year 1633, he printed in Holland (h) a treatise called *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*, with *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, 'A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the Latin Bishops (i);' which he industriously dispersed in London, and throughout the kingdom (k). It was in effect an answer to one Short a Papist, who maintained the Pope's Supremacy, the Mass, and Papal Religion [B]: And Bastwick, in his epistle to the reader, declared, that he intended nothing against such Bishops, as acknowledged their authority from Kings and Emperors (l). But it seems, as Mr Fuller observes, he confined not his character so to the Latian Bishops beyond the Alpes, but that our English Prelates counted themselves touched therein (m). The author therefore being questioned for this book in the High-Commission-Court, in 1633 (n), was, on the twelfth of February, fined a thousand pounds, sentenced to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of Physick, his books to be burnt, to pay costs of suit, and to remain in prison till he made a recantation [C]. In pursuance of this sentence, he was committed two years to the Gate-House (o), where his violent temper would not permit him to be quiet. For he writ during his confinement there, *Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos, &c.* 'An Apology for himself, addressed to the Bishops (p),' and another book called

(h) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(i) Whitelock, ubi supra.

(m) Fuller, ubi supra, Book xi. p. 152.

(n) Whitelock, ubi supra. See Bastwick's *Dedication to his Flagellum, &c.* Lond. 1641, p. 6. and his *Petition*, ubi supra.

(o) Fuller, ubi supra.

(p) Printed at London, 1636, 8vo. See his *Dedication to his Flagellum, &c.* Lond. 1641, 12mo, p. 6.

[A] *Was born — in the year 1593.* This appears from the date on his picture, prefixed to his *Flagellum pontificis & episcoporum latialium* (1): For there it is said, that he was forty-seven years old in 1640, and consequently must have been born in 1593.

[B] *He printed in Holland a Treatise called Elenchus, &c.* It was first printed in Holland, in 1633, and reprinted at London in 1641, 12mo, under the title of *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium, autem & multis argumentis locupletatum*, with three Letters at the end: 1. To a Protestant who had embraced Popery. 2. Concerning the absurdity of the Popish Religion, to one Mr St John: And the 3d, to prove that the Church of Rome is not a true Church, directed to one Coleman. In the beginning, there is a Letter of thanks to the King, the Parliament, and the people of England; in which he bitterly inveighs against his persecutor Archbishop Laud. The book is written in good Latin, and, to an unprejudiced reader, there doth not appear any thing in it that could deserve so severe a censure as was inflicted on the author; except it is his maintaining a parity or equality between Bishops and Presbyters (2), which was by some persons reckoned a most heinous crime in those days. The contents of

the book are, An Answer to these Questions: 1. Whether Christ constituted Peter monarch, or supreme head, of the Catholic Church: Nay, whether Peter was ever Bishop of Rome? 2. Whether the Pope (if he is Bishop) as Bishop of Rome, has authority and jurisdiction over his fellow-christians, and the flock of God, or no? 3. Whether the Popish Bishops are true Bishops? The first he thinks is sufficiently overthrown by these passages of Scripture, Matth. xx. 25, 26. Mark x. 43, 44. Luke xxii. 25, 26. To the second he opposes Acts xx. 28. Titus i. 5. Philip. i. 1. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, &c. from all which he infers, that Bishops and Presbyters were originally the same. In answer to the third he affirms, that the Popish Bishops not performing the functions of a Bishop, as laid down by St Paul, (to Timothy and Titus) are not true Bishops.

[C] *The author — was fined, &c.* All the Bishops present at this censure, as Whitelock observes (3), denied openly that they held their jurisdiction, as Bishops, from the King; but they affirmed, that they had their jurisdiction from God only. For which, as that author further observes, they might perhaps have been censured themselves in the times of Henry II. Edw. III. or Henry VIII.

(3) Memorials, p. 22.

[D] *The*

(a) Church Hist. of Great Britain, by T. Fuller, Book xi. p. 151.

(b) As appears by the college books.

(c) Fuller, ubi supra.

(d) Lord Clarendon's History, edit. Oxford, 1732, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 199.

(e) Fuller, ubi supra.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Clarendon & Fuller, ubi supra.

(h) Clarendon, ib.

(i) Whitelock's Memorials, Lond. 1732, p. 22. and Bastwick's *Petition in Rushworth's Histor. Coll. Vol. IV.* p. 79, 80.

(1) Second edit. Lond. 1641. 12mo.

(2) Page 58, &c. 75, &c.

called the *Letany* (g), wherein he grosly reflected upon the Bishops, taxed them with an inclination to Popery, and exclaimed against the severity and injustice of the High-Commission's proceedings against him (r). The persons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper, to let such reflections and invectives go unpunished [D]. Accordingly, on the 11th of March, 1637, an information was exhibited against him (and Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Barrister at Law) in the Star-Chamber, by the Attorney-General, 'For writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books, against the Hierarchy of the Church (s).' They being thereupon served with sub-pœna's returnable immediately, refused to appear, unless they had liberty of access to Counsel; which being granted them, they prepared their answers; but Dr Bastwick's Counsel, for fear of offending the court, refused to sign his answer, which he had drawn up himself; alledging it was of such a nature, that they could not well set their hands to it (t). And indeed, according to Mr Whitelocke (u), it contained something very abusive, to this effect: 'The Prelates are invaders of the King's prerogative royal, contemnners and despisers of the holy scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and prophaneness: Also they abuse the King's authority, to the oppression of his loyallest subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice; and in execution of those impious performances, they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil, being enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which he is ready to maintain.' — And none of his friends could prevail with him to expunge this, and other the like passages. Upon the Counsel's refusing to sign the answers, Bastwick, and the rest of the defendants, petitioned the court, that, according to antient precedents, they might put in their answers signed with their own hands; and declared, they would abide by the censure of the court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refused by the court; which ordered them to put in their answers by the Monday following under Counsel's hand, or else they should be taken *pro confesso*. Bastwick, thereupon tendered his answer under his own hand at the Star-Chamber-Office, and there left it. On the 14th of June, the day wherein sentence was passed on them, they first presented to the court a cross-bill against the Bishops, which was not admitted (w). Next, they were told, That they had not put in their effectual answer into the court, though they had sufficient notice and competent time. And the Lord-Keeper Coventry informed them, of a precedent, wherein, for such a neglect, the court had, after *six days* notice, taken a cause *pro confesso*, [as if the parties had confessed] whereas they had had *six weeks* allowed them; and therefore the court desired them to shew cause, why sentence should not pass upon them immediately (x). Dr Bastwick, in particular, being asked, why he did not bring his answer in due time? laid the blame on the cowardice of his Counsel, that durst not sign it, for fear of the Prelates; and then tendered an answer upon oath under his own hand: But the Lord-Keeper told him, they had no need of his answer. Whereupon Bastwick said, My Lord, I most humbly beseech your Honours to accept of it; for it is pretended that it is taken *pro confesso*, as if we had failed on our parts, either out of contempt to the order, or negligence, both which on my part I am free from; and if your Honours shall refuse it, then I protest before men and angels this day, that I will put this answer of mine in Roman buff (*), and send it through the whole Christian world, that all men may see my innocency, and your illegal proceedings, and this I will do if I die for it; and then casting it into the court, my Lord-Keeper said, 'Dr Bastwick, it seems we must have your answer.' After that, Bastwick taking notice of the punishment, which he understood was designed for him and his fellow-sufferers, added — I shall presume to say unto your Honours, as Paul spake unto the Centurion, when they went about to whip him, What, saith he, will you whip a Roman? So, my good Lords, let me say unto your Honours, What, will you cut off a true and loyal subject's ears for doing his duty to his King and country? Will you cut off a scholar's ears? Will you cut off a Doctor of Physick's ears, able to cure Lords, Peers, Kings, and Emperors? Will you cut off a Christian's ears? Will you make curs of Christians, my Lords? Will you cut off a catholick, apostolick, a Roman's ears? Men, brethren, and fathers, what an age do we live in, that we must thus be exposed unto the merciless fury of every malignant spirit (y). In the end, he, and Burton, and Prynne were censured, as scandalous, seditious, and infamous persons (z); and condemned in a fine of five thousand pounds each; to stand in the pillory in the Palace-yard at Westmister, and there to lose their ears; and to perpetual imprisonment (a) in three remote places of the kingdom [E]. According

(g) See Collier's *Historic. Collect.* Vol. II. p. 771.

(r) *Ibid.* & Fuller, *ubi supra*.

(s) Rushworth's *Historic. Collect.* Part II. Vol. I. p. 380, edit. Lond. 1680. See also *State Trials*, and *New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*. Lond. 1641, 4to. p. 17, 27, &c.

(t) *Ibid.*

(u) *Memorials*, *ubi supra*, p. 26. See *Nelson's Collect.* Vol. I. p. 499, 500, 501, &c.

(w) *New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, &c. as above, p. 27, and *Passages in the Star-Chamber*, p. 20.

(x) Fuller, *ubi supra*; and *New Discovery*, &c. as above, p. 40. and *Relation of certain Passages in the Star-Chamber*, p. 12, &c.

(*) *i. e.* In *Latia*.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 24. Fuller, *ubi supra*.

(z) *Lord Clarendon*, *ubi supra* p. 200.

(a) *Bastwick Censure*, &c. p. 32. *Clarendon*, *ibid.* & *Rushworth*, *ubi supra*, p. 32

TO

[D] *The persons then in power were of too impatient a temper, &c.* It appears from Rushworth (4), that June 6, 1636, all the Judges, and the King's counsel, met at Serjeant's-Inn to consider, whether there were not divers passages in Bastwick's and Burton's books that amounted to high-treason? But the Judges agreeing, that no indictment would be found good for treason, unless it was grounded upon the statute 25 Edw. III. 'Tis probable that nothing could be found in their books that amounted to high-treason, according to that statute.

(4) *Historic. Collect.* Part II. Vol. I. p. 324.

[E] *In the end, Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne were censured, &c.* At the passing of this censure, Archbishop Laud made a speech, which was afterwards printed by the King's order. In the dedication to the King (5) he says, 'I must humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that 'tis not wee only, that is, the Bishops, that are stricken at, but through our sides, your Majesty, your honor, your safety, your religion, is impeached. — And again (6) — both myselfe and my brethren have been very courselly used by the tongues and pennees of these men, yet shall I never

(5) *Page 3.*

(6) *Page 9.*

' never

to this rigorous sentence, the three unhappy persons were set in pillories in Palace-yard, Westminster, on the 30th of June. Bastwick made there a very odd speech [F]. Soon after, he was sent prisoner to Launceston-castle in Cornwall; as Prynne was to Caernarvon, and Burton to Lancaster-castle (b). But they finding means to hold a correspondence together, and to have some of their virulent books dispersed in London (c), the court thought fit to remove them at a greater distance from that city. Accordingly Bastwick was sent to St Mary's castle in Scilly island (d), Prynne to Jersey, and Burton to Guernesey (e), whence they were not allowed to keep correspondence with any one (f). And the wives of Bastwick and Burton were not permitted, after many petitions, to have access unto them, nor to set foot in the islands, where they were confined (g). As the punishment of these men was exorbitant, and disproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath ever since, been looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced persons with horror and detestation [G]. Their imprisonment was of no long continuance; for, upon the meeting of the Parliament in 1640, a petition was presented by their wives and friends November 7, to the House of Commons (h), wherein they requested, 'That the justice and rigour of their sentence might be reviewed and considered; and their persons brought from those remote and desolate places they were confined in, to London, that so they might be able to facilitate or attend their own business.' Whereupon the House ordered, That they should be removed from the foreign prisons they were in, to the places to which they were regularly first committed [H]. And for that purpose, warrants were signed by the Speaker to the Governors and Captains of the several castles, to bring them in safe custody to London; which were sent with all possible expedition (i). Bastwick landing at Dover, on the 4th of December, had his charges borne all the way to London; was loaded with presents, and received every where by vast numbers of people, with wonderful acclamations of joy; particularly, before he came to Southwark, he was met by great crowds of Londoners, with boughs and flowers in their hands [I], and conducted by them to his lodging in the city (k). The 21st of February following, the House of Commons declared, That the several proceedings against him were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject: That the sentence passed upon him be reversed, his fine remitted, and he restored to his profession [K]; and that, for reparation of his losses, he ought to have 5000 £. out of the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the High-

July.

(b) Ibid. & Whitlocke, ubi supra.

(c) Clarendon, ubi supra.

(d) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 436. The order was made in August 1637.

(e) Rushworth, ubi supra. Dr Bastwick landed in Scilly, Oct. 16, 1637. *New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, &c. Part II.(f) Bastwick's Dedication, before his *Flagellum*, as above, p. 8. and Rushworth's *Histor. Coll. Part III. Vol. I. or Vol. IV. p. 20 and 80.*

(g) Rushworth, ibid.

(h) Rushworth's *Collect. Vol. IV. p. 20.* *Nelson's Collect. Vol. I. p. 779, 780.*(i) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 202. *New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, &c. p. 135.(k) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 202. *Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament*, &c. Lond. 1641, p. 41. 42. *Rushworth's Historic. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 193, 203.*

'never give your Majesty any sower counsell; I shall rather magnifie your clemencie, that proceeded with these offenders in a court of mercie as well as justice: Since (as the reverend Judges then declared) you might have justly called the offenders into another court, and put them to it in a way that might have exacted their lives, for their stirring (as much as in them lay) of mutinie and sedition.' And in the speech itself (7) — 'This I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *jure divino*, by divine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling. — But this takes nothing from the King's right or power over us: For though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise that power, either of order or jurisdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is — by and under the power of the King. — No man can libell against our calling (as those men doe), bee it pulpit, print, or otherwise, but hee libels against the King and the State, by whose lawes wee are established (8).'

(7) Page 6.

(8) Page 9.

[F] *Bastwick made there a very odd speech.* It was to this effect: 'There are many that are this day spectators of our standing here as delinquents, yet am I not confcious to myself wherein I have committed the least trespassse to take this outward shame, either against my God or my King. — The first occasion of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book against the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury said I wrote against him, and therefore questioned me: But if the prestes were as open to us, as formerly they have been, we would shatter his kingdom about his ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our sufferings; let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalf (let the Prelates take notice of it), and they have sent up strong prayers to Heaven for us; we feel the strength and benefit of them at this time. — In a word, so far am I from 'bafefear, or caring for any thing they can do, or cast upon me, that had I as much blood as would swell the Thames, I would shed it every drop in this cause. — As I said before, so I say again, had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them all up for this cause (9).'

(9) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 155, and *New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, p. 34, 35, Part II.[G] *The punishment of these men — hath ever*

since been looked upon — with horror, &c.] My Lord Clarendon observes (10), 'That they were men of the three several professions which had the most influence upon the people, tho' none of them of interest or any esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, having been formerly all looked upon under characters of reproach; yet when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons; men begun no more to consider their manners but the men; and each profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.'

[H] *To the places to which they were regularly first committed.* It seems their first sentence was, that they should be committed to some prisons in London; but they were afterwards removed thence by an order of the Privy-Council, which was now looked upon as a violation of the sentence; and therefore that order was reversed without any scruple (11).

[I] *He was met by great crowds of Londoners, &c.* This could not be looked upon by impartial persons, but as a very great affront to, and bold insult upon legal authority: But, as Mr Hobbs judiciously observes (12), the parliament's design, in sending for those men to London, was, to try 'how the people would be pleased therewith, and, by consequence, how their endeavours to draw the people's affections from the King had already prospered. — So, by the people's flocking together to behold those men, and receiving them with such acclamations, and almost adoration, as if they had been let down from Heaven, the parliament was now sufficiently assured of a great and tumultuous party, whensoever they should have occasion to use it.'

[K] *And he restored to his profession.* June 11, 1641, it was ordered that Dr Bastwick be restored to his place in the College of Physicians, and to the liberty of his practice as formerly (13). The former part of which order shews the mistake of Lord Clarendon, when he says (14), that he was 'unknown to either University, or the College of Physicians.'

(10) *History, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 94.*(11) See Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 201. and Rushworth, *Histor. Collect. Part III. or Vol. IV. p. 193.*(12) *Hist. of the Civil Wars of England, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 87.*(13) Rushworth, *Histor. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 285.*(14) *Vol. I. p. 199.*[L] *Where*

High-Commissioners, and those Lords who had voted against him in the Star-Chamber. But the ensuing confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money (l) However, to make him some amends, we find that in 1644, his wife had an allowance ordered for her own, and her husband's maintenance (m): And October, 24, 1648, there was a debate in the House of Commons about Ordinances for him to have reparation for the illegal sentence against him, in the Star-Chamber (n). What became of him, or how long he lived after that time, is not known; only 'tis very probable that he died in St Botolph's parish Colchester, where a niece of his was living within the memory of man [L].

(l) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 385. edit. Lond. 1733.
(m) Whitelock, ubi supra, p. 107.
(n) Id. p. 345.

[L] Where a niece of his was living, &c.] Besides the books abovementioned, Dr Bastwick published, I. *Independency not God's Ordinance*; to which H. Burton wrote an answer under this title; 'Vindiciæ Veritatis: Truth vindicated against Calumny. In a brief Answer to Dr Bastwick's two late books, intituled *Inde-*

pendency not God's Ordinance, Lond. 1645, 4to. (15).
II. *The utter routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the total overthrow of their Monarchy*. III. *Defence of himself against Lilburn*.
C

BATE (GEORGE), an eminent Physician of the last century, was son of Mr John Bate of Burton or Bourton in Buckinghamshire, and was born at Maid's-Morton near Buckingham in the year 1608. At fourteen years of age, he became one of the Clerks of New-college in Oxford; from whence he removed to Queen's-college for a time, and from thence to St Edmund's-hall. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, he proceeded on the Physic line, and commenced Bachelor in that faculty in the year 1629; about which time, having obtained a licence, he practised in and about Oxford for some years, but chiefly among the Puritans, who at that time considered him as one of their party. In 1637, he took the degree of Doctor of Physic, and became more eminent in his profession, especially while King Charles I, to whom he was Principal-Physician, kept his court several years at Oxford, in the time of the rebellion. When the King's affairs began to decline, Dr Bate left Oxford, and settled in London; where, complying with the times for the sake of interest, he became Physician to the Charter-house, and Fellow of the College; and afterwards Principal-Physician to Oliver Cromwell; nor did he stick (tho' he pretended to be a concealed Royalist) to flatter the Protector in the highest degree. At the Restoration, he ingratiated himself with the Royal party, by means of a report industriously spread by his friends, that he had secretly, by a dose, hastened the death of the Usurper; whereupon he was made Principal-Physician to King Charles II, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Dr Bate wrote in Latin, *An Account of the late Commotions in England, together with a short Narrative of the Regal and Parliamentary Privileges* [A], and

[A] *An Account of the late Commotions in England, &c.*] The Latin title is: *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia, simul ac Jwis Regii et Parlamentarii brevis narratio*. It was printed at Paris in 1649, and at Francfort upon the Maine in 1650, in quarto. Before it went to the press, it was communicated to Dr Peter Heylyn, who made several observations on it greatly tending to the honour of the King and the Church. The first part of the *Elenchus* was translated into English by an unknown hand, and printed at London in 1652, in octavo. The second part, in which the author had the assistance of some papers communicated to him by the Lord Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was printed in Latin at London in 1661, at Amsterdam the year following in octavo, and reprinted with the first part at London in 1663, in octavo (1). A Learned Writer, having condemned George Hornius, Honorius Reggus, an anonymous Scotchman (2), and Salmonetus Scoto-Britannus (3), who have written very erroneously of our English affairs, assures us, Dr Bate is the only author, who has written in Latin concerning the late transactions, that deserves to be read, tho' he is accused by an anonymous writer of leaning too much to the side of Puritanism. *Eorum omnium, qui hactenus de rebus apud nos nuper gestis scripserunt Latino idiomate, unus Bateus dignus est qui legatur; quamquam etiam ab anonymo scriptore propensum nimium in Puritanos animi nuper est accusatus* (4). There was published at London, in 1676, a third part of *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum, &c.* written in Latin by Thomas Skinner, Doctor of Physic, and published with the two former parts. But this part would have been much better performed, if Dr Bate had lived one year longer. In 1685 came out a Translation into English of all the three parts by one A. Lovel, A. M. of Cambridge. The two parts published by Dr Bate having given offence, not only to the Papists, but to the Cavaliers likewise, on account of their favouring the Puritans; one Robert Pugh, who had been an Officer in the King's army, wrote an answer to them, intituled *Elenchus Elenchi*, printed at Paris in 1664, in octavo. Dr Bate replied thereto; but his answer was

never published (5). The first part of Dr Bate's *Elenchus* is dedicated to King Charles II. In the Preface, the author gives us a Plan of his design. He tells us, 'He has touched upon such particulars as may serve to settle the just boundaries between the Rights of the King, the Parliament, and the People; that he has briefly related the Causes, Progress, and Conclusion of our Civil Dissensions; that he has purposely omitted dwelling upon military affairs, chiefly to avoid prolixity; and that the facts he relates were not taken from the report of others, but from his own knowledge and experience, confirmed by Records, Parliament Rolls, and the authorities of the most eminent Lawyers; all which he had an opportunity of consulting in person.' He observes, that 'towards the end of this Tragedy, he was fired with indignation at the villainies he related, and his pen grew warm; but that he strictly confined himself within the bounds of truth, and even treated those horrid crimes and their actors in a milder style than they deserved.' *Sub hujus Tragædiæ finem, rerum atrocitate motus concepit flammam animus, et incaluit calamus; sed intra veritatis metas religiose se continuit, et scelera autoreseque mitiore stylo quam par erat perstrinxit* (6). At the end of the first part (7), the Doctor tells us, the Manuscript, before it went to the press, was revised by the Bishop of Winchester, Nicolas Oudart, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, Sir John Wederburn, Dr Richard Owen, Dr George Ente, and Fabian Phillips the Lawyer; the last of whom assisted him in searching Records, &c. The second part is dedicated to King Charles II, and Edward Earl of Clarendon. The author tells us, it contains an account of King Charles II's wonderful escape after the murder of his father, and a distinct account of the affairs, both civil and military, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And he promises a third part, if his health should permit. Dr Skinner (as has been observed) executed this design. His performance is intituled *Elenchus, &c. Pars Tertia; sive Motus Compositi. Ubi illustrissimi G. Monchii Albemarlæ Ducis à Scotia Progressus; nec non Augustissimi Caroli 2di in Angliam Reditus, ejusdemque regie majestatis*

(5) Wood, ubi supra.

(6) *Elench. Motuum nuperorum, &c.* edit. Lond. 1676. Ad Lectorem.

(7) In Epilogo.

(1) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425.

(2) Qui scripsit Historiam Motuum nuperorum in Scotia.

(3) Qui Gallicè scripsit de Rebus Anglicis.

(4) Joh. Durel. S. Ecol. Angl. *Vindiciæ*, Lond. 1669. c. 28. p. 332.

and some other pieces [B]. He died at his house in Hatton-Garden, April the 19th, 1669, and was buried at Kingston upon Thames in Surrey, near his wife Elizabeth, who died April the 17th, 1667 (a).

There was another GEORGE BATE, who wrote the *Lives, Actions, and Execution of the prime Actors, and principal Contrivers of that horrid Murder of our late, pious, and sacred Sovereign King Charles I.* London, 1661, 8vo (b).

tis per decennium gesta fideliter enarrantur. It is dedicated to Sir Joseph Williamson, Privy-Counsellor, and Secretary of State to King Charles II. I cannot forbear giving the learned reader a specimen of Dr Bate's Latin style, which I chuse to do in his character of King Charles I. (8). *Nec sane facile mihi est non hic immittere rudentes, non velle pandere, totoque ingenio vobis per virtutum ipsius Oceanum; quoniam hanc mihi licentiam compendii, cui jam incumbitur, ratio interdicit. Paucis itaque isdemque perobscuris radiis hunc solem ostendam. Princeps sane erat inter optimos omnis retro ævi numerandus; magna ingenii vi, majoribus morum dotibus; omnium suffragiis (vel inimicissimorum) dignus imperio, si non imperasset. Qui omnium confessione illud magnum præstitit, quod idem ubique fuerit, quod eundem virtutis et morum tenorem, eundem vultum tenere, in diversissimis, quas expertus est, fortunis nosset; quasi è torrida in frigidam transmigraret Zonam, nil ad quicquam mutato peccoris temperamento. Qui vel invidiis placuit, et quasi incantamento quodam multorum odia leniit, hostes in amicitiam conciliavit, convitia in laudes convertit. Qui tanta prudentia, tot heroicis plane virtutibus præpolluit, ut clarior per opprobria et calumnias emicuerit. Quem mentis inopem finxerant hostes, experti sunt, non politici modo, sed et Theologici selectissimis parem, si non et superiorem: Quem timidum et ad omnia facilem, fluxæ fidei et muliebris inconstantia, infamarunt, eundem in præliis milite promptiorem, minis, probris, periculis interritum, carcere et morte senserunt inconcussum: Quem Pontificum affirmarunt, Reformatam Apostolicam Religionem scriptis viderunt nervosè confirmantem, nec fuso tantum atramento, sed et sanguine vindicantem. Qui eum ut sanguinarium et sævum prosiderant, ad eam calumniandi licentiam solâ regis clementiâ perducti processerunt, ad quam facilem nimis receptum sibi promiserant Rebelles; donec ultra veniæ metas aspirante fortuna evecti, mallent tantæ clementiæ Principi veniam negare, quam eandem ab eo jam exarmato petere. Cui si revera quid objici potest, ne illud fuerit non eximii principis vitium aliquod, sed corruptissimi sæculi et alieni temporis intempestiva quedam et noxia virtus; nimia scilicet apud sævos lenitas, apud præva ingenia candor, rigidumque Honestum vix regibus concessum; ac verecundia suis diffisa viribus; animusque tantopere à fastu alienus, ut minus sibi tribuerit in optimis consultis, quam aliis in minus bonis, quasi inimicorum de se convitiis crederet. Magnum vivendi, majus moriendi exemplum: quem, eadem qua virtus ipsa forte, indignis modis habitum,*

incolorem odimus
Sublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi.

[B] He wrote some other pieces. I. *The Royal Apology; or, The Declaration of the Commons in Parliament*, Feb. 11, 1647. Printed in 1648, in quarto. II. *De Rachitide, sive morbo puerili, qui vulgo the Rickets dicitur.* Lond. 1650, in octavo. Mr Wood tells us (9), the Doctor was assisted in this work by Francis Glisson, and Ahasuerus Regemorter, Doctors of Physic, and Fellows of the College of Physicians; and that it was afterwards translated into English by Philip Armin, and printed at London 1651, in octavo; and about the same time translated by Nicolas Culpepper, who styles himself *Student in Physic and Astrology*, and who was author of several books and Alma-

nacks. III. After Dr Bate's death came out a *Dispensatory* in Latin, intitled *Pharmacopœia Bateana; in qua octoginta circiter pharmaca pleraque omnia è Praxi Georgii Batei Regi Carolo 2do Proto-medici excerpta.* Lond. 1688 and 1691. It was published by Mr James Shipton, Apothecary, and translated into English by Dr William Salmon, under the title of *Bate's Dispensatory.* We have the following account of this Book in the *Philosophical Transactions* (10). 'The translator of this work, in his Preface, gives first an account of the Original, that it is a collection of most excellent *Recipe's* made by Mr James Shipton, who was the preparer and maker-up of the greatest part of them, tho' their author was the famous Dr Bate, whom to name is sufficient, by whose knowledge and experience this work was produced. The first edition was so well received by the Learned, that they were soon presented with a second, with an addition of not only above 100 more of Dr Bate's *Recipe's*, but also of the *Arcana Goddardiana* from the author's own MS. which much advanced the value of the book, so that at least 6000 of this Latin edition were sold; which was digested into an alphabetical method, with the *Arcana Goddardiana* at the end thereof, which were only nominal without their preparations; whereas in this English Edition they are at large, and interspersed in their proper places: The method of the book is likewise altered classically, according to the method and order of the chapters of the *London Dispensatory.* The work in the Latin being thus approved of by the Learned, and especially Physicians, induced our author to publish this English edition, as he says, for it's more general use and entertainment; adding some preparations never before printed, as *Goddard's Drops, Russel's Powder, Emplastrum Febrifugium*, with near 50 more valuable *Recipe's* out of the *Collectanea Chymica*, and other authors, of which he gives a catalogue both of the antient and modern which he has consulted in this undertaking; which is not a bare translation, a Comment being added upon each particular, especially upon all the Chymical Processes, which he has searched out from their original fountains, and explicated the Process itself, adding as a Supplement a *Rationale* upon the same; and having examined the prescripts of other authors, he shews wherein they chiefly differ from these, and gives their processes at large, if new. — He obviates some objections against the publishing this work in English, and discovering the secrets of the Art to the Vulgar, which he hopes he has made some amends for, by divulging several secrets not generally known even by the Learned; amongst which is the *Prince's Powder*, once accounted a great secret, and sold for above five pounds a dose; the preparation whereof is *Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 80. Pag. 526.* which happens to be omitted in the Table; and, as a general answer, adds, that all particular interests should be sacrificed to the common good, which ought to be preferred before any private one, how dear and valuable soever: And justifies himself in this by the examples of Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelsus, Celsus, and others, who all published a system of Physic in their own languages; as likewise from the present usage of the French, who now treat of all subjects in their own tongue; and, as he conceives, they are not to be imitated only in their vices.' T

BATE, in Latin BATUS (JOHN), Prior of the monastery of Carmelites at York, in the fifteenth century, was born in Northumberland, and educated at York in the study of the Liberal Arts; in which he was greatly encouraged by the favour of some persons his patrons, who were at the expence of sending him to Oxford, to finish his studies in that university. Bate abundantly answered the hopes conceived of him, and became an eminent Philosopher and Divine, and particularly remarkable for his skill in the Greek tongue. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, and afterwards distinguished himself as an author [A]. The Carmelites of York were so sensible of his merit, that, upon a vacancy

[A] He distinguished himself as an author. His works, as enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits, consist of the following Treatises. I. *On the Construction of the Parts of Speech.* II. *On Porphyry's Universalia.*

(a) Wood, *Acb. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425, 426.

(b) *Ibid.*

(8) *Vide Elerch. p. 121, 122.*

(10) Vol. XVII. for the year 1693. N. 206.

vacancy, they offered him the government of their house; which he accepted, and discharged that office with great prudence and success (a). He died the 26th of January 1429, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI (b). Bale, who cannot refuse him the character of a learned man, pretends he adulterated the word of God with false doctrines, to support the blasphemies of Antichrist, and defiled his own writings with the filth of Paganism (c).

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 705.

(b) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. c. 79.

(c) Ibid.

lia. III. On Aristotle's Prædicaments. IV. On Porretanus's Six Principles. V. Questions concerning the Soul. VI. Of the Assumption of the Virgin. VII. An Introduction to the Sentences. VIII. The Praise of Divinity. IX. A Compendium of Logic. X. An Address

to the Clergy of Oxford. XI. Synodical Conferences. XII. Determinations on several questions. XIII. A Course of Sermons for the whole year. XIV. A Preface to the Bible. T

BATECUMBE or **BADECOMBE** (WILLIAM), an eminent Mathematician (a), is supposed by Pits (b) to have flourished about the year 1420, in the reign of Henry V. He studied at Oxford (c), where he applied himself to Natural Philosophy in general, but chiefly to the Mathematicks, in which he made a very great proficiency, as is evident by his writings in that science [A], which introduced him to the acquaintance and intimacy of the greatest men of those times (d). It is not known when he died.

(a) Leland, de Script. Brit. n. 509. et Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. n. 67.

(b) De Illustr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1420, n. 784.

(c) Bale, ibid.

(d) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ibid.

[A] His mathematical writings.] He wrote, I. De Sphæra Concava Fabrica et Usu; i. e. 'Of the Formation and Use of the Concave Sphere.' This treatise Bale saw in the library of Dr Robert Recorde,

a learned Physician. II. De Sphæra Solida; i. e. 'Of the Solid Sphere.' III. De Operatione Astrolabii; i. e. 'Of the Use of the Astrolabe.' IV. Conclusiones Sopiæ; i. e. 'Philosophical Conclusions (1).' T

(1) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi supra.

BATEMAN (WILLIAM) Bishop of Norwich in the fourteenth century, and founder of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, was born at Norwich; being the son of a citizen of good repute in that place (a). He was, from his tenderest years of a docile and ingenious disposition (b). Having therefore made a good proficiency in learning, wherein he surpassed all his equals (c), he was sent to the university of Cambridge (d). And after having gone through the usual circle of the sciences, he applied himself to the study of the Civil Law, in which he took the degree of Doctor, before he was thirty years of age, a thing then uncommon (e). On the 8th of December 1328, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Norwich (f). Soon after which, he went and studied at Rome, for his further improvement; and so distinguished himself by his knowledge [A] and exemplary behaviour, that he was promoted by the Pope to the place of Auditor of his Palace. He was likewise advanced by him to the Deanery of Lincoln (g); and so great an opinion had he of his prudence and capacity, that he sent him twice as his Nuncio, to endeavour to procure a peace between Edward III, King of England, and the King of France (h). Upon the death of Antony de Beck, Bishop of Norwich, the Pope did, by his usurped provisional authority, confer that bishopric upon our William Bateman, on the 23d of January 1343, and consecrated him with his own hands. He was confirmed the 23d of June 1344 (i). Being invested with that great dignity, he returned into his native country after many years absence; and lived in a regular, and withal in a generous and hospitable manner (k). Of Pope Clement VI he obtained for himself and successors, the first-fruits of all vacant livings within his diocese; which occasioned frequent disputes between himself and his clergy (l). In the year 1347 (m), he founded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, for the study of the Civil and Canon Laws [B]; and another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary [C], for the study of Philosophy and Divinity (n). Being a person

(a) His father's name was William, and his mother's Margaret, Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 803.

(b) De Vitâ & Morte Rev. admodum Willielmi Bateman, &c. in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. vii. p. 1.

(c) Ibid. p. 2.

(d) Godwin, de Præfulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 490.

(e) See Peck, ubi supra.

(f) Le Neve, Fasti Eccles. Anglicanæ, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 217.

(g) Ibid. p. 145. and Peck, ubi supra.

(b) Peck, ubi supra.

(i) Ibid. J. Le Neve, as above, p. 210. Godwin, ubi supra.

(k) Vid. Peck. & Godwin, ubi supra.

(l) Godwin, ubi supra. Anglia Sacra, P. i. edit. Lond. 1691, fol. p. 414.

(m) Camden says; that it was in 1353. Britannia, in Cambridgehire.

(n) Vide Peck, ut supra, p. 3. & Godwin, p. 490. & Anglia Sacra, ubi supra.

[A] And so distinguished himself by his knowledge.] He was reckoned at the court of Rome, the most eminent Lawyer of his time. In tanta vero justitie, equitate, & sententie, soliditate in gradibus illis inflexibilis præpallebat, ut ipsius summi Pontificis, ac totius curie, assentione, utriusque Jurisperitorum flos precipuus diceretur (1).

[B] He founded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, for the study of the Civil and Canon laws.] In the place where he built it, there formerly flourished a society of students, who lived at their own expence. John Crandene, the twenty-second Prior of Ely, purchased that house with his own money, in the reign of King Edward III, and converted it into an hôtel for the reception of the Monks of Ely, coming thither at their leisure to improve in learning (2). To these beginnings, Richard Ling, Chancellor of the university, Archembald Norwich, Simon Rekeghall, and Walter Elveden, Rector of Smitterton in Norfolk, added four tenements. Likewise Robert Stratton, John French, Walter Bakton, Walter Aldeley, and Peter Bittering, gave seven parcels of land and two messuages, one of which was called Drake's entry. All these Bishop Bateman purchased of the aforesaid Prior and Monks of Ely, giving some rectories in exchange for the same, and converted them into a Hall, in the year 1347, twenty-first of Edward III, which he dedicated

(1) Peck's Desiderata, &c. ut supra, p. 2.

(2) Historia Elicensis, in Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 650.

to the Holy Trinity. He endowed it with the rectories of Britton, Kymberley, Brimingham, Woodalling, Cowling, and Stalling in the diocese of Norwich: And designed that it should consist of a Master, twenty-Fellows, and three Scholars; to study the Canon and Civil law, with an allowance for one Divine. But being prevented by death, he left provision only for a master, three fellows, and as many scholars. However, by the munificence of several worthy persons, it now maintains a master, eighteen fellows, and fourteen scholars. The chief benefactors thereto, have been Simon Dalling the third master, who gave two fellowships, and one scholarship; Walter Huke, the eighth master, who gave one fellowship; Robert Goodknape, once a fellow there, gave one fellowship; Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich, three fellowships and two scholarships; Laurence Maptid, fellow of the same, one fellowship; Gabriel Dun, Canon of St Paul's cathedral, London, one scholarship; Henry Harvey, the twelfth master, one scholarship; Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, one scholarship, &c. (3)

[C] And another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.] This is what the writer of his life, published by Fr. Peck (4), affirms, in the following words. — Duae aulas collegiatis in universitate Cantabrigiensi, propriis sumptibus honorifice construxit; unam, quam intitulavit S. Trinitatis, de studentibus

(3) J. Cæsi, Hist. Cantebreg. Academiæ, Lond. 1574, 4to, p. 62, 63. and A View of Cambridge, by Rieu Parker, 3vo, Lond. 1721, p. 65, &c.

(4) In his Desiderata Curiosa, ut supra.

(e) Peck, ubi supra. H. de Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, apud Scriptores X. edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2607. Tho. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. &c. edit. 1603, p. 170.

(f) Peck, ut supra.

(g) Peck, ubi supra.

(r) Ibid.

a person of great wisdom, eloquent, and of a fine address; he was often employed by the King and Parliament in affairs of the highest importance; and particularly was at the head of several embassies, sent on purpose to determine the great differences between the crowns of England and France. In 1354, he was, by order of Parliament, dispatched to the court of Rome, with Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and others; to treat (in the Pope's presence) of a peace, then in agitation between the two crowns above-mentioned (o). This journey proved fatal to him; for he died at Avignon, where the Pope then resided, on the 6th of January 1354-5, and was buried with great solemnity [D], in the cathedral church of that city (p). With regard to his person, we are told that he was of an agreeable countenance; and tall, handsome, and well made. He was, likewise, a man of strict justice and piety, punctual in the discharge of his duty, and of a friendly and compassionate disposition (q). But he was a stout defender of his rights, and would not suffer himself to be injured, or imposed upon, by any one (r) [E]. He gave a chest with a hundred pounds to Trinity-Hall, to be lent to poor scholars (s).

(s) Anglia Sacra, p. i. p. 803. & Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 61.

dentibus in utroque jure; aliam vero Annunciationis B. Mariæ, de vacantibus theologis & dialecticis disciplinis; quas possessionibus et proventibus — ditabat; —

i. e. 'He founded two collegiate halls in the university of Cambridge, at his own expence; one called Trinity-Hall, for students in Law; and the other named of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, for students in Divinity and Philosophy, which he enriched with possessions and revenues.' Bishop Godwin asserts the same (5), and adds, that he likewise advised one Gunville to found the college that bears his name. The author of Bishop Bateman's life in *Anglia Sacra* (6), thus expresses this fact: —

Hic etiam duo collegia in universitate Cantabrigiæ fundavit, viz. S. Trinitatis & Annunciationis B. Mariæ vocatum Gunwyle-hale; quæ ditavit redditibus & adificiis — i. e. 'He also founded two colleges in the university of Cambridge, viz. Trinity-Hall, and that of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, called *Gunwyle-hale*, &c.' Upon comparing these several historians one with another, and examining every circumstance, the truth seems to be this; Gonville-college was dedicated by its founder, Edmund Gonville, to the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* (7); now, as Bishop Bateman was executor to Gonville, and finished and settled what the other had begun; hence visibly arose the

mistake, and to this it was owing, that Bishop Bateman came to be reputed, and called by some, the founder of Gonville-hall, or college. But, upon the strictest examination, it doth not appear, that he otherwise founded a distinct Hall of the *Annunciation*; especially considering, how slender a foundation his own Hall of Trinity originally was.

[D] *And was buried with great solemnity.* He was attended to his grave by the college of Cardinals, and by the Archbishops, Bishops, and all other great men at the Pope's court. The funeral service was performed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem (8).

[E] *And would not suffer himself to be injured, or imposed upon, by any one.* Of his resolution in this point, we have this remarkable instance. Robert, Lord Morley having killed some deer in his parks, and misused his servants, he made him do public penance for the same; that is, he obliged that nobleman to walk, uncovered and barefoot, with a wax-taper of six pounds in his hands, through the city of Norwich to the cathedral, and there to ask his pardon. And all this was done notwithstanding an express order of the King to the contrary, and tho' his Majesty had seized the Bishop's revenues, for his obstinacy. But the King was soon after reconciled to him (9).

(8) See Peck, as above, p. 3.

(9) Anglia Sacra, ut supra, p. 415. & Godwin, ubi supra.

(5) De Præfulibus, ubi supra.

(6) Part. i. p. 414.

(7) Vide Cui Histor. ut supra, p. 64.

(a) Dr Calamy's Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, &c. ejected and silenced after the Restoration, Vol. I. p. 73.

(b) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil, p. 888.

(c) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c. L. i. P. ii. p. 229.

(d) Ibid. p. 307.

BATES (WILLIAM), an eminent Nonconformist Divine of the last century, was born in November 1625 (a); admitted in Emanuel-college in Cambridge, and from thence removed to King's-college in 1644; took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647; and admitted Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters, dated November 9, 1660 (b). Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed Chaplain to King Charles II, and became Minister of St Dunstan's in the West; but was deprived of that benefice for Nonconformity (c). He was one of the Commissioners at the Conference in the Savoy, in 1660, for reviewing the publick Liturgy, and was concerned in drawing up the *Exceptions* against the *Common Prayer* (d). He was likewise chosen, on the part of the Ministers, together with Dr Jacob and Mr Baxter, to manage the dispute with Dr Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and Dr Sparrow, afterwards Bishop of Norwich (e). In 1665, he took the oath, required of the Nonconformists [A] by the Parliament, which sat at Oxford during the plague at London. Dr Bates bore a most excellent character [B], and was honoured with the friendship of the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, the

(e) Ib. p. 337.

[A] *He took the oath required of the Nonconformists.* It was to this purpose; that they should swear, 'that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the King; and that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those, that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission; and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the government, either in Church or in State.' Those who refused this Oath were to be restrained from coming (except upon the Road) within five miles of any city or corporation, or any place, which sent Burgesses to Parliament, or where they had been Ministers, or had preached since the Act of Oblivion. The Act, which imposed this oath, openly accused the Nonconformist Ministers of seditious doctrines and practices. Hereupon some of them studied how to take the oath lawfully; and Dr Bates consulted the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who promised to be present at the next Sessions, and openly to declare from the bench, that by *Endeavour to change the Govern-*

ment in Church was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*; which satisfying him, he thereby satisfied others; and accordingly twenty of them came in at the Sessions, and took the oath. Dr Bates wrote a letter hereupon to Mr Baxter, representing the case, and the reasons upon which the Ministers acted; but Mr Baxter, who gives us this account (1), tells us, that the arguments used in the letter seemed to him not sufficient to enervate the force of the objections against their taking the oath.

[B] *He bore a most excellent character.* Mr Baxter (2) styles him a *learned, judicious, and moderate* Divine. Mr John Howe, formerly Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, in his *Funeral Sermon* for him, has given his character at large. He represents him as a man of the most graceful appearance and deportment; of strong natural abilities, and extensive learning; of an admirable memory; a great collector and devourer of books; of the most agreeable and useful conversation; and remarkable for a peculiar spirit of Moderation, and zeal for union among Christians (3).

(1) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c. Part. iii. p. 2, &c.

(2) Ib. p. 94.

(3) Vid. Funeral Sermon for that excellent Minister of Christ, the truly Reverend William Bates, D. D. Lond. 1699.

[C] *The*

the Lord-Chancellor Finch, his son, the Earl of Nottingham, and Archbishop Tillotson, who often conversed with him in private with great freedom (*f*). He had been offered, at the Restoration, the Deanry of Litchfield and Coventry, which he refused (*g*). He resided for the latter part of his life at Hackney near London (*h*), and died July the 14th, 1699, in the seventy-fourth year of his age (*i*). During his life, he published the *Lives of several Eminent Persons* in Latin [*C*]; and, since his death, his *Works* [*D*] have been printed in one volume in *folio*; besides a posthumous piece of his in *octavo*, containing some *Sermons* on the everlasting Rest of the Saints (*k*).

(*f*) Ib. Part iii. p. 15.
 (*g*) Ib. p. 283, 284.
 (*h*) Dr Calamy's *Abridgment of Mr Baxter's Life*, p. 217.

(*i*) *Continuation*, &c. ubi supra, p. 73.
 (*k*) *Abridgment*, &c. p. 217, 218.

[*C*] *The Lives of several Eminent Persons, in Latin.*] They were written by different persons; and the copies being grown scarce and valuable, Dr Bates collected them into one volume, intitled, *Vita Selectorum aliquot Virorum, qui doctrina, dignitate, aut pietate inclaruere*. London, 1681, 4to. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditiorum* (*4*) have distributed these *Lives* into three classes. The first contains the Lives of Princes, and men of superior rank and quality. Among these are, The Funeral Oration upon Henry Prince of Wales, by Francis Neatherfole, Orator of the University of Cambridge; Optimus's Funeral Oration upon Ulderick, the King of Denmark's son; Frederic Spanheim's Funeral Oration upon Frederic Prince of Orange; the Life of John Picus, Prince of Mirandula and Concordia, by John Francis, his son, Prince of Mirandula; John Hales's Funeral Oration upon Sir Thomas Bodley; and Gerard Vossius's Commentary concerning the Life and Actions of Fabian a Dona. To the second class are referred the Lives of men eminent in the Church; among which are, Dr Arthur Duke's Life of Henry Chichley, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Budden's Life of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord-Chancellor of England; John de la Casa's Life of Cardinal Bembo, and of Cardinal Gaspar Contareni; the Life of Jerom Savanarola, by John Picus, Prince of Mirandula; Sir John Cheke and Nicholas Carr's Letters concerning the Death of Martin Bucer; the Life of Bernard Gilpin, by Dr George Carleton, Bishop of Chester; and the Life of Archbishop Usher, with a Catalogue of his Works. The

third class contains the Lives of men distinguished for their Learning; particularly, the Life of Erasmus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by Rhenanus; of William Budæus, by Ludovicus Rhegius; of Christopher Longolius; of Vincent Pinnellus, by Gualdus; of Scævola Sammarthanus, by Gabriel Michael Rupimalletus; of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, with an Account of his Writings; Daniel Heinsius's Letter to Isaac Casaubon concerning the Death of Joseph Scaliger; the Life of Hugo Grotius, with an Account of his Writings; the Life of Peter Pithæus; an Elogium upon Janus Gruter, with a Catalogue of his Writings, by Balthasar Venator; the Life of Julius Cæsar Lagalla, by Leo Allattius; of William Camden, by Degory Wheare; of Anthony Wallæus; of Peter Puteanus, by Rigaltius; of Dionysius Petavius, by Henry Valesius; of James Simondus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by the same author; of Peter Molinæus; and of Henry Valesius, by his brother Hadrian.

[*D*] *His Works*] They consist of *Sermons* and *Discourses* on the most important Subjects, such as *The Harmony of God's Attributes*, *The Final Happiness of Man*, *The Four last Things*, &c. With regard to his manner of treating what he undertook, Mr Howe tells us (*5*), Bishop Wilkins's Character of Mr Baxter might be applied to him, that *he cultivated every subject he handled*, and that, *if he had lived in an age of the Fathers, he would have been one*. His Panegyrist particularly celebrates him for the Critical Exactness of his Method, and the inimitable politeness and refinement of his Style.

(*5*) *Funeral Sermon*, &c.

BATHE (HENRY DE), a learned Knight, an eminent and skilful Justiciary of the thirteenth century (*a*), was a younger brother of an antient family of that name, (which we find variously written) [*A*] born, most probably at that antient seat of this family, called Bathe-house in the county of Devon; being a younger brother, it is not unnatural to imagine he might, upon that account, apply himself to the study and profession of the laws of his country, in the knowledge whereof he grew so eminent, that he was advanced by King Henry III in 1238, to be one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas (*b*); and in 1240, was constituted one of the Justices Itinerant, (as they were then called) for the county of Hartford (*c*); and in 1248 he was appointed the same for Essex and Surrey; in 1249 for Kent, Berks, Southampton, and Middlesex; and in 1250 for Lincolnshire; at which time he had allowed him out of the Exchequer, by a peculiar favour, an hundred pounds a year for his sustentation in the discharge of his office (*d*). But the year following he fell from the King's grace and favour; the occasion of which were certain crimes laid to his charge, which if true [*B*], he cannot be justified; although upon a due examination

(*a*) Speed's *Hist.* of Great Britain, p. 610.

(*b*) Dugdale's *Chron. Series*, p. 22.

(*c*) Matth. Paris, p. 538. n. 30.

(*d*) *Henry de Bath* habet C. L. annuatim percip. de Scac. ad se sustentandum in officio Justitarii. *Libertæ de anno, 34 H. III.* 1250, Chron. feri. p. 15.

[*A*] *A younger brother of an antient family of that name, which we find variously written.*] We have three observations to make upon this paragraph, viz. 1st, *The various manners in which we find the name wrote*; 2^{dly}, *The antiquity of the family*; and 3^{dly}, *Of his being a younger brother*. The name appears among various authors very differently wrote, as DE BAA, DE BADA, DE BATHON, DE BATHOND, DE BATHONIA, DE BATH, DE BATHE, DE BASH, DE BACH, &c (1). Which name the family either took from, or left unto an antient seat of that name, called *Bathe-house* (in the parish of North Taunton, in the heart of the county of Devon), the principal place of the family's residence, where we find it of so long standing, that our author says (2) it ran so very far back, that he could not trace out and overtake the original; thereof he also adds, that the honour and reputation of it was not at all diminished by Sir Walter de Bathon, Kt. who was High-Sheriff of Devon 1 Hen. III. 1217, and after that in the second year of the same reign, he was again advanced to the same honourable office, in which he continued fourteen years together; unto which Sir Walter, adds our author, 'we take

' Sir Henry, of whom we are treating, to be a younger brother, being expressly said to be a branch of this family *.'

[*B*] *Which if true.*] There being very good reasons to imagine this prosecution was incited and carried on by the interest of the court, at the instigation perhaps of a few, whom he might possibly have injured or obliged in the execution of his office, or the envy and malice of others, whom he then excelled in favour and fortune; nor is it at all to be wondered at that the King himself (as we find) should be his chief enemy in this affair, since his beggarly circumstances at this time was such, that Historians inform us, he, his Queen, the young Prince, and his court, went about upon their own invitation from house to house, where, besides their own entertainment, they generally expected large donatives; it was no wonder then if a Prince, thus needy and distressed, should encourage any proceedings which could favour such a charge (against so wealthy and envied a subject as de Bath was) as might infer treason and forfeiture of estate. For farther proofs of his innocence see the next note.

(*) *Danmonii Orientalis Illustr.* p. 50.

(1) See Matth. Paris. Speed's *Chron.* Ridon's *Descript.* MS. Mr Isaac's *Catalogue of Sheriffs*, &c. Fuller's *Worthies*, &c.
 (2) *Danmonii Orientalis Illustr.* p. 50.

of the matter we may observe, some circumstances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot them out [C] (e), he is however reported, unfortunately to have been of a narrow, squeezing disposition, which was encouraged by the arts of an extravagant, rapacious wife, proud of her origin, as sprung from the Bassetts and Sandfords, great men in those days (f), so that what thro' his own natural disposition, and her strenuous encouragement, he, in a very short time accumulated a prodigious estate; in one circuit only he is said to have gotten land of inheritance to the value of 200 pounds, *per annum* (g). This charge, *viz.* That he had not exercised his office uprightly, but to his own private gain, having perverted justice through bribes, upon an occasion of a suit betwixt him, and one Everard Trumpington, was chiefly supported against him by one Philip de Arcis, Knt. who also added treason to that of infidelity in his office. The accused was attached in the King's-Court; but one Mansel, who was now become a great favourite at court, offered bail for his appearance: King Henry refused this, the case, as he alledged, not being bailable, he terming him guilty of high-treason (h). Fulk Basset however, then Bishop of London, and a great many of de Bathe's friends interceding, the King at last gave orders that he should be bailed, twenty-four Knights becoming sureties for his appearing and standing to the judgment of the court; but de Bathe seems to have been conscious of his own demerits, or the prepossession of his Judges against him; for he was no sooner set at liberty, than he wrote to all his relations either by blood or marriage, desiring that they would apply to the King in his favour, at first by fair speeches and presents, and that if these did not prevail, they should appear in a more warlike manner, thereby to intimidate the court (i); this they faithfully and unanimously promised to do, upon the encouragement given them by a bold Knight, one Nicholas de Sandford. But the King, imagining, that his own power and the interest of de Bathe's accusers infinitely outweighed all the preparations of the others, appeared the more inexorable upon the intimation of these proceedings, he rejected all presents from the friends of the accused, and put on an air as if nothing but his punishment should satisfy his and the nation's justice. De Bathe knew well to what all this outward inflexibility tended; but was certain that if Henry persisted in his resolution, he himself must perish; he therefore had recourse to more prudent measure, he applied himself to the Bishop of London, and other his special friends, and with a great posse of these goes to Richard, Earl of Cornwall (afterwards King of the Romans) (k), whom by prayer and fine promises he won over to his interest [D]. The King continued deaf to all his remonstrances, and about the end of February (l) de Bathe was summoned, and obliged to appear to answer what should be laid to his charge; this he accordingly did, but strongly defended by a great retinue of armed Knights, Gentlemen, and others, *viz.* his own and his wife's friends and relations, among whom was the family of the Bassetts and the Sandfords; a band as undaunted as his persecutors were violent (m). We may, from what our historian has delivered upon this occasion, conclude, that the assembly was divided between those who depended upon the King for their posts and preferments, and those who (though a great majority) were so thoroughly exasperated at the measures of the court, that they were resolved not to find de Bathe guilty (n). It was not long before the King perceived this, and upon that occasion, he made an unjust and impolitic stretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation [E]. And a new charge

was

[C] *Although, upon a due examination of the matter, we may observe some circumstances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot out his crimes.* Which we shall endeavour to prove from the following particulars, *viz.* That so great a number of persons of the first quality took his part, powerfully defending him from any intended mischief to his person. Another no inconsiderable circumstance in behalf of his innocence is, that the King's own brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was so zealous an intercessor for him, *urging the danger of the time, the discontentment of the kingdom, and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Council, whom he had used in so great business, would discourage others to serve such a master, who upon malicious accusations should so forsake them whose places were ever exposed to envy and detraction* (3); concluding his speech with these words: *We must not forsake gentlemen in their right, nor in preserving the tottering peace of this kingdom* (4). The Bishop of London also and several others became mediators in his behalf with the King, which, it is not natural to suppose they would, had he been so notorious a criminal. — Another argument of his innocence, or at least of his not being so guilty as suspected, may be gathered from hence, that after this storm was blown over, the King took him again into his good grace and favour; — but left it may be imagined, that this gentleman's restoration to so weighty a trust should be the act of the King's mere arbitrary pleasure, we are informed it was done by the advice and provision of the Lords and great men of his council, as appears from this clause in the writ *Hi omnes (speaking of Sir Henry and his associates) per provisionem magnatum*

angliæ, qui sunt de concilio regis ad meliorationem status totius regni, assignati erant (5). *These all by the providing of the great men of the kingdom, who are of the King's council, were appointed for the better estate of this realm.* — That this gentleman should be re-admitted to the dispensation of public justice is a manifest argument, that he either was not guilty of the corruption he had been accused of, or that those great men who entrusted him in that office were not innocent (6). All these arguments together, with note [B], do almost amount to a proof he was not guilty, or at least not in so heinous a manner as is suggested in our chronicles.

[D] *Whom by prayer and fine promises he won over to his interest.* The motives which determined the Earl to befriend the accused, proves the wretched situation of the kingdom at this juncture; for de Bathe swore by a solemn oath, that if the King should attempt his life, or even the forfeiture of his estate, he would raise such a disturbance as should not be in the power of the government to suppress (7); knowing that the disaffection of the kingdom, at Henry's partiality to Foreigners, would render this the more practicable; the Earl was conscious what great causes the people had of rebellion, and how small a matter might kindle it. So that partly through fear, and partly, as our Historian says (8), through rich presents, and the prayers and entreaties of De Bathe and his friends, he at last came entirely into the sentiments of De Bathe's parties, and applied to the King in his favour.

[E] *Upon that occasion he made an unjust and impolitic stretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation.*

(e) Danmonii Orientalis Illustr., p. 50.

(f) Matth. Paris, p. 811.

(g) Ubi supra, & Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 610.

(h) Matth. Paris, p. 812, 1250.

(i) Matth. Paris, p. 812, 1250.

(k) Ypodigma Neufrieze per. T. de Walsingham, p. 467, 45.

(l) The 13th of the Calends of March. Matth. Paris, Feb. 16. Hollinshed.

(m) Danmonii Orientalis Illustr., p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(n) History of England, by Guthrie, p. 757.

(5) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 19.

(6) Danmonii Orientalis Illustr., p. 52.

(3) Daniel's Hist. of England, p. 166, 1250.

(4) Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, in the reign of Hen. III. p. 610.

(7) Matth. Paris, p. 812.

(8) Ut supra.

was now brought against de Bathe, and perhaps the chief and only one, at least that had exasperated King Henry, viz. he was impeached (not only on the former articles, but particularly) for alienating the affections of the Barons from his Majesty, and creating such a ferment all over the kingdom, that a general sedition was now on the point of breaking out (o). This speech was enforced from Bathe's Brother-Justiciary, who declared to the assembly, that he knew the accused to have dismissed without any censure, for the sake of lucre, a convicted criminal (p). Many other complaints were urged against de Bathe, but they seem to have been disregarded by all but the King and his party; who was so much exasperated to see de Bathe likely to be acquitted, that he mounted his throne, and with his own mouth made proclamation, That whosoever should kill Henry de Bathe, should have the royal pardon for him and his heirs [F]; after which speech he flung out of the room in a great passion. Many of the Royal party who were exceedingly keen upon this occasion, would readily have executed the King's terrible doom, and were for dispatching de Bathe in court; but his friend Mansel, one of the King's Council, and Fulco Basset, Bishop of London, interposed so effectually that he was saved [G]; and afterwards, by the powerful mediation of his friends, (among whom was the Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and the Bishop of London) and the application of a sum of money, viz. 2000 marks † to the King, he obtained not only a pardon, but all his former places and favour with the King, who re-established him in the same seat of judicature, as he was in before, and rather advanced him higher, for he was made Chief Justice of the King's-Bench (q), after about three year's discontinuance from his office of a Judge, in which honourable post he continued for eight years after, till the time of his death, as Dugdale informs us (r); for in the year 1260, we find he was one of the Justices Itinerant for the counties of Huntington, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, which was the year before he died (s). Where his ashes were laid, or what family or issue he left we do not find.

(o) Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(p) Hollinshed, Speed, Matth. Paris, &c. ut supra.

(q) Dugdale, Chron. Scri. Justic. ad plac. coram Rege, 1253, 37 Hen. III. Henricus de Bathonia, Pat. 37 Hen. III. m. 5.

† 333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

(r) Chron. Scrip. p. 19.

(s) Henric. de Bathon. Defunctus, an. 45 Hen. III. Chronica Series, p. 19. Hollinshed places his death in 1260.

clamation.] The King was so resolved upon the downfall of De Bath, that he had public proclamation made, that whosoever had any action or complaint against Henry De Bath, should come in, and they should be heard (9). 'A strange encouragement this for envy and malice to break in upon and confound the greatest innocence; though we do not find that any one thereupon urged any thing against him, which is no mean evidence that he was not so guilty as represented (10).' This however was a mistake of Mr Prince's, for all the authors that mention this affair take notice, that there were many accusations against him, though none of them were at all regarded; by which we may indeed imagine they were very inconsiderable, or far from being proved upon him.

[F] That whosoever should kill Henry De Bath should have the royal pardon for him and his heirs (11). Hollinshed (12) varies these words a little, viz. If any man will flea Henry De Bath, he shall not be impeached for his death, for I do here plainly declare him acquit and guiltless for the same. — Others have it, Whosoever shall kill Henry De Bath shall be quit of his

death, and I do hereby acquit him. — This is the nearest the words of Matth. Paris (13), which are, 'Si quis Henricum de Bathionâ occidet quietus sit a morte ejus, & quietum eum protektor.'

[G] But his friend Mansel, and Fulco Basset, Bishop of London, interposed so effectually, that he was saved. Affwaging their fury with the following words (14). 'Domini mei et amici non est necesse, quod in ira præproperè dicitur, prosequamur, pœnitebit fortè dominum nostrum, jam elapso iræ tempore hæc intonuisse: Præterea si aliquid violentiæ ipsi Henrico intuleritis ecce episcopus Londonensis qui spirituales, et alii amici ejus militares, qui vindictam exercebunt materialem, &c.' Gentlemen, it is not all necessary that we should put in immediate execution what the King has thus too hastily commanded, which perhaps, when his passion is past, he may repent him of; besides, if any violence or outrage be offered to De Bath, his friends are here ready to assist and revenge him, some by strength of arms, and others by their prayers and good wishes, &c.

(13) Page 814.

(14) Matth. Paris, p. 815.

R

BATHE (WILLIAM). The family of the Bathes was heretofore of considerable consequence in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and dispersed into many branches [A]; but what by rebellions, extravagance of heirs, or one misfortune or other, has been reduced to narrow bounds, insomuch that not one of them remains now of any rank in their country. The person who is now our subject was of a citizen's family, though descended from Bath of Dullardston, and was born in Dublin in 1564 (a). We have it by tradition, that he was of a fullen, saturnine temper, and disturbed in his mind, that his family was reduced from it's antient splendor. His parents, who were Protestants, had a greater regard to the learning of their child, than his religion, and therefore put him in his green years under the tuition of an eminent Popish schoolmaster, who thoroughly corrupted his principles, and fitted him for that station of life, which he afterwards embraced. He removed to Oxford, where he studied several years with indefatigable industry; but the inquisitive

(a) Church Register.

[A] The family of the Bathes were dispersed into many Branches.] There were seven or eight families of consideration of this name; as, I. Sir Luke Bath, Baronet, who had his estate seized and sequestered in the Rebellion of 1641, but was restored to it by the Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement (1). — II. Luke Bath of Athcarne, who was in like manner restored for his great services to the King against the Pope's Nuncio. — III. Bath of Dromconrath, near Dublin, of which James was Chief-Baron of the Exchequer in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and under that name had a grant (2) of the lands of Ballybought near Dublin, parcel of the pos-

sessions of Mary's abbey, made to him, on condition of maintaining a Foot-Archer, sufficiently armed, on his lands of Dromconrath. — IV. Bath of Dullardston, of whom William was active in the Rebellion of Thomas Fitz Gerald in 1534, and was that year attainted (3) of high-treason, and executed. — V. Bath, of Colper in the county of Meath, who furnished his quota of men at the general hosting (4), at the hill of Tarah, on the 29th of September, 1593, equal to many men of rank of that county. — VI. Bath of Rathfeigh, who sent as many to the said hosting as the Baron of Skrine. — VII. Bath of Cashel and Morton. — And VIII. Bath of Laundeston.

(3) Irrot. in dorso Rot. 3 Eliz. in Officio Cancell. Hib.

(4) MS. Jac. Warei.

(9) Daniel's Hist. of Engl. p. 160.

(10) Danmonii Illustr. p. 50.

(11) Guthrie's Hist. of England, p. 757.

(12) Vol. I. p. 244.

(1) Stat. Ir. 17, 18 Car. II. cap. ii.

(2) Pat 8 Dec. 3. Eliz.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 394.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Sotwellus, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu sub Gulielmo Batho.

(e) Athen. Oxon. *ibid.*

(f) Bibl. Script. Societ. Jesu sub Batho.

quifitive Anthony Wood (*b*), could not discover in what college or hall he sojourned, or whether he took any university degree. The same writer alledges (*c*), that growing weary of the heresy professed in England, (as he usually called the Protestant faith) he quitted the nation and his religion together, and in the year 1596 was initiated among the Jesuits, being then between thirty and forty years of age; though one (*d*) of his own order says, he was then but twenty-five, which certainly is erroneous. Having spent some time among the Jesuits in Flanders, he travelled into Italy, and completed his studies at Padua; from whence he passed into Spain, being appointed to govern the Irish seminary at Salamanca. He is said (*e*) to have had a most ardent zeal for the gaining of souls, and was much esteemed among the people of his persuasion for his extraordinary virtues and good qualities; though he was of a temper not very sociable. At length, taking a journey to Madrid to transact some business of his order, he died there on the 17th of June 1614, and was buried in the Jesuit's convent of that city (*f*), bearing among his brethren a reputation for learning; which nevertheless from the titles of his books, as given in the remark [*B*], one would not judge to be his talent, but rather that of devotion.

[*B*] *One would not judge of his learning by the titles of his books.* Here follows a catalogue of them, as given by Allegambe (*5*), and Anthony Wood (*6*). I. *An Introduction to the Art of Musick*; wherein are set down exact and easy rules, with arguments, and their solutions, for such as seek to know the reason of the truth. London, 1584, 4to. He writ this treatise while he was a young student at Oxford, being then very fond of Musick. — II. *Janua Linguarum: Seu modus maximè accommodatus, quo patefit aditus ad omnes linguas intelligendas. Salamanticae, 1611, i. e. An Entrance into the Languages.* — This book was much used in Spain for the instruction of youth, and

was published under the inspection of the Jesuits of Salamanca. — III. *A Methodical Institution of the principal Mysteries of the Christian Faith; with a Method annexed for the right exercise of General Confession.* He published (*7*) this tract in English and Latin, but without his name; however, Allegambe (*8*) ascribes it to him. — IV. He writ also in Spanish, and published it under the name of Peter Manrique, *A Preparation for the Sacrament of Penance, intituled, Aparejos para administrar el Sacramento de la Penitencia, con mas facilidad y fruto; en Milan, 1604, 4to, rather 1614, as appears at the end of the work.* D

(7) Archdekin's Theologia Tripartita. Venet. 4to. p. 401.

(8) Allegambe, as before.

(5) As before

(6) As before.

BATHURST (RALPH) an eminent Physician, Poet, and Divine, in the XVIIth century, was born in the year 1620 (*a*). He was the son of George Bathurst of Howthorp in the county of Northampton, Esq; and Elizabeth Villiers (*b*), daughter and coheir of Edward Villiers of Howthorp aforesaid [*A*]. In what place he was educated in school-learning, is not known. As for his academical education, it was in Trinity-college in Oxford, where he applied himself to the study of Divinity (*c*). But the times of confusion coming on, in which there was no likelihood of any encouragement for the ministerial function, he altered his design, and studied Physic (*d*). Whereupon he was employed in the service of the State, as Physician to the sick and wounded of the Navy; which he managed with much diligence and success, to the full satisfaction both of the Generals at sea, and also of the Commissioners of the Admiralty (*e*). June 21, 1654, he accumulated, that is, took together, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physic (*f*). After the Restoration of King Charles II he returned to the study of Divinity, and entering into orders, was made Chaplain to the King; and also became Fellow of the Royal Society (*g*). On the 10th of September 1664, he was elected President of Trinity-college, in the room of Dr Hannibal Potter deceased (*h*). And June the 28th, 1670, was installed Dean of Wells (*i*). In the years 1673 and 1674, he served the office of Vice-Chancellor of the university of Oxford. In April 1691, he was nominated by King William and Queen Mary to the See of Bristol (*k*), with liberty to keep his deanry in commendam (*l*). But intending to become a benefactor to his college, of which he afterwards rebuilt the chapel in a very neat and elegant manner, he refused to accept of that bishoprick (*m*). He was a person of great learning, and particularly celebrated for his poetical genius. We shall give account of what few works he published, in the note [*B*]. He died June the 14th, 1704, in

(a) He was (in 1704, when he died) in the 84th year of his age, and consequently must have been born in 1620, at least in 1621.

(b) Peirage of England, by Ar. Collins, Esq; Vol. III. p. 442, Lond. 1733.

(c) Peirage of England, ubi supra.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) Wood, Ath. Fasti, col. 106.

(f) Wood, *ibid.*

(g) Wood, *ibid.*

(h) Wood, Historia & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 295.

(i) *Idem, Fasti, ubi supra.*

(k) *Ibid. col. 190.*

(l) *Ibid. col. 106.*

(m) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and coheir of Edw. Villiers.* Her father, Edw. Villiers, was grandson and heir of Edw. Villiers, Esq; who died seized of the manor of Howthorp, &c. 26 June, 5 Henry VIII. and was fifth son of Sir John Villiers, of Brookesby, Kt. grandfather of Sir George Villiers, father of George Duke of Buckingham. — George Bathurst had with her the manor of Howthorp, where he settled, and had issue twelve sons and five daughters, several of which sons died in the service of King Charles I. during the Rebellion; and those that survived were — Ralph, of whom we are treating — Villiers — Moses — Henry — and Benjamin, father of the present Lord Bathurst

[*B*] *We shall give an account of what works he published* They are as follows: I. 'Newes from the Dead; or a true and exact Narration of the miraculous deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford, Decemb. 14, 1650, afterwards revived, and by the care of certain Physicians there, is now perfectly recovered; together with the manner of her suffering, and the particular meanes used for her recovery. Whereunto are prefixed certain

'Poems, casually written upon that subject.' This A. Greene was executed for murdering her bastard child; and, after having hung almost half an hour, was brought to life again by Dr Petty, Mr Tho. Willis, Mr Bathurst, and Mr Clerke. The tract here mentioned is said, in the title-page, to be 'written by a Scholar in Oxford;' but Dr Derham informs us (*2*), that the author of it was Dr Bathurst. It was printed at Oxford, 1651, 4to, and reprinted in the Phoenix, 2 Vol. 4to. II. He writ a Poem 'On the death of the learned John Selden,' which is inserted in the third part of Miscellany Poems (*3*). III. He also composed several Latin Poems, printed in the *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecra*; namely, 1. *In Libellum Viri clarissimi Tho. Hobii de Natura Hominis, 1650* (*4*), i. e. 'On T. Hobbes's book of Human Nature.' 2. *Gratulatio Pacis cum Fœderato Belgio stabilitæ Cromwello Protectore, 1654* (*5*). 'Upon the conclusion of the Peace by Oliver Cromwell with the Dutch in 1654.' This is an excellent Poem, and very nervous and elegant. 3. *In Serenissimum Regem Carolum II. Britanniae suæ restitutum, 1660* (*6*). 'Upon the Restoration of King Charles II.' 4. *In obitum celsissimi Principis*

(2) Phyl. Theology, edit. Lond. 1716, 8vo, p. 157. note.

(3) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 106.

(4) Edit. Lond. 1741. p. 16.

(5) Page 18.

(6) Page 20.

(1) Peirage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. III. p. 442. See Thoresby's Antiq. of Leed's, p. 13, 607.

in the 84th year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, Oxon, which he had rebuilt at his own charge (n), as is mentioned above.

(n) Ar. Collins, ubi supra.

(7) Page 22.

Principis Henrici Ducis Glocestrensis, 1660 (7). 'On the death of Henry Duke of Gloucester.' 5. *Gratulatione ob auspiciatissimum Serenissime Principis Catharinæ Lusitanæ, Regi Carolo II. desponsatæ in Angliam apulsum, 1663* (8). 'Upon the arrival of the Princess Katherine of Portugal, spouse to King Charles II.'

(8) Page 27.

BATMANSON (JOHN), a person of great piety and learning in the sixteenth century, was at first a Monk, and afterwards Prior of the Carthusian monastery or Charter-houfe, in the suburbs of London (a). For some time he studied Divinity at Oxford, but it does not appear he took any degree there in that faculty (b). He was intimately acquainted with, and a great favourite of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York; at whose request he writ against Erasmus and Luther [A]. He died on the 16th of November 1531, and was buried in the chapel, belonging to the Charter-houfe (c). Pits gives him the character of a man of quick and discerning genius; of great piety, and learning, and fervent zeal; much conversant in the study of the scriptures; and that led an angelical life among men (d). Bale, on the contrary, represents him as a proud, forward, and arrogant person; born as it were, for disputing and wrangling; and says, that Erasmus, in one of his letters to Richard Bishop of Winchester, styles him an ignorant fellow, encouraged by Lee, and vainglorious even to madness (e). So opposite are the characters given by zealots of different parties! However, Bale in another place (f) calls him a very clear sophist, or writer.

(a) Baleus, Scrip- tor. Britannicæ, Centor. IX. n. 14. Pits, de Illustrib. Angliæ Scrip- tor. Æt. XVI. 1531. n. 942. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 27. edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Petreus in Biblioth. Cartu- siana, edit. Col- lon. 1609, p. 157. & Pits, ubi supra.

(d) Pits, ubi supra.

(e) Baleus, Cent. XI. p. 75. n. 95.

(f) Ubi supra, Cent. IX. n. 14.

[A] He writ against Erasmus and Luther.] Viz. I. *Animadversiones in Annotationes Erasmi in Novum Testamentum*; 'Animadversions upon Erasmus's Notes on the New Testament.' II. *A Treatise against some of M. Luther's writings*. These two he afterwards retracted. The rest of his works were, III. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. IV. — *in Cantica Cantorum*; 'Commentaries on the Proverbs of Solomon,

' and on the Canticles.' V. *De unicâ Magdalenâ, contra Fabrum Stapulensem*; 'Enquiry whether there was only one Magdalen, against Faber Stapulensis.' VI. *Institutiones Noviciorum*; 'Instructions for Novices, or Youth.' VII. *De contemptu mundi*; 'Of the Contempt of the World.' VIII. *De Christo duodenni*; 'A Homily on Luke ii. 42.' IX. On the words *Miffus est*, &c. (1)

(1) Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi supra.

BAXTER (RICHARD), a very eminent Divine amongst the Nonconformists in the last century. His father was a freeholder in the county of Salop, an honest, religious man, who had an estate of his own, but a very small one. His mother was of the same county, the daughter of Mr Richard Adeney: Himself was born at Rowton, near High-Ercal, in the hundred of South-Bradford, November 12, 1615 (a). There he spent his infancy, wherein he is said to have given strong indications of that piety and purity which appeared in his subsequent life and conversation [A]. In 1625 he was taken from his grandfather's house where he had hitherto lived, and brought home to his father's at Eaton-Constantine, a village within five miles of Shrewsbury, where he passed the remainder of his childhood (b). He was far from being happy in respect to his school-masters, who were men no way distinguished either for learning or morals, and missed the advantages of an academical education, through a proposal made to his parents of placing him with Mr Richard Wickstead, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow. The only advantage he reaped there was the use of an excellent library, which by his own great application proved of infinite service to him. In this situation he remained about a year and half, and then returned to his father's (c). At the request of the Lord Newport he went thence to Wroxeter, where he taught in the free-school for six months, while his old schoolmaster Mr John Owen lay in a languishing condition (d). In 1633 Mr Wickstead prevailed on him to wave the studies in which he was then engaged, and to think of making his fortune at court. He accordingly came up to Whitehall with a recommendation to Sir Henry Herbert, then Master of the Revels, by whom he was very kindly received. But after a month's stay discovering no charms in this sort of life, and having besides a very strong propensity to undertake the ministerial function, he returned to his father's, and resumed his studies with fresh vigour, till Mr Richard Foley of Stourbridge, fixed him as master of the free-school at Dudley, with an usher under him (e). In the time he taught school there, he read several practical treatises, whereby he was brought to a due and deep sense of religion, his progress therein being not a little quickened by his great bodily weakness and ill state of health,

(a) Mr Baxter's Life, published by Mr Sylvester, fol. p. 2. Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 2, 3, 4.

(b) Ibid. p. 2, 3.

(c) Baxter's Life, p. 3. Calamy's Account of Ministers silenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.

(d) Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's Life, p. 4.

(e) Ibid. ubi supra.

[A] Which appeared in his subsequent life and conversation.] When he was yet very young, we are told his father said, with tears of joy, to a friend, My son Richard I hope was sanctified from the womb; for when he was a little boy in coats, if he heard other children in play speak profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him (1). Yet it is certain, that at this time of life he was not altogether free from those irregularities common to lads of his age; this we learn from himself: 'Though my conscience, says he, would trouble me when I sinned, yet divers sins I was addicted to, and oft committed against my conscience, which, for the warning of

' others, I will here confess to my shame. I was much addicted to the excessive gluttonous eating of apples and pears, which I think laid the foundation of the imbecility and flatulency of my stomach, which caused the bodily calamities of my life. To this end, and to concur with naughty boys that gloried in cvil, I have oft gone into other men's orchards, and stolen the fruit, when I had enough at home.' There are six other retractions, at the end of which he concludes; 'These were my sins in my childhood, as to which conscience troubled me for a great while before they were overcome (2).'

(2) Mr Baxter's Life, written by himself, published by Matthew Sylvester, 1696, fol. p. 2.

(1) Dr Bates's Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(f) Calamy's Account of Ministers silenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.
Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4—10.

(g) Baxter's Life, p. 13.
Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 12.

(h) Ibid. p. 13—15.

(i) Id. Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 898.
Bishop Hall's Memoirs, p. 43.

(1) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 11.

health, which inclined him to think he should scarce survive above a year (f) [B]. However, having still an earnest desire to the Ministry, he in 1638 addressed himself to Dr Thornborough, Bishop of Winchester, for holy orders, which after examination he received, having at that time no scruples of conscience which hindered from conforming to the Church of England (g) [C]. Being settled at Dudley, he preached frequently in that town, and in the neighbouring villages, with the approbation of all his hearers. In three quarters of a year he was removed to Bridgnorth, where he officiated as assistant to Mr William Madstard, then Minister of that place, who treated him with great kindness and respect, and did not put him upon many things which he then began to scruple doing (h). When the *et cetera* oath came to be imposed, Mr Baxter applied himself diligently to study the case of Episcopacy, and it fared with him as with some others, the thing which was intended to fix them to the Hierarchy, drove them into a dislike of it (i) [D]. In the year 1640 he was invited to Kidderminster by the Bailiff and Feoffees, to preach there for an allowance of sixty pounds a year, which he accepted; and applied himself with such diligence to his sacred calling, as had a very great effect in a short time, upon a very dissolute people. He continued there about two years before the Civil War broke out, and fourteen afterwards with some interruption (k). He sided with the Parliament,

(k) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, p. 21.
Id. Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 898.

[B] *Scarce survive above a year.*] We are told by Dr Calamy, that, from the age of twenty-one till twenty-three, he lived constantly as it were in the shadow of death; and, finding his own soul under serious apprehensions of the matters of another world, he was very desirous to communicate those apprehensions to such ignorant, careless, presumptuous sinners, as the world abounds with. Although therefore he had his discouragements, through his sense of the greatness and awfulness of the work of the Ministry, and his fear of exposing himself to the censure of many, on the account of his wanting academical education, honours, and dignities; yet, expecting to be so quickly in another world, the great concerns of miserable souls prevailed with him to engage in it; and finding in himself a thirsty desire of men's conversion and salvation, and a competent perswading faculty of expression, which fervent affections might help to actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two souls might by his means be won to God, it would easily recompense any treatment he might meet with in the world (3).

[C] *From conforming to the Church of England.*] We have a very distinct detail of the means by which he first came to alter his opinions in these matters; and it will be very proper to take notice of them here, because they will serve to let the reader into the character of the man. Being settled at Dudley, he fell into the acquaintance of several Nonconformists, whom, though he judged severe and splenetick, yet he found to be both godly and honest men. They supplied him with several writings on their own side, and amongst the rest, with Ames's *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*, which he read over very distinctly, comparing it with Dr Burges's *Rejoynder*. And, upon the whole, he at that time came to these conclusions. Kneeling he thought lawful, and all meer circumstances determined by the magistrate, which God in nature or scripture hath determined on, only in the general. The Surplice he more doubted of, but was inclined to think it lawful: And though he intended to forbear it till under necessity, yet he could not see how he could have justified the forsaking his Ministry merely on that account, though he never actually wore it. About the Ring in Marriage he had no scruple. The Cross in Baptism he thought Dr Ames had proved unlawful; and though he was not without some doubting in the point, yet because he most inclined to judge it unlawful, he never once used it. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy he judged to be lawful, and in some cases lawfully imposed. The English Liturgy in particular he judged to have much disorder and defectiveness in it, but nothing which should make the use of it in the ordinary publick worship to be unlawful to them who could not do better. He fought for Discipline in the Church, and saw the sad effects of it's neglect; but he was not then so sensible as afterwards, that the very frame of Diocesan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been chargeable only on the personal neglects of the Bishops. Subscription he began to think unlawful, and repented his rashness in yielding to it so hastily. For though he could use the Common-Prayer, and was not yet against Diocesan, yet to subscribe *ex animo*, that there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God, was that which he durst not do, had it been to be done

again. So that Subscription and the Cross in Baptism, and the promiscuous giving the Lord's Supper to all comers, though ever so unqualified, if they were not excommunicate by a Bishop or Chancellor who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his judgment inclined to Nonconformity: And yet, even as to these things, he kept his thoughts to himself. He continued to argue with the Nonconformists about the points they differed in, and particularly kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he managed a dispute with some of them in writing, till they did not think fit to pursue it any farther: He freely reprov'd them for the bitterness of their language against the Bishops and their adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for patience and charity, but found their spirits so exasperated by the hard measure they had met with, that they were deaf to his admonitions (4).

[D] *Drove them into a dislike of it.*] In order to have a just idea of this matter, it is necessary to transcribe this famous oath at large; whence it will appear why some very honest men scrupled it, and why some as honest men took it without scruple. The oath ran thus: 'I A. B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline, or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of the Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation and superstitutions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God, in Jesus Christ (5).' Men of tender consciences thought it hard to swear to the continuance of a Church government, which many of them disliked; and yet these men for the Church's quiet would willingly have concealed their thoughts, had not this oath, imposed under the penalty of expulsion, compelled them to speak. Others complained of the *et cetera*, which, they said, contained they knew not what, and might be extended to they knew not whom, but in all probability to the officers of Ecclesiastical Courts, and to swear to them they thought not only a little extraordinary, but very far from being lawful. Mr Baxter seems to have understood this matter exactly right, for he took the oath to be a direct declaration in favour of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Prelates as then established, which, tho' it might be submitted to with little, he apprehended could not be sworn to without much, consideration. This put him upon studying the best books he could meet with on this subject; the consequence of which was, that he utterly disliked the oath, a thing which fell out to many others besides him, who, but for this accident, had never disturbed themselves about so knotty a question (6).

(4) Ibid. p. 115.

(5) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. Book ii. p. 269.

(6) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 16.

[E] *That*

ment, and recommended the Protestation they directed to be taken, to the people: This exposed him to some inconveniencies, which obliged him to retire to Gloucester, but he was soon invited back to Kidderminster, whither he returned. His stay there was not long, but beginning to consider with himself where he might remain in safety, he fixed upon Coventry, and accordingly went thither. There he lived peaceably and comfortably, preached once every Lord's day to the garrison, and once to the town's people, for which he took nothing but his diet, though besides thus exercising his function, he did great service in repressing the Anabaptists (l). After Naseby fight, when all things seemed to favour the Parliament; he, by advice of the Ministers at Coventry, became Chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and in this quality he was present at several sieges, but never in any engagement, so that there was not the least grounds for that scandalous story invented and trumpeted about by his enemies, viz. that he killed a man in cool blood, and robbed him of a medal (m) [E]. He took all imaginable pains to hinder the progress of the Sectaries, and to keep men firm in just and rational notions of religion and government, never deviating from what he judged in his conscience to be right, for the sake of making court to any, or from baser motives of fear. But he was separated from the army in the beginning of the year 1657, in a very critical juncture, just when they fell off from the Parliament, Mr Baxter being at that time seized with a bleeding at the nose in so violent a manner, that he lost the quantity of a gallon at once, which obliged him to retire to Sir Thomas Rouse's, where he continued for a long time in a very languishing state of health, which hindered him from doing that service to his country, that otherwise from a man of his principles and moderation might have been expected. He afterwards returned to Kidderminster, and resumed the work of his ministry. He hindered, as far as it was in his power, the taking of the Covenant, he preached and spoke publicly against the engagement (n), and therefore it is very unjust to brand him, as some have done, as a trumpeter of rebellion [F]. When the army was marching to oppose King Charles II at the head of the Scots, Mr Baxter took pains both by speaking and writing, to remind the soldiers of their duty, and to dissuade them from fighting against their brethren and fellow-subjects (o). After this, when Cromwell assumed the supreme power, he was not afraid to express his disaffection to his tyranny, though he did not think himself obliged to preach Politicks from the pulpit. Once indeed he preached before Cromwell, but neither did he in that sermon flatter, or in a conference he had with him afterwards, did he express either affection to his person, or submission to his power, but quite

(l) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 74—80. Id. Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 899.

(m) Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, P. I. p. 229. Visions of Government, by Edward Pettit, p. 134.

(n) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 104. Account of Ministers, &c. Vol. II. p. 900.

(o) Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 109.

[E] That he killed a man in cold blood, and robbed him of a medal.] This strange story was first published to the world in a book written by Dr Boreman, of Trinity-college in Cambridge; for 'til then it passed current in discourse, but was often contradicted, and generally looked upon as a calumny. At length it was stated as a direct charge, on the credit of Major Jennings, the very person whom Mr Baxter left for dead. The substance of the story was as follows: That Mr Baxter finding one Major Jennings in the war time among the bodies of the dead and wounded, looked on while Lieutenant Hurdman that was with him ran him thro' the body in cold blood; and that Mr Baxter took off with his own hand the King's picture from about his neck, telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that, that, was his crucifix; which picture was, it is said, kept by Mr Baxter 'till it was got from him, but not without much difficulty, by one Mr Somerfield who lived with Sir Thomas Rouse, who restored it to the true owner, who was supposed to be dead of his wounds (7). And this narrative was subscribed by Jennings himself, that it might pass for the more authentick. Mr Baxter, in a piece published by him two years afterwards, absolutely denies this, declaring that he took a voluntary oath it was false; that he was not near Major Jennings at that time, nor indeed ever saw him any where else to his knowledge in the course of his life. But in the house where he was, he did hear the soldiers tell how they wounded and stripped him, and took his medal (laughing at a silly soldier that called it a crucifix); and the man that took it offering it to sale, Mr Baxter declares he gave him eighteen pence for it, and some years after sent it Major Jennings freely, which it seems made him think, and rashly affirm, tho' falsely, that it was Mr Baxter that took it from him (8).

[F] As a trumpeter of rebellion.] To enter into all the gross things that have been said of Mr Baxter by his enemies, would take up more room than we have employed in writing his life. It is sufficient to note their names, and the pieces they have wrote, in the margin (9); adding, as a specimen, the following speech put into the mouth of President Bradshaw in Hell, who, in deciding on the merits of Mr Hobbs,

Mr Nevill, and Mr Baxter, is made to speak of the latter thus: 'If he, whose Faith is faction, whose Religion is rebellion, whose Prayers are spells, whose Piety is magick, whose Purity is the gall of bitterness, who can cant and recant, and cant again; who can transform himself into as many shapes as Lucifer (who is never more a Devil than when an Angel of Light), and, like him (who proud of his perfections, first rebelled in Heaven), proud of his imaginary graces, pretends to rule and govern, and consequently rebel on earth, be the greatest politician; then make room for Mr Baxter: Let him come in, and be crowned with wreaths of serpents and chaplets of adders: Let his triumphant chariot be a pulpit drawn on the wheels of cannon, by a brace of wolves in sheeps cloathing: Let the antient Fathers of the Church, whom out of ignorance he has villified; the reverend and learned Prelates, whom out of pride and malice he has abused, belied, and persecuted; the most righteous King, whose murder (I speak my own and his sense), contrary to the light of all religion, laws, reason, and conscience, he has justified, then denied, then again and again justified; let them all be bound in chains to attend his infernal triumph to his Saints Everlasting Rest. Then make room for Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, atheists, and politicians, for the greatest rebel on earth, and next to him that fell from (10) Heaven.' Yet it is certain, that no man made more warm pretensions to loyalty than Mr Baxter did, who, as we shall presently see, had the courage to tell the Protector Cromwell his face, that the old English monarchy was a blessing. He was at the desire of King Charles II. appointed one of his Chaplains, and had some share of royal favour as long as the King lived. But what seems to put this matter out of all question is this, that after the severe treatment he met with in the reign of King James, which might easily have sowed his spirit, and after the Revolution, when he was under no necessity of keeping terms, he disclaimed all such sentiments, declaring positively, that throughout the whole civil war he was always for the King and Parliament, and never against the King's person, power, or prerogative (11).

(10) Visions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. Lond. 1684, 8vo. p. 134, 135, 136.

(12) Penitent Confession and necessary Vindication, by Mr Baxter, 1695, 4to, p. 21, 22.

(7) Life of Dr Peter Heylyn, by Mr Vernon, Rector of Burton, Lond. 1682, 8vo. Visions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. 1684, 8vo, p. 134.

(8) Catholick Communion doubly defended, by Richard Baxter, Lond. 1684, 4to.

(9) Mr Crandon in his book against Mr Baxter's Anabaptism. Mr Young's Vindication Anti-Baxterianæ, 1696, 12mo. Mr Long's Review of Mr Baxter's Life, 1697, 8vo. See also note [N].

(p) Baxter's Life, P. i. p. 100. Account of Ministers silenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 900.

(q) Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, P. 1. p. 219. Baxter's Life, P. i. p. 71—100. Account of silenced Ministers, Vol. II. p. 900.

(r) Impartial Examination of the 4th Vol. of Mr Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, by Dr Grey, p. 256. Observer, No. 96.

(s) Baxter's Life, P. ii. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 139 to 151. Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 900, 901.

(t) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 206—300.

(u) Id. ib. p. 300—304.

quite the contrary (p) [G]. He came to London, a little before the deposition of Richard Cromwell. At that time Mr Baxter was looked upon as a friend to monarchy, and with reason, for being chosen to preach before the Parliament on the 30th of April 1660, which was the day preceding that on which they voted the King's return, he maintained, that loyalty to their Prince, was a thing essential to all true Protestants of whatever persuasion (q). About the same time likewise he was chosen to preach a thanksgiving sermon at St Paul's, for General Monk's success; and yet some have been so bold as to maintain, that he attempted to dissuade His Excellency from concurring in, or rather from bringing about, that happy change (r) [H]. After the Restoration he became one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, preached before him once, and had frequent access to his Royal person, and was always treated by him with peculiar respect. At the Savoy conferences, Mr Baxter assisted as one of the Commissioners, and then drew up the Reformed Liturgy, which all who are competent judges allow to be an excellent performance. He was offered the bishoprick of Hereford, by the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, which he refused to accept, for reasons which he rendered in a respectful letter to his Lordship (s). Yet even then he would willingly have returned to his beloved town of Kidderminster, and have preached there in the low state of a Curate. But even this was refused him, though the Lord-Chancellor took pains to have settled him there as he desired (t). When he found himself thus disappointed, he preached occasionally about the city of London, sometimes for Dr Bates at St Dunstan's in the West, and sometimes in other places, having a licence from Bishop Sheldon, upon his subscribing a promise, not to preach any thing against the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church (u). The last time he preached in publick was on the 15th of May, 1662, a farewell sermon at Black-Friars. He afterwards retired to Acton in Middlesex, where he went every Lord's day to the publick church, and spent the rest of the day with his family, and a few poor neighbours that came in to him. In 1665, when the plague raged, he went to Richard Hampden's, Esq; in Buckinghamshire, and returned to Acton when it was over. He staid there as long as the act against conventicles continued in force, and when that was expired, he had so many auditors that he wanted room. Hereupon, by a warrant signed by two Justices, he was committed for six months to New-Prison jail, but got an Habeas Corpus, and was released and removed to Totteridge near Barnet (w) [I]. At this place he lived quietly and without disturbance, but

(w) Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 901. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 304—335.

[G] *Affection to his person, or submission to his power, but quite the contrary*] The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Broghill were the persons who drew him to preach before the Protector, and the words he made choice of were these: *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.* He levelled his discourse against the divisions and distractions of the Church, shewing how mischievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such divisions for their own ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the Church by it's divisions in a state of weakness, lest it should be able to offend them. Awhile after Cromwell sent to speak with him, and when he came he had only three of his chief men with him. He began a long and tedious speech to him of God's providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had continued speaking thus about an hour, Mr Baxter told him, it was too great condescension to acquaint him so fully with all those matters which were above him; but that the honest people of the land took their antient monarchy to be a blessing, and not an evil, and humbly craved his patience that he might ask him how they had forfeited that blessing, and unto whom this forfeiture was made? Upon that question he was awakened into some passion, and told him there was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleased him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him, and, especially by name, at four or five members, which were Mr Baxter's chief acquaintance, whom he presumed to defend against the Protector's passion. And thus were four or five hours spent, though to little purpose. Some time afterwards the Protector sent for him again, under pretence of asking his judgment about liberty of conscience, at which time also he made a long tedious speech himself, which took up so much time, that Mr Baxter desired to offer his sentiments in writing, which he did; but he says he questions whether Cromwell read them (12). We have also a character of this usurper drawn by the pen of our author, too long to be inserted here (13).

[H] *From bringing about that happy change.*] The credit of this story depends on the intelligence of Sir Roger L'Esrange, who, in one of his dialogues,

introduces it thus. ' *Tor.* Prithee ask Mr Baxter if he knew who it was that went with five or six more of his own cloth and character to General Monk, upon his coming up to London in 1659; and finding a great deal of company with him, told His Excellency that he found his time was precious, and so would not trouble him with many words; but, as they were of great weight, so he hoped they would make an answerable impression on him. I hear a report, Sir, (saith he) that you have some thoughts of calling back the King; but it is my sense, and the sense of the gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any terms; for profaneness is so inseparable from the royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, the power of godliness will most certainly depart from this land (14).'

To which charge Mr Baxter returned an answer in the following words: ' *Dr Manton* (and whether any other I remember not) went once with me to General Monk, and it was to congratulate him, but with this request, that he would take care that debauchery and contempt of religion might not be let loose upon any man's pretence of being for the King, as it already began with some to be. But there was not one word by me spoken (or by any one, to my remembrance) against his calling back the King, nor any of the rest here adjoined: But as to me, it is a mere fiction. And the King was so sensible of the same that I said, that he sent over a proclamation against such men, as while they called themselves the King's party, did live in debauchery and profaneness; which proclamation so rejoiced them that were after Nonconformists, that they read it in publickly in the churches (15).'

(14) Observer, No. 96.

(15) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 913.

[I] *Removed to Totteridge near Barnet*] In this affair, as Mr Baxter met with some hardship in the commitment, so he experienced the sincerity of many of his best friends, who on this occasion stuck by him very steadily. As he was carried to prison, he called upon Serjeant Fountain to ask his advice, who, when he had perused the mittimus, gave it as his opinion, that he might be discharged from his imprisonment by Law. The Earl of Orerry, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, mentioned the affair to the King, who was pleased to send Sir John Baber to him, to let him know, that though his Majesty was not willing to relax the Law, yet he would not be offended, if by any application to

(12) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 109.

(13) Life of Mr Baxter, published by Mr Sylvester, P. i. p. 100. See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER.)

but not without many marks of Royal favour. The King was resolved to make some concessions to the Dissenters in Scotland, and the Duke of Lauderdale, by his order, acquainted Mr Baxter, that if he would take this opportunity of going into that kingdom, he should have what preferment he would there; which he declined on account of his own weakness and the circumstances of his family. His opinion however was taken on the scheme for settling Church disputes in that country (x). In 1671, Mr Baxter lost the greatest part of his fortune by the shutting up of the King's Exchequer, in which he had a thousand pounds (y). After the indulgence in 1672, he returned into the city, and was one of the Tuesday lecturers at Pinner's-hall, and had a Friday lecture at Fetter-lane, but on the Lord's days, he for some time preached only occasionally; and afterwards more steadily in St James's market-house, where in 1674, he had a wonderful deliverance, by almost a miracle, from a crack in the floor (z). He was apprehended as he was preaching his lecture at Mr Turner's, but soon released, because the warrant was not, as it ought to have been, signed by a city justice. The times seeming to grow more favourable, he built a meeting-house in Oxenden-street, where he preached but once before a resolution was taken to surprize and send him to the county-jail on the Oxford act, which misfortune he luckily escaped; but the person who preached for him was committed to the Gatehouse, and continued there three months. Having been kept out of his new meeting-house a whole year; he took another in Swallow-street, but was likewise prevented from using that, a guard being fixed there for many Sundays together, to hinder him from coming into it. On Mr Wadsworth's dying, Mr Baxter preached to his congregation in Southwark for many months. When Dr Lloyd succeeded Dr Lamplugh in St Martin's parish, Mr Baxter made him an offer of the chapel he had built in Oxenden-street, for publick worship, which was very kindly accepted (a) [K]. In 1682, he suffered more severely than he had ever done on account of his non-conformity. One day he was suddenly surprized in his house by many Constables and officers, who apprehended him upon a warrant to seize his person, for coming within five miles of a corporation, producing at the same time five more warrants, to distrain for one hundred and ninety five pounds for five sermons. Though he was much out of order, being but just risen from his bed, where he had been in extremity of pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Justice, to be sent to jail, and left his house to their will (b). But Dr Thomas Cox meeting him as he was going, forced him again into his bed, and went to five Justices and took his oath, that he could not go to prison without danger of death. Upon this the Justices delayed till they had consulted the King, who consented that his imprisonment should be for that time forborn, that he might die at home. But they executed their warrants on the books and goods in the house, though he made it appear they were none of his, and they sold even the bed which he lay sick upon (c). Some friends paid them as much money as they were appraised at, and he repayed them. And all this was without Mr Baxter's having the least notice of any accusation, or receiving any summons to appear and answer for himself, or ever seeing the Justices or accusers; and afterwards he was in constant danger of new seizures, and thereupon he was forced to leave his house, and retire into private lodgings (d). Things continued much in the same way during the year 1683, and Mr Baxter remained in great obscurity, however, not without receiving a remarkable testimony of the sincere esteem, and great confidence, which a person of remarkable piety, though of another persuasion, had towards him: The reverend Mr Thomas Mayot, a beneficed Clergyman in the Church of England, who had devoted his estate to charitable uses, gave by his last will 600*l.* to be distributed by Mr Baxter to sixty poor ejected Ministers;

(x) See the article MAITLAND (JOHN) Duke of Lauderdale.

(y) *Ibid.* Vol. I. P. 333.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 347.

(a) Account of Ministers silenced; Vol. II. p. 902, 915.

(b) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. P. 357.

(c) Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 902.

(d) *Ibid.*

the courts in Westminster-hall he could procure his liberty; upon this a Habeas Corpus was demanded at the bar of the Common-Pleas, and granted. The Judges were clear in their opinion, that the mittimus was insufficient, and thereupon discharged him. This exasperated the justices, who committed him; and therefore they made a new mittimus in order to have sent him to the county-gaol of Newgate, which he avoided by keeping out of the way. The whole of this persecution is said to have been owing to the particular pique of Dr Bruno Rives, Dean of Windsor and of Wolverhampton, Rector of Hafely and of Acton, and one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary (16). The reason that he pushed this matter so far was, because Mr Baxter had preached in his parish of Acton, which he fancied some way reflected upon him, because Mr Baxter had always a large audience, though in truth this was in a good measure owing to the imprudence of the Dean, whose Curate was a weak man, and too great a frequenter of alehouses.

[K] *Which was very kindly accepted*] This was a fact publick enough in its own nature, and which Mr Baxter had mentioned in his life-time; and yet, on its appearing in Dr Calamy's Abridgment, a very considerable writer, in a work which makes no mean figure in the world, was pleased to tell his readers, *that this part of the relations, as to the offer of a chapel, is*

known to be false (17), which occasioned, as it well might, a strict enquiry to be made. At first sight, indeed the point might seem to be of no great importance; but when it is remarked that Mr Baxter had given it under his hand, *that Dr Lloyd and his parishioners had accepted it for publick worship, on the offer of himself and his wife* (18); it is plain, that admitting this to be a falsehood, must prove a stain on the character of the deceased, and such a one as might make very disadvantageous impressions on the minds of posterity. Hereupon application was made to Dr Lloyd himself, then Bishop Worcester, who was, pleased in justice to truth, and to Mr Baxter's memory, to give it under his hand, 'that Mr Baxter, being disturbed in his meeting-house in Oxenden-street by the King's drums, which Mr Secretary Coventry caused to be beat under the windows, made an offer of letting it to the parish of St Martin's for a tabernacle, at the rent of forty pounds a year; and that his Lordship hearing it, said he liked it well, and that thereupon Mr Baxter came to him himself, and upon his proposing the same thing to him, he acquainted the vestry; and they took it upon those terms (19)'. Thus this matter was fully and clearly made out beyond any possibility of a reply, and is a full proof that we ought not to take upon trust, whatever haughty or partial men may think fit to set down in their histories.

(17) *Complēt Hist. of England*, Vol. III. p. 412.

(18) *A Breviate of the Life of Mrs Margaret Baxter*, by Richard Baxter, 1681, 4^{to}, p. 57.

(19) *Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter*, Vol. I. p. 345.

(16) *Ibid.* Vol. I. P. 323—326.

fters; adding, that he did it not because they were Nonconformifts, but because many fuch were poor and pious. But the King's-Attorney, Sir Robert Sawyer, fued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord-Keeper North gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by order, and, as Providence directed it, there kept fafe, till King William the third afcended the throne, when the Commiffioners of the Great-Seal, reftored it to the ufe for which it was intended by the deceafed; and Mr Baxter difpofed of it accordingly (e). In the following year, 1684, Mr Baxter fell into a very bad ftate of health, fo as to be fcarce able to ftand. He was in this condition, when the Juftices of Peace for the county of Middlefex granted a warrant againft him, in order to his being bound to his good behaviour. They got into his houfe, but could not immediately get at him, Mr Baxter being in his ftudy, and their warrant not impowering them to break open doors. Six Conftables however, were fet to hinder him from getting to his bed-chamber, and fo by keeping him from food and fleep, they carried their point, and took him away to the Seflions-houfe, where he was bound in the penalty of four hundred pounds to keep the peace, and was brought up twice afterwards, though he kept his bed the greateft part of the time (f). In the beginning of the year 1685, Mr Baxter was committed to the King's-Bench prifon, by a warrant from the Lord Chief Juftice Jefferies, for his paraphrafe on the New Teftament, and tried on the 18th of May in the fame year in the court of King's-Bench, and found guilty, and on the 29th of June following received a very fevere fentence (g) [L].

In

(d) Calamy's A-
bridgment, Vol. I.
p. 361.
Account of Mi-
nifters fiftenced,
Vol. II. p. 902.

(f) Calamy's A-
bridgment, Vol. I.
p. 363.

(g) Id. *ibid.* p.
368—372.

[L] *Received a very fevere fentence.*] This trial of Mr Baxter was by much the moft remarkable tranfaftion in his life; and therefore, though we by no means affect long citations, yet in fuch a cafe as this we are under a neceffity of ftating things from a perfon, who has given us the faireft account of them, for the fake of authority. On the 6th of May, being the firft day of Eaft Term, 1685, Mr Baxter appeared in the court of King's-Bench, and Mr Attorney declared he would file an information againft him. On the 14th the defendant pleaded not guilty, and on the 18th, Mr Baxter being much indifpofed, and defiring farther time than to the 30th, which was the day appointed for the trial, he moved by his counfel that it might be put off; on which occafion the Chief Juftice antwered angrily, I will not give him a minute's time more to fave his life. We have had (fays he) to do with other forts of perfons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as finners. Yonder (fays he) ftands Oats in the pillory (as he actually did in the New Palace-yard), and he fays he fuffers for the truth, and fo does Baxter; but if Baxter did but ftand on the other fide of the pillory with him, I would fay two of the greateft rogues and rafcals in the kingdom ftood there. On the 30th of May, in the afternoon, he was brought to his trial before the Lord Chief Juftice Jefferies at Guild-hall. Sir Henry Ashurst, who could not forfake his own and his father's friend, ftood by him all the while. Mr Baxter came firft into court, and with all the marks of ferenity and compofure waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Juftice, who appeared quickly after with great indignation in his face. He no fooner fat down, than a fhort cafe was called, and tried; after which the clerk began to read the title of another cafe. You blockhead you (fays Jefferies), the next cafe is between Richard Baxter and the King: Upon which Mr Baxter's cafe was called. The paffages mentioned in the information, were his paraphrafe on *Matth. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 31. Mark xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2.* Thefe paffages were picked out by Sir Roger L'Eftange, and fome of his fraternity. And a certain noted clergyman (who fhall be namelefs) put into the hands of his enemies fome accusations out of *Rom. xiii. &c.* as againft the King, to touch his life; but no ufe was made of them. The great charge was, that in thefe feveral paffages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of England, and fo was guilty of fedition, &c. The King's counfel opened the information at large, with it's aggravations. Mr Wallop, Mr Williams, Mr Rotherham, Mr Atwood, and Mr Phipps, were Mr Baxter's counfel, and had been feeb by Sir Henry Ashurst. Mr Wallop faid, that he conceived the matter depending being a point of doctrine, it ought to be referred to the Bifhop, his Ordinary; but if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent and juftifiable, fetting afide the inuendo's, for which there was no colour, there being no antecedent to refer them to. (i. e. no Bifhop or Clergy of the Church of England named) He faid the book accufed, i. e. *The Comment on the New Teftament*, contained many eternal truths; but they who drew the

information were the libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of England, thofe fevere things which were written concerning fome Prelates who deferved the characters which he gave. My Lord (fays he), I humbly conceive the Bifhops Mr Baxter fpeaks of, as your Lordfhip, if you have read Church hiftory, muft confefs, were the plagues of the Church and of world. Mr Wallop, fays the Lord Chief Juftice, 'I obferve you are in all thefe dirty cafes; and were it not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who fhould have more wit and honefty, than to fupport and hold up thefe factious knaves by the chin, we fhould not be at the pafs we are.' My Lord, fays Mr Wallop, I humbly conceive, that the paffages accufed are natural deductions from the text. 'You humbly conceive,' fays Jefferies, and I humbly conceive: Swear him, 'fwear him.' My Lord, fays he, under favour, I am counfel for the defendant; and, if I understand either Latin or Englifh, the information now brought againft Mr Baxter upon fuch a flight ground, is a greater reflection upon the Church of England, than any thing contained in the book he is accufed for. Says Jefferies to him, 'Sometimes you humbly conceive, and fometimes you are very poffive: You talk of your skill in Church hiftory, and of your underftanding Latin and Englifh; I think I underftand fomething of them as well as you; but, in fhort, muft tell you, that if you do not underftand your duty better, I fhall teach it you.' Upon which Mr Wallop fat down. Mr Rotheram urged, that if Mr Baxter's book had fharp reflections upon the Church of Rome by name, but fpake well of the Prelates of the Church of England, it was to be prefumed that the fharp reflections were intended only againft the Prelates of the Church of Rome. The Lord Chief Juftice faid, Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and perfon of Bifhops. Rotheram added, that Baxter frequently attended divine fervice, went to the facrament, and perfwaded others to do fo too, as was certainly and publickly known; and had in the very book fo charged, fpoken very moderately and honourably of the Bifhops of the Church of England. Mr Baxter added, my Lord, I have been fo moderate with refpect to the Church of England, that I have incurred the cenfure of many of the Difsenters upon that account. 'Baxter for Bifhops, fays Jefferies, that's a merry conceit indeed: Turn to it, turn to it.' Upon this Rotheram turned to a place where 'tis faid, 'That great refpect is due to thofe truly called to be Bifhops among us,' or to that purpofe. 'Ay, faith Jefferies, this is your Prefbyterian cant; truly called to be Bifhops; that is himfelf, and fuch rafcals, called to be Bifhops of Kidderminfter, and other fuch places: Bifhops fet apart by fuch factious, fivelling Prefbyterians as himfelf; a Kidderminfter Bifhop he means: According to the faying of a late learned author, and every parifh fhall maintain, a Tith-pig Metropolitan.' Mr Baxter beginning to fpeak again, fays he to him, 'Richard, Richard, doft thou think we will hear thee poison the court, &c. Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou haft written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of fedition

(I)

In 1686, the King, by the mediation of the Lord Powis, granted him a pardon; and, on the 24th of November he was discharged out of the King's-Bench. Sureties, however were required for his good behaviour, but it was entered on his bail-piece by direction of King James, that his remaining in London, contrary to the Oxford act, should not be taken as a breach of the peace. After this he retired to a house he took in Charter-house yard, contenting himself with the exercise of his ministry, as assistant to Mr Sylvester, and though no man was better qualified than he, for managing the publick affairs of his party, yet he never meddled with them, nor had the least to do with those addresses which were presented by some of that body to King James II on his indulgence (b). After his settlement in Charter-house yard, he continued about four years and a half in the exercise of publick duties, till he became so very weak as to be forced to keep his chamber. Even then he ceased not to do good, so far as it was in his power; and as he spent his life in taking pains, so to the last moment of it he directed his Christian brethren by the light of a good example. He departed this life December 8, 1691. A few days after his corps was interred in Christ-church, being attended to the grave by a large company of all ranks and qualities, especially ministers, and amongst them not a few of the Established Church, who very prudently paid this last tribute of respect to the memory of a great and good man, whose labours deserved much from true Christians of all denominations (i). He was a man, to speak impartially from the consideration of his writings, who had as strong a head, and as found a heart, as any of the age in which he lived. He was too conscientious to comply from temporal motives, and his charity was too extensive to think of recommending himself to popular applause by a rigid behaviour. These sentiments produced such a practice as inclined some to believe he had a religion of his own, which was the reason that when Sir John Gayer bequeathed a legacy by will to men of moderate notions, he could think of no better expression than this, that they should be of Mr Baxter's religion (k) [M]. We need not wonder that a person so little addicted to any party should

(b) Id. ibid. p. 375, 402, 407. Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 905.

(i) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 404.

(k) Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 932.

experience

' (I might say treason) as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the Grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty Don, and a Doctor of the party (looking to Dr Bates) at your elbow; but, by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all.' Mr Rotheram sitting down, Mr Attwood began to shew, that not one of the passages mentioned in the information ought to be strained to that sense, which was put upon them by the innuendo's, they being more natural when taken in a milder sense, nor could any one of them be applied to the Prelates of the Church of England without a very forced construction. To evince this he would have read some of the text: But Jefferies cried out, you shall not draw me into a conventicle with your annotations, nor your snivelling parson neither. My Lord, say Attwood, I conceive this to be expressly within Roswell's case, lately before your Lordship. You conceive, says Jefferies, you conceive anis; it is not. My Lord, says Mr Attwood, that I may use the best authority, permit me to repeat your Lordship's own words in that case. No, you shall not, says he. You need not speak, for you are an author already; though you speak and write impertinently. Says Attwood, I cannot help that my Lord, if my talent be no better; but it is my duty to do my best for my client. Jefferies thereupon went on, inveighing against what Attwood had published: And Attwood justified it to be in defence of the English constitution, declaring that he never disowned any thing that he had written. Jefferies several times ordered him to sit down, but he still went on. My Lord, says he, I have matter of Law to offer for my client; and he proceeded to cite several cases, wherein it had been adjudged that words ought to be taken in the milder sense, and not to be strained by innuendo's. Well, says Jefferies, when he had done, you have had your say. Mr Williams and Mr Phipps said nothing, for they saw it was to no purpose. At length says Mr Baxter himself, My Lord, I think I can clearly answer all that is laid to my charge, and I shall do it briefly. The sum is contained in these few papers, to which I shall add a little by testimony: But he would not hear a word. At length the Chief Justice summed up the matter in a long and falshome harangue. ' 'Tis notoriously known (says he) there has been a design to

' ruin the King and the nation. The old game has been renewed, and this has been the main incendiary. He is as modest now as can be; but time was, when no man was so ready at bind your Kings in chains, and your Nobles in fetters of iron; and to your tents O Israel. Gentlemen, for God's sake don't let us be gulled twice in an age, &c.' And when he concluded, he told the jury, that if they in their consciences believed he meant the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, in the passages which the information referred to, they must find him guilty; and he could mean no man else; if not, they must find him not guilty. When he had done, says Mr Baxter to him, Does your Lordship think any jury will pretend to pass a verdict upon me, upon such a trial? ' I'll warrant you Mr Baxter, says he, don't you trouble yourself about that.' The jury immediately laid their heads together at the bar, and found him guilty. As he was going from the bar, Mr Baxter told my Lord Chief Justice, who had so loaded him with reproaches, and yet continued them, that ' a predecessor of his had had other thoughts of him.' Upon which he replied, ' That there was not an honest man in England but what took him for a great knave.' He had subpoenaed several clergymen, who appeared in court, but were of no use to him, through the violence of the Chief Justice. The trial being over, Sir Henry Ashurst led Mr Baxter through the crowd (I mention it to his honour), and conveyed him away in his coach. On June the 29th following he had judgment given against him. He was fined five hundred marks, to lie in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. (20).

(20) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 368—372.

[M] That they should be of Mr Baxter's religion.] Sir John Gayer did by his last will and testament bequeath a considerable sum of money to persons lately entered into the ministry, and young students for the ministry, with this restriction, that they should be such as were neither for domination nor unnecessary separation, but of Mr Baxter's principles. His Lady, being of the Established Church, inclined to pay the legacy to such as were within Sir John's description of her own community. Upon this a Chancery suit was commenced, wherein it was proved, to the satisfaction of the court, that Mr Baxter was a Nonconformist; whereupon a decree went in favour of the plaintiffs (21). This was certainly a very singular case, and much for the honour of Mr Baxter, since it plainly appears that Sir John Gayer thought him a man of distinguished piety and uncommon moderation; and, on the other hand, neither Church nor Dissenters could be prevailed on to part with their right in him, but actually tried it in a court of equity.

(21) Account of Ministers silenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 932.

experience the bitterness of all, and in truth, no man was ever more severely treated in this respect than Mr Baxter, against whom more books were written, than against any man in the age in which he lived [N]. His friends, however, were such as the bare repetition of their names might well pass for a panegyrick, since it is impossible they could have lived in terms of strict intimacy with any other than a wife and upright man [O]. But the best testimony of Mr Baxter's worth may be drawn from his own writings, of which he left behind him a very large number [P]. Many indeed have censured them, though it is certain, that

[N] *Against any man in the age in which he lived.* It is said that in whole, or in part, no less than sixty treatises were opposed to him and his writings; neither would it be difficult to make this good by a distinct citation of them; but, for brevity's sake, perhaps the following succinct account may do as well. He had for his adversaries certain modern Sadducees, who were provoked by his strenuously asserting the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. He was opposed by Materialists, on account of his maintaining the distinction between spirit and substance. By the Anti-trinitarians, for affirming their doctrines to be incompatible with the scriptures. By certain zealous Ecclesiasticks, for representing the old controversies with the Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites, as capable of easier reconciliations than is allowed by fierce dividers. By Arians and Socinians, as judging too hardly of such as deny the godhead of Christ. By Arminians, as holding special Election and differing Grace. By hot Anti-arminians, for holding such free-will and universal redemption, as Usher, Davenant and Preston, and other such knowing men defended. By the Anabaptists, for writing so much and so warmly for Infant Baptism. By rigid dissenting Separatists, for separating no farther from the Conformists than they separate themselves from necessary truths, and for persuading men to communion with the parish assemblies. By the Conforming Separatists, for not separating from all save themselves, and for owning those to be faithful servants of Christ whom they reject. By Clement Writer, and the Seekers, for asserting the Certainty of Scripture Verity, as sealed by the Spirit, by miracles and sanctification; and for maintaining that there is yet a continuance of a true Ministry and true Churches. By Mr Liford, and some others, for taking the blasphemers of the Holy Ghost to be fixed Infidels, judging Christ's miracles to be by the Devil. By Mr Henry Dodwell, for not taking the office of Presbyters to be varied by the will of the Bishop or Ordainer, without being determined by Christ's institution; and for not denying the Presbyters and Bishops of the reformed Churches to be real ministers, and not unchurching their Churches, who have not an uninterrupted succession of canonical ordination by Dioceans, as from the days of the Apostles, and not inveighing against them as committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, in administering the sacraments while but laymen, though he himself held such as the French to be true ministers. By the Erastians, for vindicating the power of the keys, and the necessity of ministerial Church discipline. By the Independents, for being too much for a national Church, and against their unnecessary covenanting terms of communion, and their giving too much power to popular votes. By the Scottish Presbyterians, for being against the imposition of their Covenant, and too much for Episcopacy. By zealous Churchmen, because he was not entirely a Conformist, and particularly differed from them in his notions of Episcopacy. By eager Politicians, who sought to represent him as a republican, and avowed enemy to monarchy, and to the Royal family. By loose and licentious writers, who, through the sides of Mr Baxter, were for ridiculing and exposing religion and sobriety, morality, and good manners (22). All these adversaries pursued him with uncommon virulence in sentiment and language; and he, on the other hand, defended himself with great vigour against them all, being seldom known to quit the field where his adversary brought any other weapon to the dispute than scurrility. To set down the names of all who made themselves remarkable by contending with Mr Baxter would take up too much room, and therefore let it suffice, that we give an instance in one of the malice of the rest; and this instance shall be an epitaph, or monumental inscription, drawn up for him in his life-time, and published, that he might see how he was to be represented after his death. 'Hic jacet Richardus Baxter, Theologus Armatus, Lololita Reformatus,

Hæresiarcha Arianus, Schismaticorum Antesignanus: Cujus pruritus disputandi peperit, scriptandi cacœthes nutrit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit ecclesiæ scabiem. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximò: Tum sibi cum alius nonconformis præteritis, presentibus, et futuris: Regum et Episcoporum juratus hostes: Ipsumque rebellium solenne foedus. Qui natus erat per septuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandos regni respublicas, et ad bis perdendam Ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excedit ausis. Deo gratias (23). The sense of which is, Here lies RICHARD BAXTER, a militant cacœthes nutrit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit ecclesiæ scabiem. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximò: Tum sibi cum alius nonconformis præteritis, presentibus, et futuris: Regum et Episcoporum juratus hostes: Ipsumque rebellium solenne foedus. Qui natus erat per septuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandos regni respublicas, et ad bis perdendam Ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excedit ausis. Deo gratias (23). The sense of which is, Here lies RICHARD BAXTER, a militant di-

(22) Review of Mr Baxter's Life, by Mr Thomas Long, p. 189.

[O] *With any other than a wife and upright man.* We have already mentioned many of his court friends, to whom we ought to add the famous Duke of Lauderdale, the Earl of Balcarras, a Scotch nobleman of the name of Lesley, and at the head of the Presbyterian interest in that kingdom. The great Chief Justice Hale, who honoured him with an intimate friendship, gave a high encomium of his piety and learning to all the Judges; when he was in prison, on the Oxford act, left him a legacy in his will, and several large books, in his own hand-writing, on the matter of their confessions; Alderman Ashurst, Sir John Maynard, Sir James Langham, Sir Edward Harley, &c. He was likewise honoured with the correspondence of many foreign Divines, such as Mr Brunfenius, Chaplain to the Elector Brandenburg; Dr Spencer, chaplain to the Elector of Saxony; the celebrated Monsieur Amyrald, and many others: Among whom we ought not to forget Dr John Tillotson then Dean of St Paul's, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (24).

[P] *Of which he left behind him a large number.* Dr Bates tells us that his books, which for number, and variety of matter were sufficient to make a library, contain a treasure of Controversial, Casuistical, Positive, and Practical Divinity (25). Bishop Wilkins affirms, that he has cultivated every subject he has handled (26). Dr Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, commends him as a useful and pious writer (27). But the reverend Mr Long of Exeter, whom we have quoted more than once, says, that it would be well for the world if they were all burned (28). According to his computation, they were in number fourscore: Dr Calamy says he wrote above one hundred and twenty (29). Neither of these computations are exact. The author of this note hath seen a hundred and forty-five distinct treatises of Mr Baxter's, whereof four were folio's, seventy-three quarto's, forty-nine octavo's, and nineteen in twelves and twenty-four's, besides single sheets, separate sermons, and at least five and twenty prefaces before other men's writings. The first book he published was his *Aphorisms of Justification, and the Covenants*, printed in 1649, and the last in his life-time; *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, printed in 1691, so that he was an author two and fifty years. Amongst his most famous pieces were his *Saints Everlasting Rest*; his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which twenty thousand were sold in one year. It was translated into all the European languages, and into the Indian tongue; his *Reformed Liturgy*, his *Catholic Theology*, his *Poor Man's Family Book*, his *Dying Thoughts*, and his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*. His practical works have been printed altogether in four volumes in folio, and it is a

(24) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 405—410. Life of Sir Matthew Hale, by Bishop Burnet, p. 39.

(25) In his Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(26) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 410.

(27) *Aqua Genitalis*, p. 471.

(28) Account of Ministers silenced, Vol. II. p. 904.

(29) *Id.* ibid.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 905, 906.

that some of his books met with as general a reception as any that ever were printed, and the judicious Dr Barrow, whose opinion all competent judges will admit, gave this judgment upon them, *his practical writings were never mended, his controversial seldom confuted* (1).

(1) Calamy's A-bridgment, Vol. I. p. 422.

puty the same care has not been taken of those of another kind. On the whole, his books are like to share always the same fate their author had while living, that

is, to be mightily esteemed by some, and mightily condemned by others.

B A X T E R (WILLIAM) nephew and heir of Mr Richard Baxter, mentioned in the last article (a), was an eminent Schoolmaster and Critick, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century. His family was ancient and not inconsiderable [A], but (by what means we are not informed) his parents were but in very indifferent circumstances (b). He was born in the house of his mother's father, at Llanlugany, an obscure village in Shropshire (c), in the year 1650 (d). No care, it seems, was taken of his education in his younger years: For, at the age of eighteen, when he first went to the school at Harrow on the Hill in Middlesex, where he was educated (e), 'he knew not one letter in a book, nor understood one word of any language but Welsh (f).' But he so well redeemed and improved his time, that he became a person of great and extensive knowledge. His genius led him chiefly to the study of Antiquities and Philology, in which he composed several books. The first he published, was in 1679, a Grammar, intituled, *De Analogia seu Arte Latinæ Linguae Commentariolus* [B]. Next, in 1695, a new and correct edition of Anacreon, with Notes; reprinted in 1710 with considerable additions and improvements [C]. In 1701 he put out an edition of Horace [D], which was reprinted in 1725, with additions. And in 1719 he published his curious and learned Dictionary of the British Antiquities [E]; of which a second edition came out in 1733, after the author's decease. His Glossary of the Roman Antiquities, which goes no further than the letter A, was published

(d) This is evident from his age, at the time of his death.

(e) See his Scholia in Horatii Epistol. lib. i. xv. — in sacro isto monte Musus primus advenimus.

(f) Of this he himself informed the Rev. Mr Moses Williams. See General Dictionary, in the article BAXTER (WILLIAM).

(a) *Autoris Vita in gratiam filiorum ab ipso conscripta*; prefixed to his *Glossarium Antiq. Britann.* Lond. 1731. 8vo. N. B. It is very imperfect.

(b) *Notus sum* (as he saith himself in his Life) — *in tenui re — innocuis parentibus* —

(c) *Vita, &c. ubi supra.*

(1) *Vita, ubi supra, p. 1, 2, &c.*

[A] *His family was ancient, and not inconsiderable*.] He derives his pedigree (like a true Cambro-Briton) through a long series of ancestors, from John Baxter, who, in the reign of Henry VI, settled at Shrewsbury. And he shews, that the name of *Baxter* signifies originally a Baker. in Saxon *Bæceter*; and that it was given that family, because they were *Bakers* to the ancient Princes of Wales; in which post, according to the custom of the ancient Celtes and Greeks, the noblest persons were employed. — *De more scilicet veterum Celta- rum atque Græcorum, ut nobilissimi quique in sanulatu essent Regio, domesticisque fungerentur officii* (1).

[B] *De Analogia, &c.*] The whole title is thus: *De Analogia, sive arte Linguae Latinæ commentariolus; in quo omnia, etiam reconditoris grammaticæ elementa, ratione novâ tractantur, & ad brevissimos canones rediguntur. In usum proventoris adolescentiæ. Operâ Wilhelmi Baxteri Philistoris.* Lond. 1679, 12mo. He is very short upon the points of Orthography, Prosody, and Syntaxis, but dwells a great while upon Etymology; in which, among other peculiar notions of his own, he makes the first word of the imperative mood the theme, not only of the several declensions of the verbs, but likewise of all the participles and verbal nouns. The seventh chapter is concerning the grammatical figures; and the eighth treating of the poetical metre, and the method of making Latin verses.

[C] *A new and correct edition of Anacreon, &c.*] The title of which is as follows: *Anacreontis Teij carmina. Plurimis quibus hætenus scatebant mendis purgavit, turbata metra restituit, notasque cum nova interpretatione literali adjecit Willielmus Baxter.* Subjiciuntur etiam duo vetustissima poetriæ Sapphus elegantissima odaria, unâ cum correptione Isaaci Volsii, & Theocriti Anacreonticum in mortuum Adonin. Lond. 1697, and 1710, 8vo. In the dedication he makes very free with the famous Tanaquil Faber, who formerly published an edition of that Poet, calling him a silly Frenchman, who rejects as false and spurious whatever he doth not understand; that he trifles every where, hath no acuteness nor critical discernment, but is a meer blockhead. J. Cornelius de Pauw, who published a new edition of Anacreon at Utrecht in 1732, 4to, is even with Mr Baxter, and treats him with as much contempt as he had done T. Faber; saying, that his, and Joshua Barnes's Commentaries upon that poet, are full of the most silly and ridiculous trifles. Such is the common usage of criticks to each other. Sec Dr Bentley's notes throughout.

[D] *In 1701 he put out an edition of Horace, which was reprinted in 1725.*] The second edition was finished by him but a few days before his decease, and published under this title: *Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogæ,*

una cum scholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis. Adjecit etiam, ubi visum est, & sua; textumque ipsum plurimis locis vel corruptum vel turbatum restituit Willielmus Baxter, 8vo. In this some things are corrected, others altered, and several additions made. The notes are collected from the most eminent commentators on Horace, particularly those two ancient ones, *Helenius Aro*, and *Pomponius Porphyrio*; and also from the moderns, namely from *Lambinus*, *Cruquius*, *Torrentius*, *Lubinus*, *Chr. Landinus*, *Anton. Mancinellus*, *Muretus*, *Henric. Stephanus*, *Heinsius*, &c. As for *Tanaq. Faber*, he says he hath not one good note upon that poet. And, with regard to *Dacier*, he leaves the candid reader to judge, whether the want of fidelity or diligence is most to be complained of in that commentator. Then as to *Dr Bentley*, he seems in his opinion to have rather buried Horace under a heap of rubbish, than to have illustrated him. *Scriptorem ipsum videtur magis oppressisse quam adornasse.* (To this second edition are subjoined the third Satire of the second book of Horace restored to it's original order, by *Dr Aldrich*, Dean of Christ-church, and an account of that poet's metre by *Chr. Wase*.)

[E] *In 1719 he published his — Dictionary of the British Antiquities.*] Under the title of *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, sive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum veteris Britannicæ atque Ibernicæ, temporibus Romanorum. Authore Willielmo Baxter, Cornario, Scholæ Merciariorum præfeto*, 8vo. Dedicated to *Richard Mead*, M. D. by whose advice it had been saved from the flames. In the dedication and preface the author observes, that by the help of his knowledge in the British, or Welsh tongue (which he affirms to be absolutely necessary to a British Antiquary) he had corrected *Camden* in a great many passages, and added about two hundred names of ancient places and rivers, which were not taken notice of in his *Britannia*; besides the old appellations of *Gods*, *Kings*, and *Generals*, which he had explained according to the best of his abilities; and had compared occasionally the surnames and expressions of *Old Gaul*, and other countries. Through the whole work he goes upon this supposition, that all the nations of Europe were *Heneti*, or *Brigantes*, and of an Asiatic origin; and on account of their being *Foreigners* at first, were called *Galli* by other nations. In the second edition are added some short notes, in the beginning, by *Dr W. Stukely*, F. R. S. and, at the end, *Mr Edw. Lhwyd's* posthumous observations on the names of the rivers, mountains, towns, &c. in Britain. By extracts of some letters published in the beginning of this book, it appears that the author was above twenty years about it.

* He intended also to have written Commentaries upon Ovid's Metamorphoses, but did not.

(g) No. 306. p. 223o.

(b) This Letter is only what he had written in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, concerning Wroxeter; and is to be found there, in the article *Veroconium*.

(i) No. 311. p. 2438.

(k) To which is annexed a salary of 40*l.* a year, with a house. See Stow's and Strype's Survey of London, &c. Vol. I. book 1. p. 169. edit. Lond. 1720.

published in 1726, by the reverend and learned Mr Moses Williams [F]: who also put out proposals in 1732 for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal [G]. He had likewise made notes on Perlius; which are at present either lost or mislaid. And translated into English some of Plutarch's Lives, done some years ago by several hands (*). Our author was an extraordinary good Linguist, and a great master of the ancient British and Irish tongues; most particularly skilled in the Latin and Greek, and in the northern and Eastern languages. He kept a correspondence with the learnedest men of his time, especially with that eminent Antiquarian Mr Edward Lhwyd. Some of his Letters are published at the end of his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, of which we shall give an account in the note [H]. There are likewise in the Philosophical Transactions (g), two letters of his to Dr Harwood; one concerning the town of *Veroconium*, or Wroxeter, in Shropshire (b); and the other concerning the *Hypocausta*, or Sweating-Houses of the Ancients. And another to Dr Hans Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society (i), containing an abstract of Mr Edward Lhwyd's *Archeologia Britannica*, or Account of the Languages, Histories, and Customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, &c. Mr Baxter was taken up for the most part of his life, with the toilsome employment of teaching youth. For he kept some years a boarding-school at Tottenham-High-Cross in Middlesex: from whence he was chosen master of Mercers school, near Cheapside in London (k). In this post he continued above twenty years (l); but resigned it before his death, which happened on the thirty-first of May 1723, in the seventy-third year of his age (m). Having had no thoughts of marrying in his younger days, and even rejected some advantageous offers, he took at last to wife a woman without a fortune, but of a very good character, named Sarah Carturit, by whom he had two sons, and three daughters (n).

(l) See *Trist.* 33 above, towards the end.

(m) See *General Dictionary*, under the article BAXTER (WILLIAMS.)

(n) Vita, ubi supra.

[F] His *Glossary of the Roman Antiquities* ——— was published in 1726, by Mr Moses Williams. It was published under the title of *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, sive Willielmi Baxteri opera posthuma. Præmittitur eruditi auctoris vitæ a seipso conscriptæ Fragmentum*. But the book, very likely, not selling under that title, it was republished in 1731, with this title, *Glossarium Antiquitatum Romanarum, A Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum Præfeto. Accedunt eruditi auctoris vitæ a seipso conscriptæ Fragmentum, et selectæ quædam ejusdem Epistolæ*. Lond. 8vo. The author intended, if God had granted him life, to have gone through the whole alphabet, but he was hindered from proceeding in this useful, though difficult, undertaking, by the discouragement he met with from the Bookfellers, to whom he offered the copy of his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, when it was ready for the press (2). To satisfy the learned reader's curiosity we shall insert one article, which will give a true notion of the author's method. 'A, Au, vel Ab, à Græco Απ' vel Αρ' pro Απδ; veteribus Gothis Af, uti & Germanis; indigenis nostris Av, unde & Σεπν- ΤΙΧΩΝ A, quod sequente Vocali est 'Ar, uti & Persis, Armenis & veteribus Britannis; Anglis Un, & Latinis In, etiam sequente Confona.' Most of the articles are long and learned Dissertations.

[G] Who also put out proposals in 1732 for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal. Under this title, *Gulielmi Baxteri quæ supersunt enarrationes & notæ in D. Junii Juvenalis Satyras. Accedit rerum & verborum observatione digniorum, quæ in iisdem occurrunt, Index locupletissimus. Accurante Mose Gulielmo A. M. R. S. Soc.*

[H] Some of his letters are published at the end of his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*. The first is a very curious one to Mr Edw. Lhwyd, in which he asks his judgment of the account he there gives him of the antient language and alphabet. In the first place he takes it for granted, that no language is natural; and concludes, that as the sounds, or *Potestates*, of the letters were first owing to the imitation of sounds natural; so the first figures were contrived to signify, for the most

part, the things from which those sounds were first learned. For instance, A wide is the voice of a Bull, which is therefore called by the Syrians *Alpha*, or *Ail appa*, *Huyes attes* in Phrygian, and in Latin *Liber pater*, in Egyptian *Ou Siri*, and sometime only *Apis*, which, as is well known, was represented under the shape of a Bull. — B we learnt of the Sheep: The Tyrians therefore call it *Baita*, and *Babine* is still Greek for a Sheep-skin: And so on. He sums up the whole by observing, that the whole Alphabet consists first of Gutturals, which are the Vowels, with H, X, and Ng, or Y, which H being added to any Vowel or Consonant, will make a secondary kind of Alphabet, as *Ha, Bha, &c.* He places these Gutturals first, because they are most simple, and common to man with brutes. The second sort he calls *Linguals*, which are proper to mankind, and borrowed by imitation from animal and other sounds. Palatins and Dentals are reduced to these. The third sort are *Labiaks*, formed by the lips alone.

In another letter he says, that before the invention of letters, the heads of nails served to count by, and that for a memorial of that antient usage, they elevated their cups, chairs, hilts of their swords, and their very letters. At Rome they kept memorandums of years, by driving a nail in the Capitol, on the ides of September, as is well known.

In a third letter he observes, that Plutarch in his *Cato Uticensis* makes Cicero the contriver of writing *per notas* (in characters or short-hand) upon the score of Catiline's conspiracy. And that he used that way of writing is apparent from an epistle of his *ad Atticum*, lib. XIII. Dion. lib. LV. tells us, that Mecænas communicated the art to the publick by his freed man *Aquila*, as Eusebius in *Chronicis* saith Cicero did by his man *Tyro*. Notwithstanding all this, it appears by Suetonius in his *Cæsar*, that Cæsar himself did write *per notas*. For my own part, saith Mr Baxter, I am very apt to believe this way of writing to have been universal before a Musician invented the Alphabet. The antient marks, used both by Musicians and Physicians, I take to be a remainder of these *Notæ*. C

BAYLY (LEWIS), Bishop of Bangor in the reign of King James I, and author of a celebrated piece called *The Practise of Piety* [A], was born in the town of Caermarthen in

[A] He wrote a celebrated Treatise called *The Practise of Piety*. The title at length is, *The Practise of Piety, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God*; with this motto, *Piety hath the Promise*. 1 Tim. iv. 8. It is dedicated to the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales; and the author tells His highness, he had 'endeavoured to extract (out of the Chaos of endless controversies) the old practice of true Piety, which flourished before those controversies were hatched (1).' After the Epistle Dedicatory follows this distich, addressed to that Prince:

Ad Carolum Principem.

Tolle malos, extolle bonos, cognosce teipsum;
Sacra tene, paci consule, disce pati.

The reader may judge of the reception this book has met with from the great number of editions it has run through; that in *octavo*, 1734, being the *fifty-ninth*. Mr Wood tells us, it was the substance of several sermons, preached by Dr Bayly while he was minister of Evelham; that it was translated into Welsh, and into French

(1) *Practise of Piety*, edit. 1734. Dedicat. p. 8.

in Wales, and educated at Oxford; but in what college we cannot say. We find only, that he was admitted to the reading of the sentences, in the year 1611; about which time, he was Minister of Evesham in Worcester-shire, Chaplain to Prince Henry, and Rector of St Matthew, in Friday-street, London; and that he proceeded in Divinity two years after. Being an eminent Preacher, he was appointed one of King James's Chaplains; who promoted him to the See of Bangor, to which he was consecrated, at Lambeth, December the eighth, 1616. On the fifteenth of July 1621, he was committed a prisoner to the Fleet: but what his crime was, we know not; unless, perhaps, it concerned Prince Henry's match with the Infanta of Spain. This Prelate died in the beginning of the year 1632, and was buried in the church of Bangor. He left behind him four sons, Nicholas, John, Theodore, and Thomas (a); the last of whom deserves our particular notice (b).

(a) Wood, *Atten. Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 567.

(b) See the next article.

French in the year 1633; and that the fame of it was so great, that one John D'Espagne, a French writer, and preacher in Somerset-house chapel, complained, that the generality of the common people looked upon it's authority as equal to that of the Bible (2). Lewis du Moulin denies Bishop Bayly the honour of writing this book. He pretends (3), it was the composition of a Puritan minister, and purchased of the author's widow by Dr Bayly, who interpolated it in several places, and published it as his own; and that the style and sentiments of the book being absolutely puritanical, and

yet a Bishop's name being prefixed to it, occasioned it to be equally fought after by Puritans and Episcoparians. Others ascribe the *Practise of Piety* to Mr Price, Archdeacon of Bangor. But Dr White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough (4), has put it beyond all question, that our Prelate was the true author of this book, and that pretending the contrary was a lying, malicious, puritan story, invented by that proud pharisaical faction, who were not willing a book so well esteemed should be writ by a Bishop.

(4) In his *Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil*, Lond. 1722. fol. p. 350.

(2) Wood, *Atten. Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 567.

(3) *Apud Patro-nus bonæ fidei: in the chapter containing Specimen contra Durellum*, p. 48.

B A Y L Y (THOMAS), Doctor of Divinity, and son of Dr Lewis Bayly Bishop of Bangor (a), was educated at Cambridge; and, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was presented by King Charles I, in May 1638, to the sub-deanry of Wells, upon the promotion of Dr William Roberts to the See of Bangor. In 1644, he retired, among other loyal Ministers, to Oxford, and, in the month of August that year, was created Master of Arts, and soon after Doctor in Divinity. In 1646, we find him with the Marquis of Worcester in Ragland-Castle, which that nobleman defended for King Charles I, against the Parliament army. But that castle being surrendered on the nineteenth of August in the same year, upon good articles, mostly of Dr Bayly's framing, he travelled into France and other countries; where having spent a considerable sum of money, which he had gotten from the said Marquis, he returned into England the year after the King's death. Having given offence by his writings (b), he was committed prisoner to Newgate; out of which he soon made his escape, and retired to Holland; where he declared himself a Roman-Catholic, and became a great zealot for that cause, often breaking out into rage and fury against the Protestant religion, which he had before preached and professed. Some time after, he left Holland, and settled at Douay; and at last went into Italy, where he died [A]. We shall take notice of him as an author in the remark (c) [B].

(a) See the preceding article.

(b) See the remark [B].

(c) Wood, *Atten. Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 567, 568, 569.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 569.

[A] *He died in Italy.* Anthony Wood tells us (1) he was informed by several Roman Catholics, that Dr Bayly was received into the service of Cardinal Ottononi, and that he died in the Cardinal's family, whilst his Eminence resided at Ferrara as Nuncio from the Pope. But an English traveller assured our Biographer, that this was not true; that the Doctor was reduced to the necessity of turning common soldier; that he lived poor at Bononia; and that he saw his grave there. And this account was confirmed by Dr Trevor, Fellow of Merton-college (younger brother to Sir John Trevor, some time Secretary of State), who was in Italy in 1659, and who several times told Mr Wood, that Dr Bayly died obscurely in an hospital, and that he had seen the place where he was buried.

[B] *He was an author.* Soon after his return into England in 1649, he published a book, intitled, *Certamen Religiosum: Or, A Conference between King Charles I, and Henry late Marquis of Worcester, concerning Religion, in Ragland-castle*, an. 1646. Printed at London, in octavo. The Doctor was blamed by the true sons of the Church of England for publishing this piece, in which the Romish cause was set forth with great pomp; and it was looked upon by many as nothing else than a prologue to the declaring himself a Papist. Besides, the orthodox party affirmed, that this Conference had nothing of the style of King Charles I in it, and that the Marquis of Worcester had not abilities to maintain a discourse of religious matters with the King. There was published in 1651, *An Answer, with Considerations on Dr Bayly's parenthetical Interlocution, by Hammond L'Esrange*; and C. C. i. e. Christopher Cartwright of York, published *An Answer to Certamen Religiosum, &c. together with a Vindication of the Protestant Cause*. Printed at London, 1651, in quarto. About the same time Dr Peter

Heylyn put out an advertisement against it, as an imposture, in his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to the collection of King Charles's works, intitled *Bibliotheca Regia*; in which the *Conference* is inserted, but omitted in all other impressions of his Majesty's works (2). The same year Dr Bayly published *The Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himself, &c.* To which he added *A Treatise, wherein is proved, that Episcopacy is Jure Divino*. It was afterwards reprinted at London, in 1656 and 1680, in octavo. In this piece, Mr Wood tells us, the Doctor, like an unskilful builder, *diruit ædificat*; what he rears with one hand, pulls down with the other, and is guilty of many egregious errors, a specimen of which may be seen in a book, intitled, *Legenda Ligneæ* (3). And, amongst many stories of his travels, having sailed with great freedom at all the governments in Europe, he at last falls desperately on that newly established in England; which provoked a strict enquiry after the author, and ended in his discovery and imprisonment in Newgate. During his confinement he wrote a piece, intitled, *Herba Parietis: Or, The Wall-flower, as it grows out of the Stone-chamber belonging to the Metropolitan prison; being an History, which is partly true, partly romantic, morally divine; whereby a marriage between Reality and Fancy is solemnized by Divinity*. Printed at London, in 1650, in a thin folio; in the Preface to which the author falls foul upon Peter Heylyn, whom he calls a fellow without a name, for the advertisement abovementioned. He also tells us of his great sufferings in the late civil war, in which, he pretends, he had lost not only a thousand pounds per annum, but his blood and his liberty; and he brags of the nobility of his descent, his father being a Peer, and his mother a Knight's daughter. Whilst he lived at Douay, he gave the public a book, intitled, *The End to Controversy between the Roman*

(2) Wood, ubi supra, col. 568.

(3) Printed at London, 1653, 8vo, c. xxxvii. p. 165, 166.

man Catholic and Protestant Religions, justified by all the several manner of ways, whereby all kind of Controversies, of what nature soever, are usually, or can possibly, be determined. Printed at Douay in 1654, in quarto, and dedicated to Walter Montague, Abbot of Nanteuil, and afterwards of Pontoise. There also goes under Dr Bayly's name, *The Life and Death of the renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*. Printed at London in 1655, in octavo. But the true author of this work, Mr Wood assures us (4), was one Richard Hall, Doctor of Divinity, some time Fellow of Christ's-college in Cambridge (of which Bishop Fisher was a member), afterwards Canon and Official of the cathedral church of St Omers; who leaving it behind him at his death in 1604, it was esteemed a curious piece, and as such deposited in the library of the English Benedictines at Dieuward in Lorrain. Afterwards several copies of it getting abroad, one of them fell into the hands one West; from whom it came into the possession of Francis a Sancta Clara in 1623, and from him (as Mr Wood was assured from his own mouth) to Sir

Wingfield Bodenham; who, keeping it in his hands several years, with an intention to print it in the name of the true author, communicated it for some time to Dr Bayly; who, taking a copy thereof, and making some alterations in it, sold it for a small sum of money to a Bookseller, who printed it at London under the name of Thomas Bayly, D. D. Mr Wood adds, that he had seen a manuscript life of Bishop Fisher, beginning thus; *Est in Eboracensi Comitatu, ad septem à Londino lapide, ad aquilonem, Beverleie oppidum, &c.* Who the author was, he knew not; but thinks it not unlikely Hall had seen it, having been written before his time. There is another work ascribed to our author, intitled, *Golden Apophthegms of King Charles I, and Henry Marquis of Worcester*. Printed at London in 1660, in one sheet quarto. But Mr Wood tells us, they were taken entirely from another piece, intitled, *Witty Apophthegms delivered at several times, and upon several occasions, by King James, King Charles I, and the Marquis of Worcester*. Lond. 1658, 8vo. without the author's name. T

(4) Ubi supra, col. 569.

B A Y N E S (Sir THOMAS), an eminent Physician, and Professor of Musick at Gresham-college in London, was born about the year 1622, and educated at Christ's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of the learned Dr Henry More, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts about the year 1642 (a). In 1649, he took the degree of Master of Arts (b), after which time he applied himself to the study of Physick. He went into Italy in company with Mr Finch (afterwards Sir John) with whom he had contracted the strictest friendship [A]; and at Padua they were both created Doctors of Physick [B]. Upon the Restoration of King Charles II, in 1660, Mr Baynes and Mr Finch returned into England (c), and the same year their Grace was passed at Cambridge, for creating them Doctors of Physick in that university (d). On the twenty-sixth of February following, Mr Baynes, together with Sir John Finch (e), was admitted a Fellow-Extraordinary of the College of Physicians of London [C]. Dr Petty having resigned his Professorship of Musick in Gresham-college, Dr Baynes was chosen, to succeed him, the eighth of March 1660; and the twenty-sixth of June following, he and his friend Sir John Finch were admitted Graduates in Physick at Cambridge, in pursuance of the Grace passed in their favour the year before [D]. The winter following, this inseparable pair

(a) Communicated by the Rev. Mr Baker of Cambridge. Apud Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college*, folio, Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(b) Registr. Academ. Cantabr.

(c) Ward, ubi supra, p. 228.

(d) Registr. Academ. Cantabr.

(e) He had been knighted the year of the preceding month.

[A] Mr Finch — with whom he had contracted the strictest friendship.] This gentleman was of the same college with Mr Baynes, and a pupil likewise of Dr More's; and the lives and fortunes of these fellow-collegians were so interwoven, as to render their history in a manner inseparable. They have a tradition at Christ's-college, that while Mr Finch was a student there, Mr Baynes, who was then his Sizar, took the liberty to admonish him with great tenderness of some misconduct in his behaviour, which at first he repented, but afterwards complied with his advice, and made him his constant and bosom-friend. Mr John Finch was younger brother of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and born about the year 1626. His admission at Christ's-college does not appear by their register, which is very imperfect (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2) he was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Edward Sylvester at Oxford, became a gentleman-commoner of Baliol-college about the fifteenth year of his age, and after he had taken one degree left that university, upon the coming of the visitors the year following. It appears by the Oxford register, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts there the 22d of May, 1647. But it is certain from his epitaph, that he was pupil to Dr More at Cambridge, as well as Mr Baynes. And therefore there is some difficulty in reconciling these two accounts, unless we suppose, that, in the year 1642, when Oxford was a garison, Mr Finch might for a time remove to Cambridge, and afterwards returning to Oxford, and taking his first degree in Arts there in 1647, leave it again the year following, and go back to Cambridge. Mr Finch pursued the study of Physick with Mr Baynes; and their friendship had then so firmly united them, that it is very probable they determined to proceed together through the several steps and advancements of life, so far as was consistent with their respective circumstances; for which reason Mr Baynes, who did not take the second degree till seven years after the first, might probably defer it till Mr Finch by his standing could do it with him (3).

[B] They were both created Doctors of Physick at

Padua.] Mr Finch was made Consul of the English nation there, and likewise a Syndic of the university; in which office he acquitted himself so well, that he was honoured with a marble statue, and the great Duke made him public professor at Pisa (4). The like honours were afterwards paid by that university to another English Physician, Dr William Stokeham (5).

[C] Mr Baynes and Sir John Finch were admitted *Fellows-Extraordinary of the College of Physicians of London*.] The order for their admittance being somewhat singular, I shall give it in the words of the register. *Ob preclara Doctoris Harveii, nobis nunquam sine honore nominandi, ejusque fratris germani Eliabi, in collegium merita, placuit, sociis omnibus presentibus, præterquam quatuor, Dominum Johannem Finch et Doctorem Thomam Baines (Patawii Doctorali laurea ornatos) adauso tantummodo in eorum gratiam sociorum numero, in collegium eorum socios extraordinarios adsciscere. Ea tamen lege et conditione, ne res hæc facile in exemplum trabatur; i. e. 'In consideration of the great services done to the college by Dr Harvey, whom we ought never to mention without honour, and his brother Eliab, it is resolved, in the presence of all the fellows, excepting four, to elect into the College, as fellows-extraordinary, Sir John Finch and Dr Thomas Baynes, created Doctors at Padua, the number of fellows being increased merely for their sakes; but on condition that this proceeding shall not be drawn into a precedent.' The reason of their admittance as *Fellows-Extraordinary*, with the condition annexed that this instance should not be drawn into a precedent, seems to have been, that the number of fellows, which at that time was limited to thirty, was then full: But by their new charter, granted by King Charles II, in 1663 (wherein the names of Dr Baynes and Sir John Finch were both inserted), the number was enlarged to forty (6); which in the reign of King James II was increased to eighty: And since that time they have been limited to no certain number, but remain candidates a year before their admittance as fellows (7).*

[D] — in pursuance of the Grace passed in their favour the year before.] The reasons assigned for this grant

(4) Ward, ibid. p. 228.

(5) Stowe's Survey of London, B. vi. p. 89. edit. 1720.

(6) Dr Goodall's Royal College of Physicians of London, p. 70.

(7) Ward, ibid.

(1) Communicated by the Rev. Mr Baker of Cambridge. Apud Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college*, folio, Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(2) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 58.

(3) Ward, ubi supra.

pair of friends designed to have made a second tour into Italy [E], but did not execute their design. The twentieth of March 1663, they were elected Fellows of the Royal Society, upon the first choice made by the Council, after the grant of their charter, of which they had been members before (f), and, 'May 15, 1661, had, with several others, been nominated a Committee for a library (at Gresham-college) and for examining of the generation of insects (g).' In March 1664, Dr Baynes accompanied Sir John Finch to Florence, where that gentleman was appointed his Majesty's Resident, and returned back with him into England in 1670. Towards the end of the year 1672, Sir John being appointed the King's Embassador to the Grand Seigneur, Dr Baynes was ordered to attend him as his Physician, and, before he left England, received from his Majesty the honour of knighthood. Nine years after, Sir Thomas still continuing in Turkey, the Gresham Committee, taking into consideration his long absence without supplying the duty of his place, thought fit to dismiss him from his professorship, and, on the ninth of August 1681, chose Mr William Perry in his room. The news of this dismissal could not reach Sir Thomas Baynes; for he died at Constantinople [F] the fifth of the following month, to the inexpressible grief of his dear and constant friend Sir John Finch, who did not long survive him [G]. Their epitaph [H], written by Dr Henry More, is yet to be seen in the chapel of Christ's-college; and therein it is said, that they jointly left four thousand pounds to that college (b) [I].

(f) Ward, *ibid.* p. 229.

(g) *Journals of the R. S.* Vol. I. p. 18.

(b) Ward, *ib.* & p. 230, 231.

grant of the university are so much to the honour of both of them, and express the great esteem they had gained abroad in so full a manner, that I shall here insert them in the original words. *Cum vir eximie nobilitatis Johannes Finch eques auratus, et Pise magvi ducis Hetruriae professor publicus, et dignissimus etiam vir Thomas Baynes, duodecim abhinc annis admissi fuerint apud nos Cantabrigienfes ad gradum magistrerii in artibus, et postea in externas regiones profecti, diuque apud Patavinos commorati, non sine summo eorum applausu, et Anglicani nominis honore, gradum doctoratus in medicina ibidem adepti sint; in patriam demum reversi superiori anno isdem gratia concessa est, ut hic apud nos admitterentur ad eundem gradum, statum, et honorem, quibus apud Patavinos prius insigniti fuerant: At vero cum ipsimet in personis propriis ob importuna negotia, quibus impliciti et detenti sunt, adesse non possint: Placeat itaque vobis, ut vir nobilitatis Johannes Finch admissionem suam recipiat ad dictum gradum, sub persona Doctoris Carr, in Medicina Doctoris; et Thomas Baynes suam itidem, sub persona Johannis Goslin, inceptoris in medicina; et ut eorum admisso sit eisdem pro completis gradu et forma (8).* The high reputation they had gained at Padua, and the honour they did to the English name, are here assigned as the reasons of their admission to the same degree at Cambridge, which had been conferred upon them in that foreign university. We learn also from this Grace, that they were admitted to their degree at that time by proxy; Mr Finch being represented by Dr Carr a Physician, and Dr Baynes by Mr John Goslin, Inceptor in Physick.

[E] They designed to have made a second tour into Italy.] For this purpose they had desired and obtained the consent of the College of Physicians, as appears by the following minute in the register. Sept. 30, 1661, *Dominus Johannes Finch et Doctor Baines summa cum urbanitate veniam abeundi in Italiam a Domino Praefide petierunt, obtinueruntque.*

[F] Sir Thomas Baynes died at Constantinople.] His body was embalmed, and the bowels interred there, with a monument over them, by order of Sir John Finch; who soon after returning into England, brought the body with him, and sent it to Cambridge, where it was deposited in the chapel of Christ's-college, Sir John himself making a funeral oration in honour of the deceased (9).

[G] Sir John Finch did not long survive him.] He died the 18th of November, 1682, at London, and, according to his own desire, was carried down to Cambridge, and interred in the same grave with his beloved friend, being unwilling to be separated from him at death, who had been his constant companion, and the partner of his fortunes so many years while living (10).

[H] Their Epitaph.] It is as follows. *Effare, marmor, cuja sunt haec duo quae sustentas capita? Duorum amicissimorum, quibus cor erat unum unaque anima, D. Johannis Finch, et D. Thomae Bainesi, equitum auratorum, virorum omnimoda Sapientia, Aristotelica, Platonica, Hippocratica, rerumque adeo gerendarum peritia plane summorum, atque hisce nominibus, et ob praclaram immortalis amicitiae exemplum, sub amantissimi tutoris Henrici Mori auspiciis, hoc ipso in collegio inite, per totum terrarum orbem celebratissimorum. Hi mores,*

haec studia, hic successus; genus vero si quaeris et necessitudines, Horum alter D. Heneagii Finchii equitis aurati filius erat, Heneagii vero Finchii comitis Nottinghamiensis frater, non magis juris quam justitiae consulti, regiae majestati a consiliis secretioribus, summiq; Angliae Cancellarii; viri prudentissimi, religiosissimi, eloquentissimi, integerrimi; Principi, patriae, atque Ecclesiae Anglicanae charissimi; ingeniosa, numerosa, propeaque prole felicissimi: Alter D. Johannis Finchii viri omni laude majoris amicus intimus, perpetuusque per triginta plus minus annos fortunarum et consiliorum particeps, longarumque in externas nationes itinerarum indicivulus comes. Hic igitur peregre apud Turcas vita sanctus est, nec prius tamen quam alter a serenissimo rege Angliae per decennium legatus praelare suo sanctus est munere; tunc demum dilectissimus Bainesis suam et amici Finchii simul animam Byzantii effloavit, die V Septembris H. III. P. M. A. D. MDCLXXXI, aetatis suae LIX. Quid igitur fecerit aliter hoc corpus anima cassum, rogas: Ruit sed in amplexus alterius, indoluit, ingemuit, ubertim flevit, totum in lachrymas, nisi nescio quae utriusque animae reliquiae cohibuissent, defusurum: nec tamen totus dolori sic induluit nobilissimus Finchius, quin ipsi quae incumberent solliciti gesserit conseceritque negotia; et postquam ad amici pollentissimam quae spectarent curaverat, visceraque telluri Byzantinae addito marmore eleganter a se pieque inscripto commiserat, cunctasque res suas sedulo paraverat, ad reditum in operam patriam, corpus etiam defuncti amici a Constantinopoli usque (triste sed pium officium) per longos maris tractus, novam subinde salo e lachrymis suis admiscens falsedinem, ad sacellum hoc deduxit; ubi funebri ipsam Oratione adhibitae maestisque sed dulcissimis threnodiis, in hypogaeum tandem sub proxima area situm, commune utriusque paratum hospitium, solenniter honorificeque condidit. Haec pia Finchius officia defuncto amico praestitit, porroque cum eo in usus pios quater mille libras Anglicanas huic Christi Collegio donavit, ad duos socios totidemque scholares in collegio alendos, et ad augendum libris quinquagenis reditum magistris annum: cui rei ministrandae riteque finiendae Londini dum incumberet, paucos post menses in morbum incidit, febrigue ac pleuritide, maxime vero Amici Bainesii desiderio, adfectus et afflictus, inter lachrymas, luctus, et amplexus charissimorum, diem obiit, speque beatæ immortalitatis plenus, pie ac placide in Domino obdormivit, Die XVIII Novembris H. II. P. M. N. A. D. MDCLXXXII, Aetatis suae LVI, Londinoque huc delatus ab illustrissimo D. Domino Finchio Heneagii Comitiss Nottinghamiensis filio primogenito, aliisque suis filiis ac necessariis comitantibus, eodem in sepulchro quo ejus amicissimus heic conditus jacet, ut studia, fortunae, consilia, imo animas viri qui miscuerant, iidem suos defuncti sacros tandem miscerent Ceneres (11).

[I] They jointly left four thousand pounds to Christ's-college.] With that money were purchased in farmers two hundred pounds a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows, each to receive sixty pounds a year; and two Scholars, each to receive twelve pounds a year; and fifty pounds a year towards the augmentation of the mastership. Sir John was presumed to pay most of the money, though he was willing that Sir Thomas should share with him in the honour of this donation, as in all other his laudable actions (12).

(11) Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, Vol. III. p. 6.

(12) Mr Baker, *apud Ward*, *ib.* supra, p. 232.

(8) *Regist. Acad. Cantabr.*

(9) Ward, *ib.* p. 230.

(10) *Id. ibid.*

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (JAMES), Archbishop of St Andrews in the reign of King James V. This famous Prelate was descended from a very antient and honourable family, that came originally from France, but had been long settled in Scotland (a) [A]. His father was John Beaton of Balfour, and his mother Mary, daughter to Sir David Boswell of Blamuto (b). We have no certain account of his birth, or of the manner of his education, except that being a younger brother, he was from his nonage destined for the Church, and with that view kept to his studies (c). He had great natural talents, and having improved them by the acquisition of all that sort of learning fashionable in those times, he came early into the world, under the title of Provost of Bothwell; a preferment given him through the interest of his family (d) [B]. When he was once put into the road, he made a very quick progress in his journey, for having stepped into his first benefice in 1503, we find him the very next year advanced to the rich and honourable preferment of Abbot of Dumferling, which abbacy became void by the death of the most noble Prince, James Stuart, Archbishop of St Andrews, Duke of Ross, and Chancellor of Scotland (e). A very shining testimony this was of his master's favour, but in 1505 he received still a greater; for upon the death of Sir David Beaton, his brother, his Majesty honoured him with the staff of High-Treasurer, and he was thenceforward considered as one of the principal Ministers of the King his master (f). In 1508 he was promoted to the bishoprick of Galloway, on the death of Bishop Vaus, and before he had sat a full year in that cathedral chair, he was removed to the archiepiscopal See of Glasgow, vacant by the death of Dr Blackader, upon which he resigned the Treasurer's staff, which was bestowed on Dr Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles (g). This was in the year 1509, and his Grace seems to have taken this step, in order to be more at leisure to mind the government of his diocese; and indeed it is universally acknowledged, that none more carefully attended the duties of his functions than Archbishop Beaton while he continued at Glasgow, and he has left there such marks of concern for that church, as have baffled the strong teeth of time, and, which is still keener, the rage of a distracted populace (h). In a word, the monuments of his piety and publick spirit which he raised at Glasgow, yet remain and justify this part of his character [C]. It does not appear that he had any hand in those fatal counsels, which drove the unfortunate King James IV into his last war with England,

(a) Histoire de la Maison de Bethune, par du Chefne.

(b) Lives and Characters of the great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, by G. Crawford, p. 61.

(c) Supplement to Dempster's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland, MS.

(d) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 61.

(e) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.

(f) Charta in Rotulis, Jac. IV.

(g) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(h) See Crawford's Account of his benefactions while Archbishop, in Note [C].

[A] Originally from France, but had been long settled in Scotland.] This noble family takes its name from the town of Bethune on the little river of Brette in Artois, five leagues from Aire, and six from Lille; and the first mention we meet with in history of these Lords of Bethune, informs us, that Robert the First founded the collegiate church of St Bartholomew in the year 999. He had six successors of his own name, the last of which left his title and estates to William, surnamed the Red, father of Daniel and Robert the VIIth. The latter left behind him an only daughter Maud, who married Guy de Dampierre Earl of Flanders, who had by her Robert the IIIrd, surnamed de Bethune, who bore his father's title (1). William de Bethune, Lord of Locres, settled in France, where he died August 24, 1243, and from him descended the Dukes of Sully, D'Orval, and Charost, and all the families of the same name in France (2). It is a point out of dispute, that the Scotch family are descended from the same stock with the French, but it is at the same time very certain, that the French writers are in the wrong to suppose that James de Bethune, who lived in the XVth century, was the founder of this family, since it appears, that Robert de Bethune was possessed of lands in Scotland in the reign of King William; and Sir David Bethune, who probably was his son, was living in 1296 (3). From him descended Robert de Bethune, who was of the household to King Robert II, and marrying the daughter and heiress of Sir John Balfour, chief of that family, obtained with her the lands of Balfour in the county of Fife; from whence this family has been ever since distinguished by the name of Bethune, or, as it is commonly written in Scotland, Beaton, of Balfour. This, it seems, was their principal Seat, and the family gained an establishment by marrying this heiress, but they retained nevertheless the name of Bethune, and quartered the arms of Balfour with their own, viz. quarterly 1st and 4th azure a Fess between three Maces Or, 2d and 3d Argent on a Chevron sable, an Otter's head erased of the first for Balfour, Supporters, two Otters proper, and an Otter's head for crest, with the word *Debonnaire* (4). Besides this, there have been several considerable families of this surname in Scotland, such as the Beatons of Creigh, of Baudon, of Blebo, &c. but as they all derive themselves from Beaton of Balfour, it is needless to dwell upon them.

[B] A preferment given him through the interest of

his family.] He was remarkably happy at his setting out, for his brother, Sir David Beaton of Criegh, a very learned, wise, and prudent gentleman, was then a great courtier, and so much beloved by his master King James IV, that he raised him to the honour of being Comptroller of his household; and on the death of Sir Robert Lundin of Balgony, in 1502, he made him Treasurer of Scotland (5). But besides the assistance derived to our Divine, by the interest of this brother, he was also in great credit with the powerful house of Dowglas, from whom he received his first preferment, which was that of the Provostship of Bothwell. It may not be amiss to shew what the nature of this preferment was, and how the family of Angus came to have the bestowing of it. The reader then is to know, that there were in Scotland before the Reformation many collegiate churches of secular priests, and he who presided over these canons was styled Provost (6). The church of Bothwell was one of these, and belonged to the potent family of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell. But Archibald Dowglas, Earl of Angus, one of the most potent noblemen in Scotland, making use of this saying, That when the King was angry he had nothing to do but to retire to his hermitage in Liddesdale; King James IV swore there was no keeping the kingdom in order while the Earl of Angus was possessed of that country, of which the Earl was no sooner informed, than he resolved to sacrifice his own ease to the satisfaction of his master, and therefore consented that his eldest son and heir, George, according to the Scots customs, styled Master of Angus, should exchange the lands of Liddesdale for those of Bothwell, which, with the King's consent, was accordingly done in the year 1492 (7). And thus the Earl of Angus became patron of the college of Bothwell, which, upon the first vacancy, he bestowed upon Dr James Beaton; a plain proof that he came into the world under the powerful protection of this noble family, with which however he had very high differences afterwards, as in its proper place the reader will be informed.

[C] Still remain and justify this part of his character.] It may be justly observed, that there is no history of any country written with so much inaccuracy and confusion as that of Scotland, in respect to which, even those who might have been best acquainted with it, have committed strange mistakes. As for instance, Archbishop Spotswood tells us expressly, that our Arch-

(5) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(6) Appendix to Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 237.

(1) André Hojus de Bruges, Description, de Bethune.

(2) Histoire de la Maison de Bethune, par Du Chefne.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 358. See also the Commentary upon Ragman's Roll, at the end of Nesbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 14, 29.

(4) Nesbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 215.

England, which ended with the battle of Flodden-field, wherein the King lost his life. With him fell the flower of his Nobility, and amongst them Alexander, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, his natural son, of whom Erasmus has spoken with so much honour (i). By this fatal blow the kingdom was thrown into the utmost confusion, all minding rather their private advantages, than how to repair the publick loss. The Queen, by a very hasty and indecent marriage with the Earl of Angus, lost the regency, about which the Nobility could not agree, and the Clergy who ought to have interposed their good offices, were all together by the ears about the Archbishoprick of St Andrews; so that, for the re-establishment of peace, it was found requisite to send for John Duke of Albany, the young King's great uncle from France, and to declare him Regent (k). He was a very wise and moderate Prince, but at the same time, one who loved to make use of his authority, by which means he restored order and quiet in the State, and for a time satisfied every body. Among those particularly distinguished by his favour, was our Archbishop of Glasgow, whom he raised to the office of High-Chancellor, and conferred on him other benefits, which shewed how much he esteemed him (l) [D]. Some time after, when the Regent thought proper, or perhaps found it requisite to go to France, he appointed (amongst other great men) our Archbishop of Glasgow, one of the Governors of Scotland in his absence; and to prevent, if it had been possible, all disputes amongst them, they had different provinces assigned them (m). This was in 1517, but it did not answer the Duke-Regent's intention, for they quickly broke into parties, and this brought on such confusion, that they were content to devolve their whole power upon the Earl of Arran, nearly allied in blood to the King, and one of the most worthy Noblemen in the kingdom (n). Upon this, at his instance, and in order to reform the disorders that were crept into the Government, a Convention of Estates was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520. On which day, the Earl of Arran, with the chief of the Nobility of the West, assembled together in Archbishop Bethune's house, at the bottom of Blackfriar-wynde; where, before the fitting of the Convention, they resolved to apprehend the Earl of Angus, alledging that his power was so great, that so long as he was free they could not have a free parliament (o). But as soon as the Earl was informed of their design, he sent his uncle, the Bishop of Dunkeld, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, then Chancellor, offering if he had failed in any point of his duty to the rest of the Lords, he would most willingly submit himself to the censure of the Convention, which was going then to meet, and the Bishop himself, earnestly besought the Chancellor, that he would use his best endeavours with his friends to compromise matters, and prevent as much as possible the shedding of blood, which in a contest of that kind would be inevitable. The Archbishop, though he was as deep in the design as any of the party, and had put on armour to assist them in person, or at least, to animate others by his example, made the best apology for himself he could, and laid the blame wholly upon the Earl of Arran, who, he pretended, was dis-

(i) Buchan. Hist. lib. xiii. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. viii. Drummond's History, p. 227. Erasmus. in Adag. concluding thus: 'In summa, nemo fuit dignior quæ Rex, & ex illo Rege, nascetur.'

(k) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 242, 243.

(l) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(m) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 256, 257.

(n) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Stotor. lib. ix.

(o) Buchan. Ref. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 263.

obliged

bishop Beaton sat in this See twenty-two years (8); if so, he must have been Archbishop in the year 1500, that is about three years before he had any preferment at all. But the truth is, that, he was only fourteen years Archbishop of Glasgow, during which space he did many things for the honour of that church, and the convenience of his successors, as a very careful writer tells us in the following words. 'While Archbishop Beaton was in the See, he inclosed his episcopal palace in the city of Glasgow with a noble and magnificent stone wall of ailer work towards the east, south and west, with a bastion on one corner, and a tower on the other fronting the high street, whereupon are fixed in different places his coat of arms, viz. quarterly first and fourth as the Heralds blazon it, a fess betwixt three lozenges, two in chief, and one in base; second and third a chevron charged with an Otter's head coupee, surmounted by a salmon fish, the arms of the See, and his archiepiscopal cross instead of a mitre and crozier, and the word *Misericordia* for his motto. But this was not all his benefactions to the See while he sat here, for he augmented the altars in the choir of the cathedral, over which he caused to be affixed his arms emblazoned in their proper tinctures, where they are still to be viewed by the curious. He laid out also a good deal of money in building and repairing of bridges that were gone to decay at different places within the regality and about the city of Glasgow, whereupon are his arms engraven, which will remain as perpetual monuments of his charity (9).' At the time he sat here, the famous Dr Gawen Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, and brother of the Archbishop's first patron, George, Master of Angus, was promoted to the See of Dunkeld, which being a suffragan to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr Douglas went thither to be consecrated; this was in 1515; and our Prelate, to shew how much he respected the new Bishop and his family, entertained him and all his attendants magnifi-

cently, and most generously defrayed the whole expence of his consecration (10).

[D] Which shewed how much he esteemed him.] He gave him for the support of his dignity the two rich abbeys of Killwinning and Arbroth, which he held with his Archbishoprick *in commendam*, and by this means drew him over from the faction of the Douglas's to his own party (11). But though this might satisfy both him and the Duke-Regent, yet it was so far from quieting the troubles and disturbances in Scotland, that, on the contrary, it contributed to increase them. The Lord Hume, who had been the principal person in bringing over the Duke-Regent, was so ill treated by him, that he was forced to join with the Earl of Angus, and the Earl of Arran was also not very well affected to the administration. After many confusions however (in some of which the Queen for her own safety fled to England, and her husband reconciled himself to the Regent) things seemed to go better, and there was some appearance of the publick tranquillity being settled, when suddenly, and without any cause, proportioned to such an effect, he summoned the Lord Hume and his brother, under colour of certain offences, and with the formality of Law cut off their heads. This so disgusted the nobility, that the Duke-Regent finding himself hated by the common people, and his commands slighted by the Peers, repented he ever came thither, and resolved to return to France; hoping that in his absence they might forget what had lately happened, and recover that spirit of cordial love and affection towards him, which they had shewn when he first assumed the government, and which he thought he should not have lost by putting the Humes to death, since whatever the pretence might be, the true cause of that severity certainly was the common fame, that the late King James IV. did not fall in battle, but was traiterously murdered by the Humes afterwards, which supposed fact he thus revenged (12).

(10) Supplement to Dempster's Eccles. History.

(11) Buchan. Ref. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 241, 242.

(12) Buchan. Ref. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv.

[E] Very

(8) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(9) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(p) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 245.

(g) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 264.

(r) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 247, where he says the Chancellor fled on foot to Linlithgow.

(s) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv.

(t) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 266.

(u) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(w) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 247. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62. Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

(x) Epistole Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariae, &c. Vol. I. p. 340.

(y) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas.

obliged with the Earl of Angus upon many accounts, and after he had reckoned up the chief of them, he in the end concluded, *There is no remedy! Upon my conscience, I cannot help it.* And in the heat of his asseveration he beat on his breast with his hand, which made the iron plates of the coat of mail under his cassock return a rattling sound, which Bishop Douglas perceiving, he gave his brother, the Archbishop, this severe and just reprimand. *How now, my Lord, methinks your conscience clatters: We are Priests; and to put on armour, or to bear arms, is not consistent with our character (p).* But the good Bishop Douglas, perceiving he was able to do little with the Archbishop, who ought, upon this occasion, to have been a promoter of peace, but, instead of that, as Mr Buchanan assures us, flew up and down like a firebrand of sedition, left him: And thereupon ensued a hot skirmish, in which the Earl of Angus's party had the better. The martial Archbishop seeing the day lost, and his friends defeated, fled for sanctuary to the Black-friars church, and was there taken out from behind the altar, his rochet torn off him, and would certainly have been slain, if Bishop Douglas, from a tender regard he had for his character, had not interceded for him and saved his life (q). One historian indeed says, that the Archbishop fled on foot to the Queen; which possibly may be true, but then it must have been after he recovered his liberty, in the manner we have just now related (r). But from these distresses he was happily relieved the next year, 1521, by the return of the Duke-Regent from France, who very soon restored the face of affairs, and some kind of order in the government, obliging the Earl of Angus to consent, for the sake of the publick peace, to remain for a year in France (s). Affairs might have after this gone on well enough, if the Regent and the Clergy had not been bent upon involving the nation in war with England, to serve the purposes of the French, which, together with the suggestions of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and other Scotch exiles, greatly incensed King Henry VIII against the Regent, the Chancellor, and all their party (t). In the midst of these confusions died Dr Andrew Forman, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, which opened a fair path for Dr Beaton to set himself at the head of the Clergy (u), who were very well inclined to him, and very desirous that he should succeed; but however a great struggle there was before he could bring his design to bear, and in order to it, he is charged (though I think, without reason) which acting very ungratefully towards the Bishop of Dunkeld (w) [E]. At last, in 1523, he became Archbishop of St Andrew's, not only by the favour of the Duke-Regent, but with the full consent of the young King, who was at that time, and indeed all his life, chiefly governed by the Archbishop's nephew, David Beaton, for whom this great Prelate had such a regard, that soon after his promotion he resigned to him the rich abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothock (x). But this fair weather did not last long, for in the same year the power of the Regent was abrogated by parliament, the Earl of Angus returned from France, and by degrees made himself master of the government, and of the King's person (y). He was extremely incensed against the Archbishop, drove him from court, and dispossessed him of the office of Chancellor, obliging the King for that

[E] *Very ungratefully towards the Bishop of Dunkeld.* This is charged very home upon the Archbishop's memory by Mr Crawford, who, speaking of the generous behaviour of Bishop Douglas, when he delivered the Chancellor from the power of the mob, he proceeds thus; 'For which he made him afterwards a very ungrateful requital; for having an eye towards the Bishoprick of St Andrew's upon the death of Archbishop Forman, he was afraid of no competitor so much as of Bishop Douglas, and therefore, to be rid of him, writes a letter to the King of Denmark, wherein he represents him as a person disaffected to the government, and going about to infringe the privileges granted to the Scots nation by the holy See, endeavouring to be preferred to the Archbishoprick by the interest of the Emperor and the King of England, then publick enemies to Scotland, and therefore he intreats that King, that he would write to his ministers at Rome, to inform his Holiness that the Bishop was under a sentence of banishment because of his demerits, and thereby put a stop to his ambitious designs (13).' This letter, which has been hinted at by several other authors, was long preserved among other pieces relating to the histories of those times in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, which letters are now made publick. This is dated from Edinburgh, April the 8th, 1522 (14), and the contents of it are as before set forth; but then it is to be considered, that the Archbishop was Chancellor of the kingdom, and therefore the only person that could write this letter by the order of the Council; that the facts mentioned therein were strictly true, that is to say, the Bishop of Dunkeld was at that time a fugitive in England, was actually practising to restore the affairs of his party by the assistance of the King of England, and was endeavouring to obtain the Archbishoprick of St Andrew's and

the Primacy of Scotland, not only without the consent, but in spite of the will of his Prince and the States of the kingdom, by whose direction this letter was written to induce the King of Denmark to interpose at the court of Rome on behalf of the King of Scots, his nephew, to prevent the Pope from making Douglas Archbishop at that juncture (15). Such was the fact, and such the circumstances that attended it. The reader will therefore judge between these two Prelates, who, in point of ambition, seem very nearly to have resembled each other, and at the same time he will remember, that the Chancellor must have written this letter in right of his office, whether he had any private interest in the affair or not; besides all which it is certain, that but a very little before this the Earl of Angus and his faction had forced the Archbishop to fly for his life. Whatever his motives might be, most certain it is the letter produced no effect, for before it could reach the hand of the King of Denmark, the Bishop of Dunkeld was in his grave (16), which perhaps might facilitate the Chancellor's scheme of becoming Archbishop of St Andrew's. Yet, with all the care I have been able to take, I have not been so happy to discover when he was promoted to this See: Only this is certain, that it was between the months of April and December 1523, since in the first he subscribed himself Archbishop of Glasgow, and Archbishop of St Andrew's in the latter (17). It is certain, that his promotion was very critical, since the Duke-Regent lost his authority so soon afterwards, which had he done before, there is no doubt but that Dr Dunbar would then have supplanted him in the Primacy, as he afterwards did in the Chancellorship, when the King was at full liberty, and disposed of the offices of state at his own pleasure (18).

(15) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 268, 269.

(16) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 446.

(17) Epistole Jacob. IV, &c. p. 333, 342.

(18) See the article DUNBAR (GAWEN) Archbishop of Glasgow.

(13) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers of State, p. 62.

(14) Epistole Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariae Reg. Scot. Edit. 2vo, 1722, p. 333.

that purpose to write him a letter, demanding the Great-Seal, which he very respectfully delivered, and some time after took upon himself the office of Chancellor (z) [F]. The Archbishop afterwards found means to revenge, in some measure, this usage, by giving a sentence of divorce, at the instance of the Queen, against the Earl of Angus; about the circumstances of which the historians differ, yet the fact is certain (a) [G]. When the Douglasses were driven from court, and the King recovered his freedom, the Archbishop came again into power, but did not recover his office of Chancellor, which was bestowed upon Gawen Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had been the King's tutor (b), and stood very high in his favour. Our Archbishop resided from this time forward in his own palace at St Andrew's, where, by the arts of the Clergy, and chiefly by the influence of his nephew, he was drawn to proceed violently in the persecution of the Protestants, and actually caused the Abbot of Ferne to be burnt for a heretick, which drew upon him great odium (c) [H]. He went on afterwards in the same course as long as he lived,

(z) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 67.

(a) Less. de Rebus Gest. Scot. lib. ix.

(b) Crawford's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 76.

(c) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 62. Knox's History.

[F] Took upon himself the office of Lord-Chancellor.] It was in the spring of the year 1523, that the Duke-Regent returned for the third and last time into France. Soon after which his authority was taken away by an act of parliament; for the Earl of Angus returning, quickly came to have such an influence, notwithstanding the ill terms upon which he stood with the Queen-Dowager his wife, that all things were directed by him and his creatures, and such an interest he had in parliament, that on the 25th of February, 1525, an act past, devolving the supreme authority upon a council of seven (19), viz. The two Archbishops, the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dumblain, the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, and himself, into which Council the Queen was to be admitted, and nothing was to be done without her advice. But it was not long that he was satisfied with this regulation, with which, while it lasted, he never complied, but managed all things at his own will; and therefore, by another act of parliament, dated the 17th of June, 1526, the King was declared of full age though but eighteen, and the administration placed entirely in his hands; that is, in the hands of the Earl of Angus, who kept him in his custody, and made him the engine of his will (20). One of the first things he made him do after this alteration took place, was appointing a new Privy-Council, in which the Archbishop of St Andrews was left out, and soon after the seal was taken from him, as is said in the text, but the Earl did not assume to himself the title of Lord-Chancellor before the month of August, 1527, after he had entirely new modelled the court (21). It was no wonder that in this plenitude of power, the Earl should persecute a man whom he hated, whose parts he feared, and whose interest was very great, his niece having lately married the Earl of Arran, who was looked upon as the second person in the kingdom. All this time King James V was very little better than a close prisoner, and though in publick he professed himself very affectionate to the Earl of Angus, yet he privately excited two attempts to rescue himself out of that Nobleman's hands; one by the Laird of Buccleugh, in which some blood was spilt; the other by the Earl of Lenox, which likewise failed, and in which that noble Lord was killed: And as the Earl of Angus foresaw what afterwards fell out, he endeavoured to secure himself from being called to an account for his conduct, by procuring an act of parliament in support of it (22). But soon after the King made his escape from Faulkland, and rode directly to the castle of Stirling, where the Queen, his mother, was; and from thence he presently issued a proclamation, forbidding the Earl to act any further in the government, taking from him all his places, and forbidding him, or any of his adherents, to come within twelve miles of the court. And in a parliament held the next year, he, and two of his nearest relations, were adjudged guilty of high-treason (23), which put an end to his power during that reign, though he recovered it after the King's death. But as this has nothing to do with the present article, we shall not pursue it any farther, as desiring only to shew how the Archbishop lost his credit and power, and how, in some measure, he afterwards recovered them.

[G] About the circumstances of which, though Historians differ, yet the fact is certain.] The rise of this divorce was very early, for the Queen of Scotland, like her brother Henry VIII, was very apt to grow weary of the conjugal yoke; and this humour, though resembling his own, that Monarch much disliked in her, which contributed to retard this affair for some years. The first ground of the quarrel between the Queen and the Earl,

was upon their retiring out of Scotland, at the time the Duke of Albany became Regent, when her Majesty went to London, and the Earl remained on the borders: That is, in the year 1518, when it seems he had an amour with one Mrs Stewart, daughter to the Lord Traquair, by whom he had a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Lord Ruthen; of which the Queen having notice, she was much incensed against him; tho', for her own purposes, she frequently assisted him even afterwards with her interest (24). However, coming at last to know, that the Earl's correspondence with Mrs Stewart, was earlier than her marriage, she suggested that there was a pre-contract between the Earl and this lady, which rendered her marriage void (25). Upon this, a suit was commenced, in the Consistorial Court of the Archbishop of St Andrew's, who, after mature deliberation, and no doubt, upon due proofs, pronounced a judicial sentence of divorce, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning; but by an express clause, the legitimacy of the daughter the Queen had by the Earl was saved, because born under a marriage *de facto*, and contracted *bona fide* on the Queen's part. As soon after as this divorce could be confirmed by a Bull from Rome, the Queen-Dowager married Henry Stewart, brother to the Lord Evandale, who, on account of this marriage, was created Lord Methuen, the charter for erecting that barony being dated at Edinburgh the 7th of July, 1528 (26). Hence it appears, that Mr Hume was mistaken when he asserted, that the Queen did not prevail in her suit before the Pope, because what she alledged could not be proved; and that this increased her spite and hatred against the Earl, and set her to contrive by all the means she could, how to destroy him (27): For it is impossible to conceive how the Queen could openly marry a third husband in the life-time of her second, if she had not obtained such a divorce. It is indeed true, that her brother, King Henry, was very much offended with her upon this account; but then this arose from two causes, the first, That he held that scandalous in a woman, which he thought tolerable in a man; the second, that this lessened the interest of the Earl of Angus, to whom he always wished well, and who was both the most proper, the most steady, and the most useful friend he had in Scotland (28).

[H] Which drew upon him great odium.] The clergy of Scotland at this time were all in the French interest, and bitter enemies to England, because they looked upon King Henry VIII as a friend to the Reformation (29). The Abbot of Aberbrothock, who governed at this time both his uncle the Archbishop, and the King his master, was zealous for the religion, and for the court of Rome, which induced him to aim at stopping the growth of the new opinions, as they were called, by a vigorous prosecution. This was a thing to which neither his master nor his uncle was inclined; but his power was so great, and he had such an ascendancy over both, as enabled him to carry his design into execution, with the assistance however of many of the Bishops, who began to think that the Church was in the utmost danger, and came therefore very readily into that method, which this cunning and ambitious man persuaded them would effectually answer the end, and tear up Heresy by the roots, though it proved uneasy to the Archbishop, fatal to the King, and in the end also, notwithstanding all his artifices, no less fatal to himself, as the reader in the next article will see at large. The first that was called in question was Master Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, a man nobly descended, (for he was nephew to the Earl of

(24) Hume's History of the House of Douglas, p. 249.

(25) Anderson's Hist. of Scotland, MS.

(26) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 66.

(27) Hume's History of the House of Douglas, p. 249.

(28) Buchan. Less. Drummond, ubi supra.

(29) Petrie's Church History, p. 171.

(19) See Anderson's History of Scotland, MS. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

(20) Hume's History of the House of Douglas, p. 252.

(21) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(22) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 253. Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(23) Buchan. Less. Drummond, ubi supra.

(d) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(e) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 450.

(f) Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 318.

(g) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(h) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

lived, though probably, against his inclination, for, as one of his successors tells us, he was naturally indifferent enough about religious disputes (d): But as to essential points, and the promoting piety and learning, he shewed a real concern, by founding the New-college in the university of St Andrew's, which he did not live to finish, and to which, though he left the best part of his estate, yet after his death it was misapplied, and did not come, as he intended, to that foundation (e). One of the last acts of his life was the being present at the baptism of the young Prince, born at St Andrew's the very year in which he died (f). His nephew acted for several years as his co-adjutor, and had the whole management of affairs in his hands; but the King retained to the last so great an affection for the Archbishop, that he allowed him to dispose of all his preferments, by which means, his relation, George Dury, obtained the rich abbey of Dumfermling, and one Mr Hamilton of the house of Roplock, became Abbot of Killwining (g). Our Archbishop deceased in 1539, and was interred in the cathedral church of St Andrew's before the high altar (h). He enjoyed the Primacy of Scotland sixteen years, and his character is very

(30) Knox's History of the Reformation in the Realm of Scotland, p. 4. Petrie's History of the Catholic Church, p. ii. p. 171. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62, 63.

Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by the mother) and not much above twenty-three years of age (30). This young gentleman had travelled in Germany, and falling into a familiarity with Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Francis Lambard, and other learned men, was by them instructed in the knowledge of true religion; in the profession whereof he was so zealous, that he was resolved to come back into his country, and to communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereforever he came, he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to shew the errors crept into the Christian religion, to all which many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all sorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of St Andrew's, and when he came thither appointed Fryar Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to use the best persuasions he could to divert him from his opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Fryar acknowledged that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in most of the points, his mind was rather confirmed than in any sort weakened. Thus, having staid some few days in the city, whilst he suspected no violence to be used, in the night, he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried prisoner to the castle. The next day he was presented before the Bishop, and accused for maintaining the articles following, viz.

- I. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism.
- II. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.
- III. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.
- IV. That every true Christian may know himself to be in the state of grace.
- V. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only.
- VI. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works, yet the same ill works truly repented make not an ill man.
- VII. That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.
- VIII. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but sin.
- IX. That it is a devilish doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remission of sin is purchased.
- X. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.
- XI. That there is no purgatory.
- XII. That the Holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Christ's Passion.
- XIII. That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every Priest has as much power as the Pope.

It being demanded of him what he thought of these articles, he answered, that in his judgment the first seven points were undoubtedly true; that the rest were disputable, but that he could not condemn them without hearing better arguments offered against them, than any he had yet met with. These propositions therefore were delivered to the Rector of the university, and twelve other Divines, who, on the second of March, 1527, delivered them back again to the Judges, with

their certificate that they were heretical. Upon this judgment they founded their sentence, which was subscribed by the two Archbishops, three Bishops, six Abbots and Fryars, and eight Divines. The very same day he was transferred to the secular Judge, and by his order burnt that very afternoon (31). He suffered with great courage and constancy, and his death was so far from answering the intentions of the Clergy, that it promoted the Reformation exceedingly, so that in a very short space afterwards many publicly professed their opinion, that Patrick Hamilton suffered unjustly, though for saying so one was burned (32). The Clergy however were for going on in the same track, and for stopping the mouths of such as preached what they disliked, in the same manner as they had done Hamilton's. The Archbishop moved but heavily in these kind of proceedings; and there are two very remarkable stories recorded to have happened about this time, which very plainly shew he was far enough from being naturally inclined to such severities. It happened at one of their consultations, that some who were most vehement pressed for going on with the proceedings in the Archbishop's court, when one Mr John Lindsey, a very merry man, and in great credit with the Archbishop, delivered himself to this purpose: *If you burn any more of them, said he, take my advice, and burn them in cellars, for I dare assure you, that the smoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon* (33). The other was of a more serious nature; one Alexander Seton, a black Fryar, preached openly in the church of St Andrew's, that, according to St Paul's description of Bishops, there were no Bishops in Scotland, which being reported to the Archbishop, not in very precise terms, he sent for Mr Seton, and reproved him sharply for having said, according to his information, *that a Bishop who did not preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock, but fed his own belly*. Mr Seton said, that those who had reported this were liars, upon which wittnesses were produced, who testified very positively to the fact. Mr Seton, by way of reply, delivered himself thus: *My Lord, you have heard, and may consider, what ears these asses have, who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and Fryar Alexander Seton. In truth, my Lord, I did preach that Paul saith, it behoveth a bishop to be a teacher. Isaiah saith, that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the Prophet Zachariah saith, that they are idle Pastors. Of my own head I affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justly be offended with me.* How much soever the Bishop might be incensed, he dismissed Fryar Seton without hurt, who soon afterwards fled out of the kingdom (34). It does not appear, that from this time forward the Archbishop acted much in these measures himself, but chose rather to grant commissions to others that were inclined to proceed against such as preached the doctrines of the Reformation, a conduct which seems very fully to justify the remark of Archbishop Spotswood upon our Prelate's behaviour. *Seventeen years, says he, he lived Bishop of this See, and was herein most unfortunate, that under the shadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cause of religion, though he himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church* (35).

(31) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Historia, lib. xiv.

(32) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 65.

(33) Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 16.

(34) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 64. Petrie's Church History, p. ii. p. 172.

(35) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

very differently represented, according to the dispositions of those who have mentioned him in their writings (i) [1].

(i) Buchanan, Lesley, Spotswood, &c.

[7] *Who have mentioned him in their writings.*] It may be easily conceived, that a person for many years in so high a station, and in such factious times, must have provoked many, and yet we do not find that even those who were least his friends could lay much to his charge. Mr Hume, who disliked all that were no friends to the family of Douglas, does not for all that bear very hard upon the Archbishop. Except in the business of the riot at Edinburgh, of which we have given an account before, and in speaking of the Earl of Angus attacking the castle of St Andrew's, and pillaging it, he adds, *He could not apprehend the Fox himself, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked secretly amongst his friends* (36). The famous George Buchanan, who was obliged to fly for Heresy a little after Mr Hamilton was burnt, has no where spoken with heat or vehemence of the Archbishop; on the contrary, he styles him a very prudent man; and speaking of the violence with which the Earl of Angus persecuted his enemies, he adds (37), *Neither did the Douglasses exercise their revenge and hatred less fiercely upon James Beaton, for they led their forces to St Andrew's, seized upon, pillaged, and ruined his castle, because they counted him the author of all the projects the Earl of Lenox had undertaken; but he himself went about in various disguises, because none durst receive him openly, and so escaped.* The famous John Knox, who was no friend to Bishops, mentions him frequently, and gives him this character: 'He was more careful of the world than to preach Christ, or yet to advance any religion but for the fashion only, and, as he fought the world, it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once he was Archbishop of St Andrew's, Abbot of Dunfermling, Aberbrotho, Kylwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland (38).' Yet says nothing of him elsewhere particularly, except it be insinuating that he had a leprosy (39), of which there is not a word mentioned by any other writer. Archbishop Spotswood's character of him has been before given; but in another place he mentions some circumstances relating to the Archbishop's behaviour, which ought not to be omitted. 'The Archbishop, James Beaton, says he, committed the charge of all Church-affairs to his nephew the Cardinal (who succeeded in his place), for he was aged and sickly himself, and not seen often abroad. In his last days he began to erect the new college in St Andrew's, and set men at work to build the same: But neither lived he to finish the work, nor was the money he left in store to that use rightly bestowed. Some contesting, some few years before he and the Clergy had with the King, because of the imposition laid upon the Prelates for the entertainment of the Senators of the College of Justice, so that the matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawen

Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, appointed to prosecute the same. But this ceased upon an accord made, which was, that the Senate should consist of fourteen Ordinaries, with the Resident, seven of the Spirituality, and as many of the Temporality, the President always being of the spiritual estate, and a Prelate constitute in dignity. According to this appointment a Ratification passed in Parliament, anno 1537, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth was elected President of the new Senate in the year 1539 (40).' But, as might be well expected, Dr John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, gives our Archbishop the highest character in his history; where, speaking of his death, he says, That after having long, with great reputation, enjoyed the highest offices in the State, the Archbishop, in a very advanced age, paid his last debt to nature, and was honourably interred in the cathedral of St Andrew's. That while he was yet alive, he disposed of all the benefices which he enjoyed, which the King did not oppose, but suffered those to whom he gave them freely to remain in possession, that he might not seem to controvert the will of him dead, whose opinion he had always followed while living. That he began to build the new college at St Andrew's, and left wherewithal to have finished it in the most beautiful manner, if the money had not been (to say no worse) applied to other uses than those of the college. But this character, as drawn by it's author, has something in it so elegant, that we cannot better close this life than by adding the author's own words, which must necessarily suffer by any translation. 'Jacobus Beatonius Archiepiscopus Sanctandreapolitanus, qui maximis reip. honoribus, summaque gloria, apud nos quam diutissime flourerat, ætate jam grandio natura concedebat, ac in æde Sancti Andree tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic Antistes quosdam, quos egregiè caros habuit, vivos constituebat, ut in beneficio sibi mortuo sufficerentur. In Episcopatum autem Sanctandreapolitanum, ac in Abbatium Arbrothenfium, vir summa, prudentia, et animi magnitudine præstans David Beatonius Cardinalis, ejus ex fratre nepos, in Abbatiam vero Dunfermlingenfem Georgius Durius, in alia denique alii: quam illius voluntatem Rex non impedivit, quo minus illi, quos Archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficiis liberè fruerentur: ne, cujus vivi mentem semper laudaverat, ejus mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur recidisse. Hic Archiepiscopus præcipuam illius Collegii, quod Novum Sanctandreapoli dicitur, partem suo sumptu excitavit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim, qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, testato reliquit. Verum pecunia illa in alios usus postea traducta, Collegio jus (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat (41).'

(40) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 675

(41) De Rebus Gest. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450.

(36) History of the House of Douglas, p. 256.

(27) Rer. Scot. Histor. lib. xiv.

(38) History of the Reformation, p. 4.

(39) Id. ibid. p. 22.

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (DAVID) Archbishop of St Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, and Cardinal of the Roman Church. He was nephew to the Archbishop his predecessor, being the son of his elder brother John Beaton, or Bethune, of Balfour, by Isabel his wife, daughter of David Moniepenney, of Pitmillie, in the county of Fife (a). He was born some time in 1494, and had all imaginable care taken of his education while at home, where having passed through the ordinary discipline of the schools, and of the university of St Andrew's, he began to discover a pregnancy of wit, and an application to learning, which gave his relations great hopes of his becoming a considerable person (b). His uncle therefore being very desirous to complete his education, sent him over to France, where, in the university of Paris, he perfected himself in the Civil and Canon Laws, and applied diligently likewise to Divinity, in order to qualify himself for the service of the Church, and as soon as he attained to a proper age, entered into holy orders (c). His long stay in France was no way prejudicial to his preferment, for it gave him an opportunity of entering very early into the favour and service of John Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V, by whom he was employed in several affairs of consequence, in which he discharged his duty with such diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his place, Resident at the Court of France, in the year 1519 (d). About the same time his uncle, then Archbishop of Glasgow, bestowed upon him the rectory of Campsay, though he was only in Deacon's orders, as appears plainly by the Act of Presentation, in which he is styled barely Clerk of the diocese of St Andrew's, so that he was beneficed in the Church, and a Minister of State at the age of twenty-five (e). In the year 1523, his uncle being now Archbishop of St

(a) Dempst. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. ii. p. 33. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 44. Nesbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 213.

(b) Hay's Panegyric on Cardinal Bethune.

(c) Dempst. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. ii. p. 33. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's Tragedy of Cardinal Bethune. Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 19.

(d) Crawford's Lives of the great Officers in Church and State, p. 78.

(e) Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 68, 69.

(f) Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol. I. p. 339—342.

(g) Records of Parliament.

(h) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 19. Crawford's Great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, p. 78. Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 252.

(i) Records of Parliament, in which this resolution bears date July 17, 1526.

(k) See his Character, from the Supplement to Dempster's Ecclesiastical Hist. in note [O].

(l) Crawford's Lives of great Officers, p. 78.

(m) Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 297. Supplement to Dempster.

(n) Buchan. Res. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 393. The Commission itself, which is still extant, dated *Ex Regia nostra Falklandiæ 22^o Februarii 1533.*

St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Commendator of Arbroath, resolved to resign the abbacy in favour of his nephew, and for that end he prevailed with the Regent Duke of Albany, to write in the most pressing manner, both in the young King's name and his own, to Pope Adrian VI, to expedite and dispatch the Bulls of his investiture, and withal, requesting his Holiness, that by the plenitude of his apostolick power, he would be pleased to dispense with Mr Bethune's taking on him, what they call the Habit, for the space of two years, which the Pope, to gratify the King, granted (f) [A]. These two years Mr Bethune continued in France, and upon his return in 1525, we find him taking his place and seat in Parliament, as Abbot of Arbroath (g). Almost all the writers of the History of Scotland, and even such as have undertaken to give us the particular memoirs of this great man, have represented him, as falling some way under a cloud after this time, through the great power of the Earl of Angus, into which they were led, by considering that nobleman's bitter hatred against his uncle the Archbishop of St Andrews (h). But how probable soever this might make it appear, yet the fact, beyond all question, is far from being true, since it appears from the very Act of Parliament, which constitutes the Earl of Angus one of the Regents, the following persons were appointed to attend upon, and to remain in the service and company of the King, viz. the Bishop of Orkney, the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Holy-Rood-House, the Lord Seaton, and our Abbot of Arbroath (i); so that it is plain, he had either wrought himself into some degree of confidence with the family of Douglas, or stood at that time in so great credit with the King, that even this powerful party did not think proper to remove him; which, as it is a circumstance of his history not generally known, so it is certainly a very high proof of his eminent abilities (k). It does not appear, that in any of the subsequent changes of government, he was ever obliged to leave the person of his royal master, with whom he grew into such a high degree of favour, that in 1528, on the resignation of Bishop Crichton of Dunkeld, he was promoted to the dignity of Lord Privy-Seal (l). In this capacity he assisted the King with his counsels, and was looked upon to be the person in whom the King confided most. And there is good reason to believe, that it was by his persuasion the King instituted a College of Justice in 1530, after the manner that Philip IV of France, had established a court of the like kind (m). He was also intrusted in the year 1533, with a very important commission, which obliged him to return to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erskine, with directions to give the Most Christian King, the strongest assurance of their master's, King James's, resolution, to adhere steadily to the alliance concluded between the two crowns at Rochelle, and to demand in marriage for him the Princess Magdalen, daughter to the French King, which marriage however did not then take effect, because the Princess was at that time in a very bad state of health (n). The Abbot of Arbroath, was likewise entrusted with some other secret

[A] Which the Pope, to gratify the King granted.]

The Duke of Albany, while Regent of Scotland, had as many cares and difficulties to struggle with, as any Prince that ever was intrusted with the management of the publick affairs of a kingdom (1). His father had been banished into France, where he was born; and it does not appear that he had intermeddled with the concerns of Scotland, or had any great intercourse with the Nobility, before he was called upon by them to take upon him that high office, which he is allowed to have executed with great diligence and capacity (2). He depended very much upon the French King Francis I, and promoted, as far as in him lay, the interest of that monarch in Scotland, which was the only objection that was ever made, even by his greatest enemies, against his administration. The opposite party were supported by, and acted wholly in favour of, King Henry VIII of England, uncle to their King James V, and who professed much tenderness and regard for his nephew. Thus the Nobility of Scotland were almost wholly divided into two factions (3); the French, at the head which was the Regent, with whom sided almost all the Clergy, and the greatest part of the common people; and the English, of whom the principal person was the Earl of Angus, and to him many of the active nobility were inclined. The former of these factions charged the latter, with having little respect for their King, and still less for their country, promoting their private interest by procuring pensions from King Henry, and implicitly obeying his commands to obtain them. On the other hand, the latter charged the former with being the absolute creatures of a foreign power, enemies without any cause to the English nation, and ready to involve the King, tho' in his minority, in a very unequal as well as unnatural war against his uncle, purely to gratify France. It must be allowed, that the greatest part of both these charges was true, and consequently it must be owned, that there were many selfish Statesmen on both sides, and but very few pa-

triot on either (4). I thought this explanation of the state of affairs in Scotland, at the time of this great man entering upon business, necessary, to give the reader a just notion of his future conduct; for by this the reader sees, that he was brought up in, and brought in by, the French faction, in the service of which he acted from his first setting out, and for which at length he sacrificed his life. The procuring him this rich Abbacy was one of the last acts of the Regent, as it was one of the first of his uncle's after his coming to the See of St Andrew's. The letter written for the King to Pope Adrian VI, is conceived in the strongest terms possible, and therein the highest character is given of Abbot Bethune, who is said to have given such proof of his capacity and probity in the services rendered to the Regent, during the time of his residence in France, and management of affairs there, as made him truly worthy of the King's favour and liberality; and therefore out of respect to the man's merit, the King most earnestly desires his Holiness would yield to his request (5). The Archbishop likewise in his letter presses the matter very warmly, and recommends his nephew very strongly to his Holiness's favour, both in this and in other respects. In the first letter he is styled Prothonotary of the diocese of St Andrew's, and the King's Counsellor and domestick servant; and in the Archbishop's letter, he is called Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow. It seems the Duke-Regent was very desirous of having this young man provided for, as being both his own pupil and the King's favourite, and the person already fixed upon to have the principal management of the affairs of Scotland, at the courts of France and Rome (6), which he looked upon as of much consequence to himself, tho' in reality, it did him little or no service, as he never returned to Scotland afterwards, but continued in France; where he received marks of favour from the King, and the highest proofs of gratitude from our Abbot, who always considered him as his patron, and the author of all his fortunes (7).

(4) Drummond's Hist. of James V.

(1) Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 16.

(2) Buchan. Res. Scot. Hist. lib. ix. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. xiv.

(3) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of his Negotiation addressed to King Henry VIII.

(5) Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ, p. 339.

(6) This appears from those Letters before cited.

(7) Epistolæ David. Cardin. S. Andree. MS.

[B] Both

secret commission at the French Court, where he continued for some time, and gave his master such intelligence from thence, as enabled him to secure his peace with his uncle, at the same time that he was complimented and caressed in the most extraordinary manner, by the Emperor and the Pope, both violent enemies to King Henry (o) [B]. It was during the time he was thus employed at the French court, that our Abbot laid the foundation of all his greatness, entering so deeply into the good graces of King Francis I, that he granted him many, and those too very singular, favours; from whence it has been conjectured, that he was now admitted into the whole system of the French Politicks, and engaged to keep his master close up to the same plan, which, if true, it is no wonder the French monarch should, by virtue of his prerogative, grant him all the privileges of a native of France, and afterwards confer upon him a bishoprick, favours not frequently bestowed on strangers, and never by so wise a Prince as Francis I, without just cause (p) [C]. To say the truth, these were not so much encouragements as rewards, for

(o) Supplement to Dempster.

(p) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 75. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

for

[B] *Both violent enemies to King Henry.*] The bold step taken by King Henry VIII, in marrying Anne Bullen, alarmed all Europe, particularly the Emperor Charles V, and the Pope (8). They were both great Politicians, and therefore we need not wonder at their both thinking at once of the same expedient for distressing King Henry; which was to excite the King of Scots to take up arms against him, and attack his dominions on one side, while they were preparing several Princes on their side the sea to attack him on the other. It was with this view that the Emperor in 1534 sent Goddefalco Errico, a Sicilian, round by Ireland into Scotland, to renew the antient treaties between the Emperor and King James, to carry him the order of the Golden Fleece, and to offer him his choice of three Ladies for a wife (9), viz. Mary the Emperor's sister, widow of Lewis King of Hungary; Mary, Infanta of Portugal, his niece, by his sister Eleanor; and his other niece, Mary of England, daughter of King Henry VIII, by Queen Catherine the Emperor's sister also. But the real and great design of his negotiation was to press the three following points, viz. To engage King James to espouse the cause of the Emperor against King Henry, to irritate him against those that were called Hereticks, and to engage him to assist in the scheme then on foot, of calling a general council to support the cause of the Pope against the King of England. As this embassy did great honour to the King of Scots, he treated the Ambassador with all the marks of respect possible; and in regard to what he proposed, he testified the utmost esteem for the three Ladies, but more especially for Mary of England; and yet suggested, that the Emperor had another niece, Isabella, daughter to the King of Denmark, more suitable in age and temper to become his consort; at the same time he offered to act as a mediator between the Emperor and the King of England his uncle; assured him of his great zeal for the Catholick religion, and promised to send his Clergy to the general council, in case that council should discover a truly Christian spirit for reforming abuses in the Church (10). In the mean time King Henry VIII, persisting in his resolution of throwing off the yoke of papal tyranny, had caused Dr Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, to be tried, condemned, and put to death, for denying his supremacy (11). This induced Pope Paul III to send to the King of Scotland John Antonio Compeggio. This Legate finding King James at Faulkland, the 22d of February 1535, there with many ceremonies and apostolical benedictions, delivereth him a cap and a sword consecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour (12), 'which the fame of his valour, and many Christian virtues, had moved his master to remunerate him with. Also (*saith the original*), that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring Prince, against whom the sword was sharpened.' The Pope's letter, which accompanied this present, was conceived in a very submissive stile towards the King, though full of sharp and indecent expressions against his uncle; alledging, that King Henry 'was a despiser, a scornor, one who set at naught the censures of the Church, an Heretick, a Schismatick, a shameful and shameless adulterer, a publick and professed homicide, murderer, a sacriligious person, a Church-robber, a rebel, guilty of lese Majesty divine, outrageous, many and innumerable ways a felon, criminal by all laws, therefore justly to be turned out of his throne; praying the King of Scotland, for the defence of the Church, would undertake something worthy a Christian King, and

that he would endeavour to suppress Heresy, and defend the Catholick Faith from those against whom the justice of Almighty God and judgments were now prepared, and ready to be denounced.' The King of Scots entertained this minister very kindly, and gave him very good words, but without promising any thing more than to use his utmost endeavours with his uncle to reconcile himself again to the Church, and in the mean time to use his power to abolish and extinguish Heresy in his own dominions (13). The Abbot of Arbroath, then in France, and in the highest credit with the King, who was a firm friend and steady ally to Henry VIII, took care to advise his master, that this was all artifice, and that the Emperor and the Pope aimed only at making him subservient to their views, and a thorn in the side of his uncle (14). This induced King James to send back the Ambassadors as they came, with much shew of friendship, fair promises, and nothing else. But as he was sensible that King Henry could not fail of hearing of both these embassies, and of doubting their consequences, he immediately, after the departure of the Legate, dispatched Lord Ereskine to London, to give his uncle a fair account of what had passed, and to give him likewise the strongest assurances of his living with him, not only in the most peaceable, but the most friendly manner possible (15). This gave his Majesty such satisfaction; that he immediately sent his nephew the order of the Garter, and also dispatched Lord William Howard as his Ambassador into Scotland, who, finding the King at Stirling, proposed a meeting between him and his uncle at York, promising, that if he would condescend to this, and a few other points there to be mentioned, the King would give him his own daughter Mary, create him Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. But the Council expressing some dislike to that match, as the Lady Mary was but a child, and the King the last heir male of his family; and at the same time doubting, whether it would be altogether safe for him to proceed so far as York, Lord William Howard took upon him to chide, brow-beat, and even threaten the Lords with his master's displeasure. This rude behaviour proved fatal to both nations; it gave King James an ill opinion of the interview, and Lord William, on his return to London, infused into King Henry such bad impressions of his nephew, as could never afterward be effaced (16).

[C] *By so wife a Prince as Francis I, without just cause*] The Kings of France, so long as Scotland remained an independent kingdom, affected to live upon very good terms with it's Monarchs, and indeed it was their interest so to do, because it afforded them an opportunity of creating powerful diversions whenever they were attacked by the English. The desire therefore of gaining to his interest a person who was known to have the ear of his master, was very natural to such a Prince as Francis the First, who had great designs, and understood perfectly well how to make a fit choice of such instruments as were necessary to be employed in the execution of them (17). It was with this view that he always caressed Dr Beaton extremely, and perceiving that he was fond of being considered as descended of a French family, he laid hold of that circumstance to bring him over wholly to his interest; and therefore in November, 1537, he made him a grant, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France; in the same year he bestowed upon him the Bishoprick of Mirepoix, a city in the county of Foix in Upper Languedoc, suffragan to the Archbishop of Toulouse (18), a very considerable

(8) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lef. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix.

(9) Supplement to Dempster.

(10) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 307.

(11) Lef. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 307. Sadler's Letters, p. 47. 48.

(12) P. Daniel Hist. de France. Tom. VIII. p. 925, 926.

(13) St. Martens Gall. Christ.

(8) Herbert's History of the reign of Henry VIII, in Kennet's Collection, Vol. 11. p. 168, 183. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. 1. p. 126. Histoire des Papes, Vol. IV. p. 480.

(9) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lef. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix.

(10) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 302, 303.

(11) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. 1. p. 198.

(12) Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 304, 305.

for the Emperor having invaded France in 1536, King James resolved to go with the flower of his nobility to his assistance, and knowing that this would be attended with much opposition, he kept his design so close a secret, that though he was twice forced back by contrary winds into his own ports, yet he embarked a third time, and arrived safely at Dieppe in Normandy, before his design was suspected either at home or in England (g). He went immediately to visit the Lady Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke de Vendosme, to whom the French writers say he was already contracted. He did not desire that this lady should know him on his first arrival, but it seems she was advised by letters from the Abbot of Arbroath, of the King's intention, and of the means by which he might discover him, as she did at first sight. But it appears his Majesty was not so well pleased with her as she expected, and therefore continued his journey towards the French camp, but was met upon the road by the Dauphin, who conducted him to Paris, where he had all the honours paid him that he could desire, and what he seemed to wish most, the Princess Magdalen, for whom he had sent two embassies in vain, was given to him in person, whom with great pomp he espoused, on the first of January 1537 (r). The Abbot of Arbroath returned with the King and Queen to Scotland, where they landed on the twenty-ninth of May, but before the rejoicings were well over for her arrival, the Court was thrown into the deepest mourning for her death, which happened in the month of July following (s). It was not long after this, that our Abbot, in conjunction with one Maxwell, was sent over again to Paris, to negotiate a second marriage for the King, with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guise, and the widow of the Duke de Longueville, in which some time was spent, and it was during his stay at this time in the kingdom of France, that he was consecrated Bishop of Mirepoix, which was to make way for that higher dignity that was perhaps already intended him (t). All things being at length settled, in the month of June 1538, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, where after great hazard of being taken by the English, they safely arrived, and, in the month of July, their nuptials were celebrated at St Andrew's (u). Our Bishop had now all the power and authority of the Archbishop, though he was no more in title than Coadjutor of St Andrew's; but this being thought insufficient for the ends which he had undertaken to promote, he was, by Pope Paul III, raised to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of *St Stephen in Monte Caelio*, on the twentieth of December 1538 (w) [D].

In

preferment in every respect, the revenue being no less than 10,000 Livres *per ann.* which at that time of day was a large sum, and enabled the Bishop to make a great figure (19). Neither was this all, for we find that on the 30th of June, 1539, he had a new grant made him in consideration of services already done, and which he might afterwards do his Majesty, allowing him all the privileges of a native of France, and permitting his heirs to succeed to his estate in France, notwithstanding they might be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and this without their having any particular letter or act of naturalization for that purpose. This grant, which was made after he was Cardinal, and which recites the grant formerly made him in 1537, still remains in his family, and there is an authentick copy of it preserved in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh (20). I have mentioned all these favours from the French King in one note, though granted at different times, that we might not be obliged to repeat matters relating to the same subject. There is a tradition in the Cardinal's family, that he obtained all these extraordinary marks of esteem and confidence, in virtue of his personal interest with King Francis I (21); but I conceive that they were bestowed upon him rather from political motives, and, as the grant expresses, for services done, and to be done, for the crown of France; and this I am the rather inclined to believe, because he received none of them 'till after King James's voyage to France, and his marriage with Queen Magdalen, nor indeed 'till after her death, when the French King stood more in need of his services in Scotland. As to his being made Cardinal, which all our Historians attribute also to the interest of the French Monarch, I must confess I doubt of the fact, not that I believe he might not have obtained that King's recommendation had it been necessary; but because I apprehend there were other and more powerful motives which induced the court of Rome to grant him that and other favours, as will be more fully shewn in the succeeding note; wherein I hope I have set the true causes of his being promoted to that dignity in their proper light.

[D] *By the title of St Stephen in Monte Caelio, December 20, 1538.* It is very strange that none of the authors of the Histories of Scotland should have given themselves the trouble, to enquire into the causes of our Prelate's being raised to the rank of a Cardinal,

which was certainly a thing extraordinary enough to merit their attention, since, as far as I could ever learn, they had of their nation but one Cardinal before (22). I the rather wonder at this, and at the ascribing his promotion to the influence of the King of France, because I think it may be easily proved that the crown of Scotland had at that time credit enough at Rome to procure him this promotion. There was nothing the Pope so much aimed at, as attaching the Clergy both of England and Scotland strictly to himself, and it was this that put him but a very little before upon making Dr Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a Cardinal. When England was lost, there was the more need to take care of Scotland, where the old Archbishop of St Andrew's, of whom we spoke in the former article, was equally unfit and uninclined to undertake such a persecution of Hereticks as the Pope desired; and as for the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was still less inclined to such warm measures than the Primate. It was necessary therefore to give the Popish Church of Scotland another head, and this could be no way done but by raising one of their Clergy to the rank of a Cardinal, and for this there was none so fit as our Prelate. He was then Coadjutor of St Andrew's, and from his capacity alone had acquired the entire management of the affairs of the Church; was of all the Clergy the best known to the court of Rome, and most trusted by it. Besides all this, he had the entire confidence of the King his master, and therefore was of all others the fittest for this dignity. But if it should be objected, that these are conjectures only, I shall desire the reader to consider the following passage from a letter of the Cardinal to Mr Andrew Oliphant, his Agent to the court of Rome, which will put the matter out of question, by shewing that he owed his promotion solely to the circumstances of affairs, and to the necessity the Pope was under of managing the King his master (23).

'We have received an instrument of possession of our title, *sub Stephano in Caelio monte*, and we likewise have received our Bull of provision thereto, sent to us lately by Mr James Salmund, and have received all other letters and missives ye make mention of in your said letters. As to the matter of Legation we desire, and that the King's grace desires to be granted to us, we understand perfectly your diligence with the Pope's Holiness, and the Cardinal of Chincis in that behalf; and how come of our own countrymen

(g) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. xiv. *Leff. de Rebus Gest. Scotor.* lib. ix. Drummond's *History of Scotland*, p. 309, 310, 311.

(r) *Abregé de l'Histoire de France*, par Mezeray, Vol. IV. p. 598.

(s) Buchan. *Leff. Drummond*.

(t) *Supplement to Dempster*.

(u) Buchan. *Hist. Lib. xiv. Leff. Reb. Gest. Scot.* l. ix. Drummond's *History of Scotland*, p. 318.

(w) Dempster, *Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scotor.* lib. ii. p. 83.

(19) *Nouv. Description de la France*, par P. la Forge, Tom. VI. p. 30.

(20) Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 44.

(21) *Supplement to Spottwood*.

(22) Buchanan, Drummond, Spottwood, Crawford, Mackenzie, &c.

(23) Sadler's *Letters*, p. 17, 18, 19.

In the February following, Queen Mary was solemnly crowned, with great splendor and magnificence, in the abbey church of Holy-Rood-House. It was not long after this, the Cardinal ran a great hazard of being turned out of his master's favour; for his uncle King Henry VIII, having good intelligence of the design upon which he was made Cardinal, sent about this time a very able Minister of his to King James, with particular instructions to procure the Cardinal's disgrace, in order to which that King had contrived a very deep and subtle scheme, which however had not the success that he expected (*) [E]. A few months

(*) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of this Negotiation in his Letters.

men have done, and do, that they may by their private informations and persuasions for their own particular weal and money, that they get in these parts by particular commissions, in *conduccionibus et locationibus in emphyteosin*, and not having any regard to the common weal of the King's grace, his realm and subjects, to stop and make impediments that the said Legation be not granted to us. And therefore in this matter, touching the said Legation, ye shall have yourself secret from all Scotsmen, and labour therein, 'till by yourself and others our friends, viz. by the Cardinal of Chincis, to whom the King's grace and we write presently, in that behalf of the which ye shall receive the copy *cum presentibus*; and also have written to Monsieur *Lynoges Langtab*, Ambassador there presently, for the King of France, and likewise to *Latinus de Juvenalibus*, our good friends, to do for the King's grace effectuous desire in this matter to have the said Legation granted to us. And we assure you the King's grace has this matter right high in head and mind, for the common weal of his realm and subjects. And this, considering the great parts, he keeps to the siege apostolick and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the Faith Catholick in this his realm, now in this most perilous time, that his Grace should not be denied of his just and reasonable desires, which tend all utterly to the auctorization of the holy siege apostolick, and obedience of the Pope's Holiness, as head of the Kirk Catholick. And hereafter with the first ships his Grace will write of new to the Pope's Holiness hereupon, that it may be understood perfectly, that this Legation is desired by his Grace specially, and not principally, by us; therefore do diligently herein, as we doubt not but ye will, as ye have begun, and write resolutely to us hereupon in your first writings.

Upon this letter we shall make but a very few observations. It appears to be entirely of a private nature, and therefore is the best authority with regard to the temper and sentiments of the man; and from hence it very clearly appears, that tho' he thought he might claim the assistance of the French King's minister at Rome as a friend, yet it was not upon that, but chiefly upon the state of affairs in Scotland, his own services, and the King's influence, that he relied. It is to be observed, that the point he labours about the Legation in this letter, was no more than this, that he might have a special faculty for the execution of that office as Archbishop Forman had, and not trust barely to the Legantine authority annexed to the See of St Andrew's. It seems the court of Rome was a little stiff in this point, and did not come into it so readily as the Cardinal expected, which obliged him to write in the manner he did to his Agent, and the reason of this stiffness may very easily be guessed at. The Pope was liberal of his favours while he was only Coadjutor of St Andrew's, because he thought them necessary to give him weight in Scotland, and to enable him to do the business of the Papacy; but now he was become Archbishop, Primate, and *Legatus natus*, he thought he had power enough, and what the Cardinal aims at in his letter, is to shew that this was a mistake, and that the additional power he wanted did not arise from his own ambition, but was really requisite to enable him to do what the Pope expected from him; and that this was the opinion of the Clergy in Scotland, and the desire of the King himself. He therefore instructs his Agent to insist upon the granting him this faculty, as a thing not of grace but of right, as it was for the good of the Church, and no more than one of his predecessors had obtained, and obtained upon the same reasons from which he expected it should be granted to him. Besides this letter, we have another express authority to prove that he obtained his promotion to the rank of Cardinal not by the mediation of the King of France, but from the immediate good will and pleasure of Paul III, which is that of Bishop Lesley (24), whose authority is good as an

Historian, but is more particularly of weight in this case, because he had a better opportunity of knowing things of this nature, as being intimately acquainted with the politics of the court of Rome, as well as with the state of affairs in Scotland at that time. This point I have taken so much pains about, sets the character of our Prelate in it's true and proper light, and shews him to have been a man of such parts and penetration, as to have raised himself to the highest dignities, of which his profession was capable, not by the little arts of fawning and flattering; which it does not appear he ever used, but by his doing such real services as commanded those rewards he received, and which therefore he regarded not in the light of favours bestowed, but of preferments acquired by his merit and abilities. How far this was right, or how strong evidences these may be of the haughtiness of his spirit, and of that boundless ambition with which many writers charge him, must be left with the reader to determine; all I aim at is, to shew him as he was, and to draw his character neither better nor worse than as facts direct. There are men rise by little arts, by low submissions, and by a dirty kind of cunning; and there are others who arrive at the highest preferment by a more direct road, which is always the mark of a superior genius; and of this kind that age produce various instances, such as Cardinal Wolfey, and his successor Thomas Lord Cromwell, men as proud and as ambitious as our Cardinal, and men, who, like him, forced their passages to the highest pitch of grandeur, by the services they rendered to those from whom their honours were received.

[E] Which however had not the success he expected.]

By the publication of Sir Ralph Sadler's original Instructions and Letters, we are let entirely into the secret of this negotiation, the main point of which was to procure the Cardinal's disgrace. In order to this King Henry, in his instructions, directs his Minister to represent to King James V, that the Cardinal held a correspondence with traitors, was endeavouring to render himself in a manner independent of his master, by the powers he laboured to procure from Rome, and was entirely devoted to that See; in proof of which he was to produce a letter of the Cardinal's (cited in the former note), which if King James was much moved on the reading, he was to deliver, otherwise he was to pretend he had no commission to part with it. How well this was executed, appears clearly from Sir Ralph's own account of the matter, which is so full, and so fully shews the temper of both these Kings, and the true nature of this transaction, that though it is of some length, and penned in the rough stile of those times, I am persuaded the reader will be glad to see it. We find it in a letter addressed to the King his master by Sir Ralph, which appears to have been written in the month of February, 1540, and the passage (25) runs thus:

(25) Sadler's Letters, p. 31—36

The first thing, quoth I, that I have to declare unto your Grace, my Sovereign Lord and Master the King's Majesty your uncle, requieth you to keep it secret, unless ye shall determine and promise to proceed thereupon, to the punishment of those persons which shall be detected according to your Laws; and if your Grace shall so determine when ye have heard the matter, then the King's Majesty, your uncle, is content to leave the opening thereof to your arbitry; but otherwise, his Majesty would be loath to seem author of any such thing, if your Grace should not weigh it, and take it in heart, as he doth; for be ye assured, quoth I, whatsoever toucheth your Grace, or your honour, his Majesty weigheth it as his own. Here he seemed to be very desirous to know the matter, and said, *I pray you what is it!* for I assure you, whatsoever he be that doth offend us, or our Lawes, he shall well know that we stand not in awe to see him punished. Sir, quoth I, this is the matter: It fortuneth late, that a subject of your's, being servant as is reported to your Cardinal here,

was

months after, the old Archbishop dying, the Cardinal succeeded in the Primacy, whereby he

was, by the rage and tempest of the sea, driven a-land in the north parts of England, and very like to have been drowned. *Yea*, quoth he, *that was Brunstoun, he is now newly come home.* Yes, Sir, quoth I, the King's Majesty my master had advertised you of the matter afore this time, but he respited the same until the return of the man, because your Grace should both be sure of the parties, and be advertised of the matter all at once. This Brunstoun, quoth I, when he was thus on land, by chance left certain private letters and copies behind him. *No*, quoth he, *the letters were taken from him by the King mine uncle's officers.* Indeed, Sir, quoth I, the letters were found by the King my Master's officers, and sent up to his Majesty. *Well*, quoth he, *it is no force.* Now and it please your Highness, as I passed by Bamburg, I met with John Horsley, Captain of the same, who, in communication, told me, that he had taken a packet of letters from certain Scottish men which were driven a-land there by tempest, and named the said Brunstoun to be one of them; and therefore knowing the same by that means, when the King of Scots told me that the said letters were taken away from the said Brunstoun, I would not wade too far in the defence thereof, but thought to pass it over, and proceed to the matter as I did, and so said unto his Grace, that when the letters came unto your Majesty's hands, and that your Grace had perused them, there appeared such strange matter in them, that your Majesty could no otherwise think, but that God had sent them to your hands for the surety and commodity of his Grace; for, quoth I, it appeared unto the King's Majesty your uncle, by a letter subscribed with your Cardinal's own hand here, that under colour to serve your Grace, being his Sovereign Lord, he laboureth to bring into his own hands, not only the whole spiritual jurisdiction of your realm, but under colour of it also the temporal, taking for cloak the Bishop of Rome's usurped power, which may serve him for a sword, if he be suffered to enjoy the same: So that the just power and authority given you by God, as to a King, should thereby in few years be little or nothing at all. And, Sir, for a plain declaration of his intent herein, he shewed himself to be a friend and fautor of your Grace's traitors, devising how to compass himself by a crafty mean, under the colour of the Bishop of Rome's power, to be their judge, to the intent he might deliver them. *Which traitors I pray you*, quoth he. Marry, Sir, quoth I, as I conceive by the Cardinal's said letters your Grace committed to ward one Hutchenfon and one Harvy for their treasons and offences committed against your Grace, and to these your Cardinal, seemeth to be a great friend; and as it shall evidently appear to your Grace by his letter, he deviseth to make himself their judge, to the intent he would deliver them, and all for that he would seem to be a good workman for his chief Captain the Bishop of Rome, for whose service he is only meet, which meaneth nothing else than to usurp Princes powers, and to diminish the same. And, quoth I, as this matter may declare unto you, the crafty dealing of those Prelates, so by opening thereof your Grace may well perceive that the King's Majesty your uncle doth both love and trust you, and wisheth to God that your Grace knew as well as he doth, to what ruin those Prelates do labour to bring the state of Kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep Princes in their own realms, as their Ministers and Deputies; or else by most detestible and impudent boldness vindicate the deposing of them, and making of new at their pleasure. In the declaration hereof I observed well his countenance, and perceived that he gave me an attentive ear, and somehow looked very steadily on me, and with grave countenance; somehow he bit the lip, and bowed his head. And when I had said, and waited what he would say, he answered these words: *By my truth*, quoth he, *there are two laws, the Spiritual Law and the Temporal. The cure of the one pertaineth to the Pope's Holiness, and the spirituality; the other to Kings, Princes, and the Temporality; and, for my part, I trust I shall do my duty to God in the discharge of such things as pertain to the Temporal power within my office and rule within in this realm.* But as for the Spiritual Law, in good

faith we take no regard thereof, but commit that to the Pope's Holiness, and other ordinary Ministers of the Kirk within our realm. Sir, quoth I, it may please your Grace to consider, that God hath called you to be a King, and hath not only committed unto your charge, to see his Laws executed within your office and realm, as supreme head thereof, but also hath put the sword into your hands for the punishment and reformation of the transgressions of the same. And thinks your Grace, that if the Ministers of the Spiritual Laws within your realm, for that they know your Grace taketh no regard thereof, shall not do their duty, so that your people in their default shall perish for lack of justice, and run headlong in blindness and ignorance of God's word, for lack of doctrine and true preaching of the same, by your Prelates and Clergy of your realm, think you, quoth I, in that case, if your Grace do not your Kingly office to redress the same, and appoint every man to serve in his vocation, that ye shall not yield a just reckoning thereof unto God. *Marry*, quoth he, *I trust God shall give me Grace to do my duty to him; and whatsoever he be in Scotland, that we may know doth not his duty both in the execution of God's Laws above all, and also in the ministrations of indifferent justice to our Lieges: By God*, quoth he, *if we may know him, we shall not let to punish him, be he Spiritual or Temporal, in such ways as appertains, and that (ye shall throw me) they know all full well.* But by my truth, quoth he, *I thank God Scotland was never in better love and obedience to no King of the same than they are unto me; and, I dare say, that there is no man in Scotland, either high nor low, but will do willingly and gladly whatsoever is my will and commandment.* For, quoth he, *they do both love and dread me.* And for this matter which the King mine uncle hath advertised me of, touching this Cardinal, ye shall well know, that if he hath, or shall in any ways offend our Laws, we shall not stand awe of any man to punish him as he merits. But, quoth he, *I know not but that he wrote to Rome to his Agent there for the procuring of a Legation, which, in good faith, should be a benefit to our subjects, and we also did write to the Pope's Holiness in the same.* Sir, quoth I, the King's Majesty my Master hath sent with me the original letter of the said Cardinal, to the intent I should read the same to your Grace, whereby you shall perceive all his crafty pretence; and, quoth I, if your Grace will see the letter, I have it here ready, and will myself read it unto you. *No*, quoth he, *keep the letter still, we will take another time for it; and that he spake to me very softly, which I think he did because the Cardinal was present in the chamber.* And again he said, *Let this matter pass at this time, we shall talk more of it at our next meeting.* — The Ambassador took care to put King James in mind of his promise, and to give King Henry an account of what passed at it, which he does thus (26).

Quoth I, your Grace may well perceive by the advertisements that he hath now sent you by me, and also by his friendly advices and counsels, that his Grace doth both love and trust you. *By my soul*, quoth he, *I have advised me of the matter his Grace has advertised me of by you at this time touching the Cardinal here; and, quoth he, I can find no default in him, for when his letters were taken and holden in England, we heard of it, and asked him thereof; and by God, quoth he, he had the doubles and copies of them, and shewed them all to us, and we remember not that any thing was amiss in them.* Sir, quoth I, did your Grace see the double of a letter wrote to his Clerk and Agent at Rome. *Yea marry*, quoth he, *to one, that is all his doer there.* Well, Sir, quoth I, if your Grace do see the very original, then shall ye perceive if the double and it agree. Quoth he, *Have ye the original here upon you? Yea*, quoth I, that I have. *Take it out privately*, quoth he, *as though it were some other paper, and let me see it.* (The Cardinal was in the chamber, and therefore think I he bad me take it out secretly.) I took it forth of my bosom, and he took it, and read it softly every word, from the beginning to the end; and in one place of the letter, the Cardinal biddest his Agent sollicit, that nothing be done that might in any

he was investted with as great or greater power, than ever any churchman had enjoyed in that kingdom. And it was very soon after his promotion to the archbishopsrick, he discovered himself of a most warm and persecuting temper (y). For to stop the progress of those who opposed the established religion, he brought a great confluence of quality, both clergy and laity, to St Andrew's, and there in the cathedral he made a speech, to acquaint them with the increase of Heresy, how the Catholick faith was insulted, that Heterodoxy was openly maintained, and too much encouraged within the Court particularly, he mentioned one Sir John Borthwick, who had been cited to St Andrew's, for dispersing heretical books; and holding several opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church (z) [F]. Sir John Borthwick appearing neither in person nor by proxy, the charge was taken for confessed, upon which he was declared a Heretick, his goods confiscated, burnt in effigie,

(y) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 69. Petric's Hist. of the Catholick Church, Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 10.

(z) Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 23. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland.

' any wise irritate the King's Grace and his Council against the liberties of the Holy Kirk, considering the time is perilous. When the King did read these words, By God, quoth he, they dread me. Sir, quoth I, they know their own abuses, and they fear least your Grace should find them. By my truth, quoth he, if they do not well, ye shall ken that I will redress them. When he had read the whole letter, he took it me again. And, quoth he, In good faith I have seen the double of it word by word: But I have good cause to thank the King mine uncle, for I see well, quoth he, if his Grace should see any thing that should be to my displeasure or dishonour, he would advertize me of it; and by God, quoth he, I shall do sicklike to him. Sir, quoth I, doth not your Grace perceive by this letter the crafty pretences of the Cardinal. Why, quoth he, whersein? Marry, quoth I, he sheweth himself to be a great friend to your rebels and traitors, and deviseth to be their judge because he would deliver them; and so your Grace may easily see how he laboureth to bring into his own hands both the spiritual, and also the temporal jurisdiction of your realm. No, no, quoth he, I warrant you we shall use him and all his fellows well enough; if they do not their duties, I may tell you, quoth he, they may dread me. And as for those men, Hutcbenson and Harvy, which ye name traitors to us, in good faith, quoth he, they are but simple men, and it was but a small matter and we ourself made the Cardinal the Minister both to commit them to the castle, and also to deliver them. Sir, quoth I, the matter is as ye please to take it; but it seemed so strange to the King's Majesty your uncle, and in such wise to touch your honour and surety, that he could not but advertize your Grace thereof. And if your Grace, quoth I, think ye may justly take any advantage thereof, ye may at your pleasure; if not, the King's Majesty prayeth you to compress it, and keep it secret to yourself. Yes, quoth he, I warrant you his Grace shall bear no more of the same. I assure your Majesty he excused the Cardinal in every thing, and seemed wonderous loath to hear of any thing that should sound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praise.'

[F] *Contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Church.* He was no sooner become Archbishop of St Andrew's, and Primate, than he resolved to give the strongest proof of his attachment to the religion and interests of Rome, and therefore in May 1540, he went to St Andrew's in that pomp and splendor as certainly no Primate of Scotland ever used before. He was attended by the Earls of Huntley, Arran, Marshal, and Montrose; the Lords Fleming, Lindsey, Erskine, and Seaton, with many other persons of distinction that were laymen; and he had also with him Gawen, Archbishop of Glasgow and Lord High-Chancellor, with five other Bishops, four Abbots, and a vast train of Clergy beside. In the presence of these witnesses he held, in wonderful state and grandeur, a kind of visitation or enquiry after Hereticks, in which this Sir John Borthwick was condemned for Contumacy on the 28th of May, 1540, and his effigies was publickly burnt the same day in the market-place of St Andrew's, and a week after at Edinburgh (27). This proceeding of the Cardinal's did not very well answer his purpose, and therefore he had soon after recourse to another method, which was to engage the King to issue a commission for enquiring after Hereticks, and to place at the head of it Sir James Hamilton, bastard-brother to the Earl of Arran, a man of a barbarous and bloody temper, whom the King 'till this time had always hated (28) for many reasons, but more particularly for his having killed the

Earl of Lenox, when he had taken arms by the King's express direction to rescue him out of the hands of the Earl of Angus, as the reader has seen in the former article. The great point the King is said to have had in view by setting up this terrible court was, the obtaining large sums of money by the conviction of such as were discovered to be favourers of the new opinions, that is, of the doctrines of the Reformation. The truth seems to be, that the King was very desirous to increase his revenue, that he might be able to defend himself in case of being attacked, and to make a greater figure in Europe than any of his predecessors (26). To enable him to do this, there had been two schemes proposed to him, one by his uncle Henry the Eighth, and the favourers of the Reformation, which was by suppressing monasteries, and seizing the estates of the Clergy. The other by the Clergy themselves, to defeat this project of their enemies, and to engratiate themselves with the King; to which end they were for establishing this dangerous court of Inquisition, and of this it seems the King made choice, as being more agreeable to his sentiments than the other. We are informed by a very good author, that the Clergy persuaded the King he might by this means add to his income one hundred thousand crowns of annual rent, by annexing the lands of Hereticks convict to those of the Crown; but in case this scheme of theirs failed, the Clergy offered to grant him fifty thousand crowns per ann. out of their own estates for the present, and more if his necessities so required (30). It was upon this occasion that the famous roll was made, which is mentioned in the text, containing the names of such as were suspected and might be profecuted, in order to fix the King in a belief of the mighty advantages that were promised him from the execution of this barbarous design. That such a roll there really was, and that the Earl of Arran was the first named therein, is best proved by the Earl's own testimony, who told this to Sir Ralph Sadler (31), but that it was found in the King's pocket after his decease is a little improbable, considering that the Cardinal is on all hands allowed to have been with his Majesty at the time he died, and who one would think should have secured this roll for his own sake. But be this as it will, most certainly the scheme came to nothing, for Sir James Hamilton, while busy in persecuting others for Heresy, was himself accused, convicted, and soon afterwards executed for high-treason; and with him ended all endeavours to bring this project of the Clergy to bear, the King himself growing out of humour with it, and expressing upon many occasions a strong sense of the severity and baseness of such proceedings (32). Yet the Cardinal always found means to shift such things from himself, and to keep as much in the King's favour as ever, in order to which he scrupled not doing any thing that might flatter the King's humour and gratify his desires, though in doing this he acted so cautiously, that he seemed to be rather obliged to do what he did from a principle of duty to his Prince, than to carry into execution any of his own advices (33). But notwithstanding all his arts, many of the Nobility who began to fear the King, and consequently to hate him, looked upon the Cardinal as the great author of all these mischiefs, and probably would have made him feel the weight of their resentment, if he had not had so much address as to keep a strong party of the Nobility attached to himself; so that even after the King's death, by which he seemed to be exposed to all his enemies, he made it clearly appear, that he had a superior interest, and was able to do more with all ranks of people than any other person in Scotland, as the reader will see in it's proper place.

(26) Spotswood's Church Hist. of Scotland, p. 81. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 329, 330. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(30) Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 330. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(31) Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 101.

(32) Buchan. Rec. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 319, & seq. Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 30.

(33) Buchanan, Lesley, Drummond, Spotswood, Keith, &c.

(27) Buchan. Rec. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 69, 70.

(28) Buchan. Rec. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 310, 381.

effigie, and all persons prohibited to entertain or relieve him, under the penalty of excommunication. Being informed of these proceedings against him, he retired into England, where he was well received by King Henry, and honoured with a publick character to the Protestant Princes in Germany. But Sir John Borthwick, was not the only person the Cardinal proceeded against for Heresy, for quickly after this he prosecuted several others, some of them persons of quality, for what he called the same crime, as Andrew Cunningham, son to the master of Glencairn, James Hamilton of Livingston, and Mr George Buchanan the celebrated Poet and Historian; and they would all of them have certainly died, if they had not made their escape out of prison; for the King having absolutely left all men to the mercy of the Cardinal, one knows not what lengths he might have gone, if Providence had not prevented the execution of his bloody designs, by the death of the King, since it is said, he had presented to him a roll of three hundred and sixty of the chief Nobility and Barons, as suspected of Heresy. In which black roll the first man was the Earl of Arran, and though several attempts were made to bring the Cardinal into disgrace, or at least to deprive him of his large and unlimited power, yet they were all unsuccessful, for no mark or evidence appears, that the King did ever lessen his affection to him to the hour of his death (a). On the contrary, it was by his influence that the King directed his troops to invade England, whereupon followed the dismal overthrow of the army at Solway Moss, which broke his heart, and occasioned his death (b). But then it must be allowed, that the Cardinal acted so artfully, that though the general course of his conduct manifested sufficiently his intentions, yet he hardly left it in the power of any of his adversaries, to make any thing out against him by proofs or particular facts (c) [G]. The King had none so near him when he died as the Cardinal, which gave him an opportunity of forging a will for him, or at least afforded a pretence for suggesting that he forged it, which occasioned it's being set aside, though he caused it to be solemnly proclaimed over the cross at Edinburgh, in order to establish the Regency in himself, the Earls of Argyl, Huntley, and Arran (d); and besides losing his design, the imputation has remained upon his memory, though perhaps there is no sufficient authority to prove it [H]. By this means he was entirely excluded from the government, and

(a) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Lest. de Reb. Gell. Scot. lib. ix. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland. Drummond's History of the five James's. Sadler's Letters.

(b) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 79.

(c) See the proofs of this in the notes [G], [H], and [K].

(d) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Spotwood, Knox, Petrie.

[G] *Make out any thing against him by proofs of particular facts.* It was a maxim with this great Politician, from which he never digressed, *to run no needless hazards, and to decline none when they became necessary.* It was his constant adhering to that rule which preserved him from suffering, as he otherwise would have done, in the various revolutions which he lived to see in the government of Scotland. It was report only that fastened upon him the business of the roll, mentioned in the former note, for the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, told the English Ambassador Sadler, that it was the King himself, not the Cardinal, who procured that roll to be written (34). In like manner the common opinion was, that the Cardinal persuaded the King his master not to go to the meeting at York, which occasioned a great difference between him and King Henry. But when Sir Ralph Sadler was sent a second time into Scotland, the Cardinal sent a message to him, assuring him, that this fact was false; that he was able to prove it so; that he had always had as just a sense of the great advantages that would result to both kingdoms, from the preserving peace and friendship between them, as any man in Scotland, and had been as far from seeking to destroy them; and that, if he had an opportunity of paying his respects to King Henry, he did not doubt being able to satisfy his Majesty in that respect (35). It is certain, that throughout the whole reign of the King his master, though his enemies at home and abroad were continually labouring to bring him into disgrace, and in order thereto suggested many things against him, yet they were able to prove none (36). As for the capital imputation, that he meant to establish the Pope's power over the Clergy, and to exercise it in Scotland himself, independent of the King, it never could make any impression, because his Master very well knew that it was by his own interest and interposition, that the Cardinal had obtained the power which he possessed, and that the great point he laboured with the Clergy, was to persuade them it was better to grant a part of their revenues to the Crown for it's protection and support, than to rely on the sole authority of the Church (37). It was likewise imputed to the Cardinal, that he gave the King a distaste to his antient nobility, advised him to lessen their power, and to cut off the most potent; but whoever considers the great interest he had with the best families in Scotland in the life-time of that King, the steadiness with which they adhered to him through all his troubles after the death of that Monarch, and his influence upon them to the

very time of his own death, must be satisfied that they did not apprehend this charge to be well founded, or at least that it could be proved, for if they had, no doubt they would have exerted themselves to his destruction when they had him in their power, and not have laboured as they did to restore him not only to his liberty, but also to his former, and even greater, authority (38). But it is time to part with this subject at present, the rather, because in the subsequent notes we shall be able to set this point in a still clearer light; from whence it will appear, that how often or how loudly so ever he was accused, yet he was never proved guilty of any thing laid to his charge. We except only his severity against the favourers of the Reformation, which, as it cannot be denied, so it ought not to be excused; but in other parts of his life he seems to have acted with very singular address, and in that, as well as other parts of his character, very nearly resembled Cardinal Wolsey, made use of the same precautions, and with the same effect, that is to say, both defended themselves from being in danger of capital punishments by legal prosecutions (39). In this indeed Cardinal Beaton seems to have had the better, that even his greatest enemies never thought it in their power to procure any sentence against him by a parliament; but whether this might not be owing rather to his influence over his judges than to his innocence, may very well be made a question (40). In his life-time, however, this circumstance made wise and thinking men wonder much, as appears from what Sir Ralph Sadler tells his master King Henry VIII, at the time the Cardinal was in prison, and the cry strongest against him, that he could never learn from his bitterest enemies *what it was they had against him* (41). So much it is in the power of a great man to guard against conviction, though he cannot avoid clamour.

[H] *Though perhaps there is not sufficient evidence to prove it.* This is one great crime with which the memory of the Cardinal is stained, but it so falls out, that we have no very clear testimony to prove that he was really guilty of forging the King's will. The author, upon whose authority this has been chiefly believed, delivers himself thus (42). 'As for the Cardinal, he thinking that in these publick calamities he might have an opportunity to aggrandize, that he might shew himself somebody, both to his own order, and also to the French faction, attempted a thing both bold and impudent. For, by the hired assistance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary Priest, he forged a false will of the King's, wherein he himself

(38) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gell. Scot. lib. ix. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(34) Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 101.

(35) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 28. Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 154, 155.

(36) Supplement to Dempster.

(37) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 325, 226.

(39) See the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by Mr Cavendish, MS. differing from the printed copies.

(40) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 291.

(41) Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 160, 161.

(42) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. p. 281, edit. Edinb. 1715, fol.

and before the close of the year 1542, the Earl of Arran was declared sole Regent during the minority of Queen Mary, then but a few days old. This was done chiefly by the Lords inclined to the English interest, who being desirous also of complying with a proposal made by Henry VIII, for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to their young Queen, judged it necessary, before this came to be discussed in Parliament, to procure the Cardinal

was nominated to the supreme authority with three of the most potent of the Nobility to be his assessors. He was in great hopes that his project would succeed from the dispossession of the Earl of Arran, one of his assessors and partners in the government, who was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to be easy and quiet. And besides, he was near of kin to him, for he was son to the Cardinal's aunt. Moreover, the opportunity to invade the supreme power seemed to require haste, that he might be possessed of it before the exiles and captives returned out of England, that so they might have no hand in conferring this honour upon him, for he was afraid of their power and popularity. Neither did he doubt their minds were alienated from him upon the score of a different religion. This was the cause, that presently after the King's death he published an edict concerning the choosing four governors of the kingdom. He then proceeds to give us an account of King Henry's sending back the Scots prisoners, and of the recalling the exiles, and then he resumes his former subject thus. The Cardinal who saw this storm gathered against him, making no doubt but the prisoners and the exiles would be both his opposers in the Parliament, had taken care to be chosen Regent before their coming, but he enjoyed that honour not long, for within a few days his fraud in counterfeiting the King's will and testament being discovered, he was thrown out of place, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, made Regent, through a desire which some had to ingratiate themselves with him as the next heir to the crown. Others foresaw so long before the cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of religion, and therefore provided against it by lessening his power. There is a very different account in this matter in a book of good authority, generally ascribed to John Knox, and part certainly written by him, where, speaking of the King's last sickness, he writes thus (43). 'In the mean time, in his great extremity, comes the Cardinal (a fit comforter for a desperate man). He cries in his ear, Take order, Sir, with your realm who shall rule during the minority of your daughter. Ye have known my service, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four Regents chosen? and shall not I be principal of them? Whatever the King answered, documents were taken that so it should be, as my Lord Cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm a dead man's hand was made to subscribe one blank, that they might write above what it pleased them best. The Cardinal having hired one Henry Balfour, a Priest, to make a false testament, which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finished, the Cardinal posted to the Queen, lately before delivered as is said.' Bishop Lesley says nothing more than that the Cardinal opposed the setting up the Earl of Arran as sole Regent, because the King by his testament had appointed four (44). We have seen that Buchanan says also there were four, of whom he names only the Cardinal, and the Earl of Arran; in Knox's history, mention is made of the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Murray (45). And Archbishop Spotwood agrees with this, though he quotes Buchanan, who says no such thing (46). Most certain it is, that the common reports charge not only the forging the King's will, but the King's death upon the Cardinal. We find it in the margin of Knox's history, that some did not stick to say the King was hastened away by a potion (47), which is however inconsistent with that history, wherein it is more than once said, that the King foretold his own death, Drummond mentions this as a groundless rumour (48), but Melvil is clear that the fact was true, viz. that the King was poisoned by the Clergy (49). Sir James Balfour is as clear, that there was nothing of poison in the case, but that the King died of a Lent fever (50). Of this therefore we may fairly acquit the Cardinal, especially since neither Buchanan nor Knox so much as suggest that he was guilty. As for the Forgery of the will there is assertion, but no proof; and

upon comparing the several accounts, I hope to be able to give a more satisfactory relation of this affair than we find in any of our modern Historians, though they would be thought to have taken great pains in following the matter (51). After the encounter at Sollway Moss, in which a great body of Scots suffered themselves to be defeated and made prisoners by a handful of English, because they had a person appointed to command them whom they did not like: King James the Fifth died of meer vexation for what had happened at Falkland in the county of Fife, which lies twelve miles west from St Andrew's, and about ten from the river of Frith, on the 13th of December 1542 (52). He was during the time of his sickness attended by the Cardinal, who, when he found him so near his end, desired to know how he would have the affairs of the kingdom settled, and caused his answers to be set down and subscribed a few moments before he fell into the agonies of death (53). On the 14th the Cardinal brought over the King's body to Edinburgh, and with the Earls of Argyll, Marjhal, Rothes, and Arran, assisted at his funeral. On the Monday following the Cardinal caused himself and the other Lords to be proclaimed Governors, of whom, without doubt, the Earl of Arran was one (54). But Mr Kirkaldy of Grange advised the Earl of Arran to call an assembly of the Nobility, and therein to demand his right of being Governor alone, as he was next heir, if the young Queen died, to the crown, which accordingly he did; and though this was most vehemently opposed by the Cardinal and his friends, it was carried notwithstanding, and the Earl of Arran thereupon declared sole Regent (55). But so little notion was there then amongst those who were well acquainted with the thing, that the Cardinal had forged the King's will, that it was amicably resolved that he and the other Lords should have free pardons granted them by the Governor for what they had done, which agreement was made December 25, 1542 (56). In the month of March following came Sir Ralph Sadler, and found the Cardinal a prisoner, and the Governor at least in appearance, bent upon his destruction. But notwithstanding this, he some time afterwards granted him more liberty, though he did not care to own that, but pretended that it was done against his will, and therefore he enquired the English Ambassador Sadler's opinion, what he should do with the Cardinal if he came to Edinburgh; and in the conversation upon this subject, which we have in Sadler's letters, there is an account of this matter, which, from what has been said before, may be very easily understood, and sets the whole in a very clear light (57). 'My Lord, quoth I, I am not able to give you advice; but if it may please you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cause he was apprehended, I will tell you, quoth I, mine opinion. Marry, quoth he, the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my Lord Warden, my Lord Lytle, quoth he, that the Cardinal had procured the Duke of Guise to come hither with an army to subdue this realm, and take the government of the same, whereof now, quoth he, we have no proofs; nor we perceive not, quoth he, that the same was true; nevertheless, quoth he, we have other matters to charge him with, for he did forge, quoth he, the late King's testament; and when the King was even almost dead, quoth he, took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper; and besides that, quoth he, since he was prisoner, he has given special and secret command to his men to keep his hold and castle of St Andrew's against us, which, quoth he, is a plain disobedience and rebellion. I engrieved these crimes as much as I could, and told him that I heard say he had forgiven and pardoned the Cardinal of that crime in forging of the King's testament, as indeed, communing yesterday with the Lord Summerville in that matter, he told me it was so; nevertheless the Governor assured me, that he never gave the Cardinal remission for the same.'

(43) History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(44) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(45) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(46) Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

(47) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(48) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 345.

(49) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(50) apud Keith, ubi supra.

(51) Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 25.

(52) Buchanan, Lesley, &c.

(53) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(54) History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(55) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(56) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(57) Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 260, 261.

Cardinal to be seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Blackness, after which they conducted all things at their pleasure, and settled publick affairs as they thought fit (e). But this did not last long, for the Cardinal, though confined, raised so strong a party, that the Regent scarce knew how to proceed; and, which was still more extraordinary, had gained so many of those about him, that the Regent began to dislike his former system, and at last deserting it, released, and was reconciled to the Cardinal (f) [I]. This was undoubtedly

[I] Released, and was reconciled to the Cardinal.]

The dates, and even the facts, in this part of the history are so perplexed and differently told, that there cannot be a more difficult task than to endeavour to set them in a plain light. In the text we have shewn, that the Governor was persuaded by the partizans of King Henry, whom the Scottish writers call, *the English Lords*, to seize upon the Cardinal, and send him prisoner to Blackness, on the south side of the river Forth, ten miles from Leith, in the custody of the Lord Seaton, where he continued during the time the Parliament was held, and the treaty with England for the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots, was concluded (58). The Queen Dowager however, and many of the Nobility, shewed great concern for him, and laboured all they could to prevail upon the Governor to set him at liberty. In the mean time, the Cardinal took better methods himself, for he offered the Lord Seaton a considerable gratification, and his constant friendship, if he would transfer him to St Andrew's, which before the end of the month of March 1543, he did with the consent of the Governor; notwithstanding the English Ambassador had laboured to have the Cardinal sent into England (59). At St Andrew's he was at full liberty, and actually called there an assembly of the Clergy, which met upon the 25th of May, and was adjourned to the first of June, for which he had the Governor's permission, though the latter pretended he had not. In this assembly of the Clergy, the Cardinal shewed them, that nothing could preserve the Church as it was then constituted, but their raising a sum of money sufficient to defeat the intended match with England, which in consequence of his arguments, he obtained (60). When this was done, the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, raised a force sufficient, and coming down to Linlithgow, carried off the two Queens to Sterling, and endeavoured to prevent the meeting of the Parliament, which the Governor had summoned for the 25th of August, which however they could not do; but the Governor, and such as were of his party actually met, and ratified the two treaties of peace and marriage with the crown of England, under the Great Seal (61). But the very day after he had done this, the Governor set out for St Andrew's, pretending that he would force the Cardinal to a submission, or push all things against him farther than ever; and accordingly upon his coming to St Andrew's, and the Cardinal not coming out of his castle to meet him, he caused him to be proclaimed a rebel openly in his town of St Andrew's; which had such an effect upon Sir Ralph Sadler, that he really expected that a civil war would have broke out, and therefore wrote very earnestly into England, to procure assistance for the Governor (62). In a very few days, however, it appeared very clearly that all this was a mere contrivance, for upon the third of September, the Governor having received a message from the Cardinal, by Sir James Campbell of Lundy and the Abbot of Pittenweem, gave out that his Lady was fallen in labour at Blackness, and under that pretence went out of town the next day to Calendar, where the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray met him, and after a long conference they set out together for Sterling, where they entered into the closest engagements with each other, and from that time forward the Cardinal had the ear and confidence of the Governor, as much as he ever had of the King, his master (63). These are the plain facts. But to enter a little behind the curtain, and penetrate as far as we may, into the causes of them, which were no other than the arts of the Cardinal, who, step by step, increased his own power, and diminished that of those who opposed him, till for their own sakes they were glad to come to an agreement with him, to have that Head on their side, which had been too hard for all their force. As soon as he had drawn over the Lord Seaton to his party, he advised him to insinuate to the Governor, that it was

for his interest, the Cardinal should go to St Andrew's, because this would put him in possession of that castle, and all the wealth that he had in it: When he was got thither, he gave the Governor to understand, that as he was sensible he consented to the late treaties with England through want of power and of money, so if he would consent to an assembly of the Clergy there, it might be a means of procuring for him such a supply, as might enable him to act as he thought proper (64). In the mean time, he had sent for two persons over from France, one or other of which he knew must answer his purpose. The one was the Earl of Lenox, son to that Earl of Lenox, who had been killed endeavouring to rescue his master, King James, out of the hands of the Douglasses, which induced that Prince to have such a kindness for his son, as to promise that he would settle the crown upon him, in case his own issue failed. The other was Mr John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisly, the Governor's natural brother, a down-right creature of France, and wholly devoted to the Cardinal. The first of these two the Cardinal carried to Sterling, gave him hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and made him believe himself the most powerful person in the kingdom. The other he sent to the Governor, to let him know he did this very unwillingly, that the Cardinal and his friends were ambitious of nothing so much as his friendship, and that by coming over to them he would have the whole kingdom at his devotion (65). The Abbot repented farther to his brother, that he would find no real support from England; since King Henry did not acknowledge him in quality of Governor, but stiled him in his letters, the *Earl of Arran occupying the place of Governor*; that by desiring to have the young Queen and the Cardinal delivered up to him, he meant to deprive him of all power, and to render him odious to the Nobility, and to the common people; that while he depended thus upon England, he must ever remain in a dangerous and precarious situation; whereas, by joining with the Cardinal, he would have the whole Scotch nation at his devotion, and might be sure of what support he pleased from France. The Governor having once relished these notions, suffered the Cardinal to make trial of what force he could raise, and when he saw that the assembly at Sterling was become very powerful, he threw off his disguise, and went directly into the Cardinal's measures (66). At their first conference at Calendar the Cardinal shewed the Governor, that by siding with the friends of the Reformation, he was ruining himself and his family; for as there were two divorces in his family, the one of his father, and the other of his grandmother, which depended entirely upon papal authority, if that should once be taken away, his claim to the crown might be questioned, and even his title to the earldom of Arran, and his private estate, both which would devolve upon the Earl of Lenox, who, upon the Governor's joining the Cardinal, had gone over to the English party, and was so well received by King Henry, who gave him his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas in marriage, that the Governor saw plainly it was impossible for him to retreat (67). Thus the reader sees clearly, that by his superior knowledge of men and things, by his great art in turning every circumstance and event to his advantage; and his prodigious dexterity in applying to the passions and interests of mankind, the Cardinal extricated himself out of all his difficulties, and in the space of eight months, from being the Governor's prisoner at Blackness, became master of the Governor and of the whole kingdom, for on the twenty-third of January 1542-43, the Council came to a resolution of seizing his person, and on the third of September 1543, the Governor left Edinburgh to go and join the Cardinal, and the Lords of his party, at Sterling, and thus in as few words as possible, we have unravelled as dark an intrigue as is to be met with in the history of Scotland.

(e) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, p. 71, 169.

(f) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. l. xv.

(58) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 72.

(59) Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 265. Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 39, 40. Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 123.

(60) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 41. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 70.

(61) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. l. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74.

(62) Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 350, 351.

(63) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. l. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 356, 357. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 31.

(64) Spotwood, Crawford, Keith, &c.

(65) Buchanan, Knox, Spotwood, Crawford, and Keith.

(66) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 42. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 356, 357.

(67) These facts are already mentioned separately, and by different authorities supported.

undoubtedly one of the most singular turns that ever happened in any government, and is very expressive of this great Statesman's genius and character, who knew how to court and manage factions so well, that, from being excluded the Court and imprisoned, he, upon the young Queen's coronation, was again admitted of the Council, and, at the request as well as by the consent of the Regent, assumed the high office of Chancellor, out of which the Archbishop of Glasgow was turned to make way for him. Some authors indeed suggest, he shewed uncommon haughtiness, or rather insolence, in the manner of his accepting this great office (g), but this ought to be regarded as a mistake at least, if not a calumny [K]. His interest was now so great with the Regent, and so well established, that he might be said to have as much influence over him as he had over the King, which manifestly appeared, by his procuring him to solicit the Court of Rome, to extend his already almost boundless authority, by appointing him Legate à latere from the Pope, which was done accordingly, and in all probability was less a favour then, than it is usually accounted, as being with no other view procured, than to sustain and promote the cause of the religion and See of Rome (b). As soon as he obtained this new dignity, he shewed plainly enough, to what end it had been both sought and granted; for he immediately proceeded to a most severe persecution of those he styled Hereticks, to countenance which he had address enough to procure such numbers of persons of high rank and distinction to be present at, and to attend him in, his judicatories, that instead of appearing an act of his own, or the effect of his intrigues, it looked rather as a thing imposed upon him, and in which he acted with the approbation of the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy of the kingdom. Such was the wonderful dexterity of this man, and such the zeal with which, to the very utmost of his power, he promoted the cause of Popery (i) [L]. It was with a

(g) Crawford's Lives of Great Officers, p. 80.

(b) Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Scot. lib. ii. p. 33.

(i) Keith's Hist. and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

view

[K] *As a mistake at least, if not a calumny.* The Archbishop of Glasgow had continued Chancellor of Scotland from the time that the seals were given him, upon the retreat of the Earl of Angus into England, to the latter end of the year 1543, and then we are told that they were taken from him in a very ungracious manner, to put them into the hands of the Cardinal. We find several authors hinting this, but Mr Crawford affirms it more positively than any of the rest, and attempts to prove it by record. His words are these (68). 'The Cardinal having now all the sway, that he might the more easily carry his designs, and have the greater authority in the kingdom, the Archbishop of Glasgow was laid aside from being Lord Chancellor, and the Cardinal came in his place in a very haughty manner; for both before and since that time, when any alterations were made in that high office, the record bears such a person to have been made Chancellor; but such was the pride and ambition of the Cardinal, that it is entered in the record of Parliament, *That my Lord Cardinal has accepted the office of Chancellor in and upon him, at the desire of my Lord Governor and Lords of Council* though I see he gave his oath *de fidelit* upon the delivery to him of the great seal, *liely (honestly), and truly to minister in the said office during the time he shall happen to haif (have) the same.*' Tho' this is seemingly very clear, and very positive, yet perhaps there may be good cause shewn why none of these facts should be considered as certain. For first, as to the Chancellor Dunbar, his office might be, and probably was, inconvenient and troublesome to him in many respects, so as that he might be well enough pleased to part with it; and this will have the greater appearance of truth, if we consider that the two Archbishops continued very good friends ever afterwards, which could scarce be supposed if the Archbishop of Glasgow had been so ill treated in the business of having the seals taken from him. In the next place, as to the pride and haughtiness expressed by the Cardinal in his manner of taking the great seal, we shall the better know what to think of it when we have cast our eyes upon the entry in the publick records, of the delivery of the great seal to George Earl of Huntley in full parliament (69), June the 10th, 1546. 'The whilk day my Lord Governor, in presens of the Queenis Grace and Lordis of Counsaile, has chosen George Earle of Huntlie Chancellor of the realme of Scotland, who has accepit the said office in and upon him, and has sworn that he shall lelely and treulie minister in the said office after his wit, cunyng and knowlage, like as outhir Chancelluris has done, and usit the said office in tymes biganis, and the Queenis Grace and Lordis of Counsaile thought him able therfor, and in signe and takin thereof my said Lord Governor has in presence of the Queenis Grace and Lordis forsaid, deliver it to the said Earl our Sovereign Ladyis grete

sele, and has ordaint the Kingis quarter sele, whom God assolize (pardon) to be broken, off the whilk that one half was cuttit in presens of the Queenis Grace and my Lordis of Counsaile.' It appears very clearly from hence, that there was nothing of arrogance or presumption in the manner of the Cardinal's accepting of the great seal, but that he received it in the ordinary form, and had thereupon the same entry made on the records as was usual, though it must be confessed, that at the first reading, the words, in which his receiving the great seal are entered, seem very lofty and assuming. But the bottom of the business was certainly this, the Governor was desirous that his brother the Abbot of Paisley should have some good employment, and he had no less a mind that the Cardinal should be Lord Chancellor; upon receiving which high office he willingly resigned his former post of Lord Privy-Seal to his friend the Abbot of Paisley, as the reward of that pains and diligence he had used, in bringing about the agreement between his brother the Governor and the Cardinal, and the daily endeavours used by him to serve the latter with the former, and hinder the stories told by his enemies to the Governor from making any impression (70).

[L] *He promoted the cause of Popery.* It is a full proof that the Cardinal had gained an entire agency over the Governor, since he was able to engage him to apply to the court of Rome, in order to his being promoted to the rank of Legate à latere, to which he had always aspired, but which he could never obtain 'till now. The Bull for this promotion is still extant, but there seems to be some dispute about the date (71). In the printed copy we have it in words at length 1543, which, as it does not at all agree with history, so it is likewise inconsistent with the other part of the date in the Bull itself, for it is said to be in the tenth year of the Pontificate of Paul III; now that Pope being created October 12, 1534, it is very evident that January 30, 1543, was in the ninth, and not in the tenth year of his reign. It may not be amiss to take notice in this place of the different kinds of Legates, in order to render this note the clearer. A Legate, simply taken, is an Ambassador or Representative of the Pope. The Legate à latere, i. e. from the Pope's side, is always a Cardinal, vested with the fullest powers that can be given him, and in some measure capable of doing as much in the name, and by the authority, of the Pope, as if his Holiness were present he could do himself. The Legate de latere has, or may have, the same power, but is not a Cardinal; and as to the Legati nati, or Legates born, they are so only *virtute officii*, or in right of their dignity in the church, as our Cardinal was from his being Archbishop of St Andrew's (72). It is plain therefore, that by obtaining this dignity the Cardinal reached the utmost step of preferment, unless he had acquired the papacy itself; and there is no doubt, that when it was desired from

(70) Buchanan, Knox, Spottwood, Keith, Crawford, &c.

(71) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 271.

(72) Antiquit. Eccl. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 13.

(68) Crawford's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 80.

(69) See the Records of Parliament, preserved at Edinburgh.

view to serve this cause still more effectually; that he summoned, in the beginning of 1546, a Provincial assembly of the Clergy, at the Black-Friars in Edinburgh (*k*). He proposed to himself doing great things at this meeting of the Clergy, and at the opening thereof he made a speech, in which he shewed, that Religion was in great danger from the prevailing of Heresy, for which he said he knew but two remedies, the first of these was, to proceed vigorously against such, as either adhered to, or encouraged the new opinions; and the other was, to reform the scandalous and immoral lives of the clergy, which gave the greatest pretence for men to separate from the Church (*l*). How far they proceeded in that affair remains altogether uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the Cardinal was diverted from the purposes he had then in hand, by the information he received, that Mr George Wishart, the most famous Protestant preacher in Scotland, was then at the house of Mr Cockburn, of Ormiston in East Lothian. The Cardinal upon this immediately applied to the Governor, to cause him to be apprehended, with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied. The Cardinal went in person with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to see him apprehended, and staid about a mile from the place, while the Earl went and took him into custody (*m*). After this was done, the Cardinal procured an order, or, as they call it in Scotland, an Act of Council, requiring the Earl of Bothwell to deliver his prisoner to the Lord Governor (*n*). Pursuant to which, he was first carried to the house of Elphinston, where the Cardinal then was, from thence to the castle of Edinburgh, and by the Queen-Dowager's persuasion, the Governor caused him to be transferred to the castle of St Andrew's (*o*). As soon as the Cardinal had him there, he resolved to proceed without delay to his trial, and in order thereto, summoned the Prelates to meet in the city beforementioned, on the twenty-seventh of February following. When they were accordingly met, the Archbishop of Glasgow very wisely and prudently advised, that they should apply to the Governor to grant a commission, to some man of quality, to try so famous a prisoner, that the whole blame might not fall on the clergy, to which the Cardinal agreed, and application was accordingly made (*p*). The Governor at first made no great scruple of the thing, but Mr Hamilton of Preston interposing, shewed him so clearly the folly of taking the thorn out of another man's foot, to thrust it into his own, that in the end he returned the Cardinal this answer, *That he would do well not to precipitate this man's tryal, but delay it until his coming, for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined, and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands.* When the Cardinal received this message, he was equally angry and perplexed; yet determined however to go on, and therefore sent this return to the Governor: *That he had not wrote to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of Hereticks, might have a shew of publick consent, which since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way, which to him appeared the most proper* (*q*). Accordingly he went on to try Mr Wishart upon eighteen articles, notwithstanding his appeal, as being the Governor's prisoner, to a temporal judicatory, and having condemned, caused him to be burnt at St Andrew's, on the second of March, forbidding likewise all persons to pray for him, whom he stiled an obstinate Heretick, under pain of incurring the severest censures of the Church (*r*). He died with great firmness, constancy, and Christian courage, and, if we may believe many of the writers of those times, prophesied in the midst of the flames, not only the approaching death of the Cardinal, but the circumstances also that should attend it; which however has been called in question by others, who

the court of Rome, there was a promise made that the Cardinal should make good use of the power bestowed upon him for the service of the Church. So indeed he did, for in the close of the year 1545, he went in the most solemn manner to visit his diocese, agreeable to a law of his own procuring, as well as to the promise made, as before-mentioned, to the court of Rome. He was attended in this visitation by the Lord Governor, the Earl of Argyll, Lord Justice-General, the Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Dumblain and Orkney, Sir John Campbel of Lundy, and several other gentlemen (*73*). When they came to Perth several persons were accused of Heresy, being indicted particularly for breaking the act of parliament of 1542-3, by which the people were forbidden to argue or dispute concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and these following were condemned to die, *viz.* William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark his wife. Mr Knox tells us, in his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, that they were convicted of nothing but only a suspicion of having eaten a goose on a Friday (*74*). Great intercession was made for a pardon, but nothing would prevail, so that the men were executed by hanging, and the woman drowned, though, as Buchanan informs us,

she was then big with child (*75*). 'Perhaps, says Mr *Keith*, the Cardinal was the more inexorable, that he might cast a copy for the other Prelates what they ought to do in their several dioceses; or perhaps he thought by this exemplary punishment, to put an effectual stop to the growing of Heresy throughout the kingdom, seeing that town, and the country therabouts, was more infected therewith than other parts of the nation (*76*).' Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with some other Burgessees, were banished, and the Lord Ruthven, Provost of the town, was removed from his office as a favourer of the Reformers. He likewise caused John Rogers, a black Friar, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus and Mearns, to be murdered in prison at St Andrew's, as Knox says (*77*), or as Spotswood (*78*) relates it, he was charged therewith, because the body of this man was found at the bottom of a wall behind the place of his confinement; but he leaves it doubtful whether he fell in the endeavour to make his escape, or, as the report went, was murdered. By this visitation, we very plainly discover to what end all the honours our Cardinal received were heaped upon him, as every accession of power produced also fresh instances of clerical severity, inconsistent with true Christianity.

(k) Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(l) Supplement to Dempster.

(m) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 73. Petrie's Church History, P. II. p. 173.

(n) This order dated January 1545-6, is extant in Keith's History.

(o) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(p) Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(q) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(r) Spotswood, Petrie, and Keith.

(73) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Hist. of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, p. 42, 43. Petrie's Church History, P. II. p. 182, 183.

(74) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 44. Petrie's Church History, P. II. p. 182, 183. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 75.

(75) Rerum Scot. Hist. lib. xv.

(76) Hist. of the Church and State in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(77) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 45.

(78) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 76.

who treat it as a story invented after his and the Cardinal's death (s) [M]. The boldness (s) See this point discussed in the notes.

[M] *As a story invented after his and the Cardinal's death.* It must be allowed, that the diffusing of this fact is one of the most curious points in the history of our Cardinal, and therefore it seems but requisite to give as clear and fair account of it as may be. And as we find none in any of our authors which can answer this purpose so well, we shall present the reader with that of Mr George Buchanan, of which indeed most of the rest seem to be but copies, and those too, in all respects, very far inferior to their original. Our author, having given an account of the manner in which Mr George Wihart spent the morning of his execution, proceeds thus (79). 'Awile after two executioners were sent to him by the Cardinal, one of them put a black linen shirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of gunpowder to all the parts of his body. In this dres they brought him forth, and commanded him to stay in the Governor's outer-chamber, and at the same time they erected a wooden scaffold in the court before the castle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows and balconies over against it were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the Cardinal, and his train to behold, and take pleasure in the joyful sight, even the torture of an innocent man. Thus courting the favour of the people as the author of so notable a deed. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as for a vain ostentation of power. And beside, brafs guns were placed up and down in all convenient places of the castle. Thus, while the trumpets sounded, George was brought forth, mounted the scaffold, and was fastened with a cord to the stake, and having scarce obtained liberty to pray for the Church of God, the executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame and smoke. The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted him in a few words to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To whom he replied, This flame occasions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal), shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease. Having thus spoken, they straitened the rope which was tied about his neck, and so frangled him, his body in a few hours being consumed to ashes in the flame. The Bishops being yet mad with heat and rage, forbid every body, upon great penalties, to pray for the deceased.' We have the same story told at large by Archbishop Spotswood, more briefly by Petrie, but it is evident that they copied all they say from Buchanan. On the other side the question, the reverend Mr Keith suggests that the story is very doubtful, if not plainly false. As this is a very tender point, and seems to bear very hard, not only upon the authority of Buchanan, but upon the judgment of all the writers that have transcribed him, I shall cite the words of my author, that I may not either weaken or strengthen his arguments by a different manner of expressing them (80). 'I confess I give but small credit to this, and to some other things related of those persons that suffered for religion in our country, and which upon that account I have all along omitted to narrate. I own I think them ridiculous enough, and seemingly contrived, at least magnified, on purpose to render the judges and clergymen of that time odious and despicable in the eyes of men. And as to this passage concerning Mr Wihart, it may be noticed, that there is not one word of it to be met with in the first edition of Mr Knox's history; and if the thing had been true in fact, I cannot see how Mr Knox, who was so good an acquaintance of Mr Wihart's, and no farther distance from the place of his execution than East Lothian, and who continued some months along with the murderers of Cardinal Beton in the castle of St Andrew's, could neither be ignorant of the story, nor neglect to insert in his history so remarkable a prediction. And it has even it's own weight, that Sir David Lindsay, who lived at that time, and wrote a poem, called *The Tragedy of Cardinal Beton*, in which he takes together all the worst things that

could be suggested against this Prelate, yet makes no mention either of his glutting himself inhumanly with the spectacle of Mr Wihart's death, nor of any prophetic intermination made by Mr Wihart concerning the Cardinal; nor doth Mr Fox take notice of either of these circumstances; so that I am much of the mind, that it has been a story trumped up a good time after the murder.' The language of this author is a little uncouth, but his observations are very weighty. As to the history ascribed to Mr Knox, it is undoubtedly none of his, but was so called because in some measure a history of his actions, and because taken from his books, papers and sermons (81). It was first printed in octavo, in 1570, and suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth, next in quarto (82), and again in folio in 1644, where we have this very passage at full length, which shews evidently the liberties taken with this *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, which in the main however is a very useful work, and contains many things from Knox. I therefore think that the want of these passages in the first edition is a good proof that John Knox knew nothing either of the Cardinal's looking out of the window, or of Mr Wihart's prophecy. His arguments from Lindsay and Fox are likewise very strong, for Sir David Lindsay hated the Cardinal, who drove him from court, was a friend to the Reformation, and a hearer of Wihart's, and wrote immediately after the Cardinal's death. As for Fox, he had the best informations from Scotland that could be, and he always quotes them, so that these passages being wanting in his work, is very strong evidence they were not then heard of in Scotland, if they had, unquestionably they would have been sent to him. But there is still something more to be added on this head, that will add to the weight of Mr Keith's objection, which is this, that our famous John Bale has given us an article of Cardinal Beaton (83), in which the burning of Mr Wihart, and the murder of the Cardinal are both mentioned, but not one word of the Cardinal's beholding the execution, or of the Martyr's prophecy. Yet John Bale wrote his fourteenth Century of learned men to include the Scots, dedicated it to Alexander Ales and John Knox, of whose friendship to him, and their communications in a literary way, he makes honourable mention, having had their company long in exile, into which John Knox was driven for adhering to the Cardinal's murderers. This seems a very strong proof that neither he nor they ever heard of this wonderful prophecy, or the manner in which it was so surprizingly fulfilled; since, if they had, such as are acquainted with the characters of the men and their writings, will scarce believe they could be omitted. But there is still one circumstance more, which seems absolutely conclusive. Bale has added to his article of Cardinal Beaton an appendix, for the sake of giving us from Hall an account of his first visitation, when he condemned Sir John Borthwick, May 28, 1540, for Heresy; and in the close of this account we are told, that by the just judgment of God, six years afterwards, the said Cardinal on the same month, day, and hour, was killed, and afterwards shamefully hanged out at a window of his own castle, in all the pompous habiliments of his dignity. *Sed ecce mirum divine providentia judicium sexto post anno eisdemq; mense die et hora, occisus presatus Cardinalis fuit, probro expositus, et ad fenestram suis castri, in solenni Cardinalatus apparatu suspensus ut dictum est.* Bale printed this, as appears by the colophon of his book in February 1559, which is but thirteen years after the fact, and in that space he had conversed long with John Knox, who acted as pastor and preacher to those, who after they had killed the Cardinal held out the castle of St Andrew's against the Government, and who knowing both Bale's design of writing, and all the circumstances of the Cardinal's death, would never have suffered him to make such a mistake as this about the judgment visible therein. On the other hand, however, some who favoured the Cardinal, to combat this prophecy of George Wihart the martyr, have invented a story that he was privy to the conspiracy formed to murder him, and so might foretel his end without inspiration (84). A notion as indifferently supported by proof, though as roundly asserted as the former.

(79) Buchanan. Ker. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. p. 294.

(81) See the preface to the last edition of Knox's Hist. of the Reformation.

(82) Heylyn's History of the Prelbyterians, p. 123.

(83) Scriptor. Britan. Cant. XIV. N. 70.

(80) History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(84) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 23.

of this proceeding made a mighty noise throughout the whole kingdom, such as were zealous Papists, magnifying the spirit and steadiness of the Cardinal, manifest in this execution; others of more moderation censured it, as a rash and very imprudent action, which could not but be attended with very dismal consequences; and the friends to the Reformation openly declared, that as it was done without due course of law, it ought

(t) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv.*
Barnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. 1. p. 336, 337.
Spotwood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 82.

(u) Buchan. *ubi supra*.
Lell. *de Reh. Gess. Scot. lib. ix.*
Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Vol. 1. p. 42.

(w) Spotwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 82.
Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, p. 42.

(x) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv.*

(y) *Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland*, p. 70.
Buchan. *Rerum Scot. Hist. lib. xv.*

(z) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv.*
History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70.
Spotwood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 88.

(a) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv.*
Spotwood's *Church History of Scotland*, p. 83.
Petrie's *Church History*, P. ii. p. 783.

(b) Spotwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 83.

(c) *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, p. 71.
Petrie's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 183.

to be considered as a murder (t), which if unquestioned by the State, private men might revenge. As for the Cardinal, he did not seem to be highly concerned at the rumours which his conduct in this matter had raised, he was so much persuaded in himself of his great interest among the nobility, that he did not apprehend any sort of danger from the Governor's displeasure; and, on the other hand, he thought, that having embarked the whole clergy of Scotland in the same cause with himself, by engaging them so deeply in this prosecution, he was sure of their assistance, and of all the interest they had among the people (u). There is a circumstance mentioned by several historians, which very plainly proves, that the Cardinal was at this time at the height of his fortune and wishes, and that he was intent upon nothing, but the means of adding to and securing this prosperity for the future. For it was in order to this, he went, soon after the death of Mr Wishart, to Finhaven, the seat of the Earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage, between the eldest son of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret, which was performed with great pomp and splendor (w). This fact is the clearest proof that the Cardinal had no dread or terror upon his mind, but thought his state and condition as safe and secure, if not more so, than ever; and it likewise proves, that he stood in very high credit with the principal nobility of Scotland, when he was able to marry his natural daughter, to the heir apparent of one of the most antient and honourable families in that kingdom. But while he was thus employed, and in the midst of their rejoicings occasioned by this match, he had intelligence that an English squadron was upon the coast, and that consequently an invasion was to be feared. The Cardinal upon this returned immediately to St Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry of that country, which is very open, and much exposed to the sea, to meet and consult about the proper means of raising such a force, as might be sufficient to secure them from any attempt of that nature (x). He began likewise to strengthen the fortifications of his own castle at that city, into which he was at any time able to put a garrison of his own, sufficient to defend it. But the time of meeting not being come, and no farther news being heard of the English fleet, he was more intent upon rendering this castle tenable against a foreign force, than solicitous about assembling such a number of men, or taking such other precautions, as might secure him from being surprized by his enemies at home, of which, for any thing that appears in History, he does not seem to have had the least suspicion (y). But while he was busy about these matters, there came to him the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, Mr Norman Lesley, a gentleman with whom he had a very intimate friendship, and who expected from him on that account some favour, which the Cardinal absolutely refused him, and provoked him thereby to such a degree, that they parted in great displeasure (z). It happened that this gentleman's uncle, Mr John Lesley, was one of the most violent enemies the Cardinal had in the world, and he knowing his nephew's passionate temper and daring spirit, repaired to him immediately, aggravated the injury done him by the Cardinal, and brought with him several other persons who thought themselves wronged by that Prelate; and after a short conference together, it was resolved to cut him off. There were but a very few concerned in this conspiracy, and of them the principal persons were, Norman Lesley, John Lesley, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melville (a). The scheme they laid, was to meet at St Andrew's with as much privacy as it was possible, and to surprize the castle in a morning, before the Cardinal's servants were stirring, and they entered into an agreement under their hands, to be at that city on the twenty-eighth of May, and to behave in the mean time in such a manner, as to afford no room for suspicion. Accordingly, at the time agreed on, Norman Lesley came, with no more than five persons, and went to the place where he usually lodged; William Kircaldy was there a day before; but John Lesley, because he was known to be the Cardinal's avowed enemy, did not come till it was almost dark. On saturday morning the twenty-ninth of May, they met in the abbey church-yard about three o'clock, being no more than twelve in all (b). There they agreed, that Kircaldy should take six persons with him and secure the gate, that the rest might enter, which he accordingly did, entertaining the porter with some discourse, about the time when the Cardinal would be stirring and might be spoke with; then came Norman Lesley and two more; and lastly John Lesley with the other two, upon the sight of whom, the porter made towards the draw-bridge, but they seized him, took the keys from him, and secured the gate (c). The next thing they did, was to send four persons to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; they afterwards went and called up the servants, to whom they were very well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out at the gate, as they did above an hundred workmen employed in repairing the castle, but the eldest son of the Regent, who was with the Cardinal, they kept for their own security. All this they did with so little noise, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door, upon which he cried out, Who is there? John Lesley answered, My name is Lesley; Which Lesley? replied

(d) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83. (e) Sir David Lindsay's Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

replied the Cardinal, Is it Norman? Answer was made him, That he must open the door to those who were there; instead of doing which he secured it the best he could (d). They then called for fire, and while it was fetching he conferred with them, and upon promise made him that no violence should be used towards his person, he opened the door, when rushing in with their swords drawn, they without any regard to their promise given immediately murdered him (e). Thus fell the great Cardinal of St Andrew's, by a small number of private enemies, after he had managed, in a manner absolutely, all the affairs of Scotland for seven years, and had overcome several powerful oppositions formed against him. The circumstances of his death have been differently reported, and variously censured, according to the sentiments of those by whom they are recorded (f) [N]. As for the

(f) Deimpst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Hist. of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, p. 71, 72. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland; p. 83. Petrie's Church History, P. ii. p. 183, 184.

[N] According to the sentiments of those by whom they are recorded] In the account of the Cardinal's death we have given in the text, we depend chiefly on the authority of Archbishop Spotwood, which agrees very well with that of Buchanan, except that there are some strokes of bitterness in the one, which are very prudently left out in the other. It is however very material to see the colours which Buchanan gives to this action, because there is no doubt that he, who was well acquainted with the principal persons concerned therein, had as good intelligence as it was possible both of the real grounds upon which this action was committed, and the pretences given out to save appearances in the world, and to justify the conduct of those concerned in it, as far as possible. Buchanan having related the manner of Wishart's suffering, and the reputation the Cardinal acquired thereby with the popish party, proceeds thus (85). ' This luxuriant and superlative joy

(85) Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv.

of the priests for their obtained victory, rather irritated than discouraged the minds not only of the promiscuous vulgar, but even of some great and noble persons too. They fretted that things were come to that pass by their pusillanimity and cowardice, and now they thought some bold act or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or else they must remain slaves for ever. Led by this same motive, more company came in to them, whose grief forced them to break out into complaints against the Cardinal, so they encouraged one another to rid this Priest out of the way, and either to recover their liberty, or lose their lives. For what hopes of thriving, said they, can there be under so arrogant a priest, and so cruel a tyrant, who makes war against God as well as man, and those not his enemies only, as were all such as had estates, or were any way pious, but for a small grudge he will haul a man as a hog out of the sty to be sacrificed to his lusts? And besides, he is a publick encourager and maintainer of war both at home and abroad, and in his private capacity he mixeth the love of harlots with lawful marriages, legitimate wedlock he dissolves at pleasure, at home he wallows in lust among his minions, and abroad he ravages to destroy the innocent.' As for Bishop Lesly, he gives but a very short account of the matter; but, however, he observes that the murder was committed by men who, whatever they might pretend of zeal for the publick good, were in reality highly incensed against the Cardinal from private and particular motives (86). Norman Lesly was angry because the estate of Easter Weems was taken from him upon Lord Colvin's being pardoned, which had been given to him upon that Lord's forfeiting. John Lesly had borne an old grudge against the Cardinal, and had publicly vowed revenge. As for Kircaldy of Grange, he was moved to it by his resentment for his father's being removed from the post of treasurer in the late King's reign, which he had executed with great advantage to himself, and with much satisfaction to the people. In respect to Carmichael, he too had a dispute with the Cardinal about lands, for which he hated him mortally. As for the rest of the people concerned in the fact, they were either dependants upon, or servants to, the gentlemen before-mentioned, and at their command would have done the same thing against any other person. The account of the Cardinal's death, which is inserted in his history of his own times by the famous President de Thou, better known by his Latin name Thuanus, is taken from Buchanan, upon whose credit he relates at large the circumstance of Mr Wishart's prophecy, and the accomplishment of it in such a manner, as very plainly shews that he firmly believed it (87). But it is very remarkable, that William Harrison, or whoever compiled the history of Scotland, which is inserted in the first

(86) Less. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 431.

(87) Thuan. Hist. sui Temp. lib. iii.

volume of Hollinshed's Chronicle, tho' he takes the whole of the story from Buchanan, yet omits that circumstance (88); and tho' in another place he gives some account of the life of Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, yet he says nothing therein either of Wishart's foretelling his death, or of it's being looked upon as the judgment of God on the Cardinal for that pious man's suffering (89), which is the more extraordinary, because Buchanan insists so much upon it, and makes it the chief reason why the people of St Andrew's dispersed and raised the siege of the castle immediately after the fact was committed (90). In *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, which, as we have said, is commonly ascribed to John Knox, as being for the most part taken from his papers, there is a very full relation of this transaction, and with circumstances so different from those that are contained in the other accounts, that it deserves the reader's particular notice, the rather because it is this very passage which induced Archbishop Spotwood to maintain, that great injury was done to Mr Knox in publishing that book under his name (91). But if it be considered, that Mr Knox of his own accord went into the castle of St Andrew's, and preached for many months to the persons concerned, we can hardly suppose that if he left any papers relating to the history of the Church, he should omit so remarkable a passage as this, with the particulars of which scarce any man could be so well acquainted as himself. The account before-mentioned (92) runs thus. ' Many purposes were devised how that wicked man might have been taken away, but all failed 'till Friday the 28th of May, 1546, when the aforesaid Norman came at night to St Andrew's, William Kircaldy of Grange Younger was in the town before, waiting upon the purpose; last came John Lesly aforesaid, who was most suspected. What conclusion they took that night it was not known but by the issue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29th of May, were they in sundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far distant from the castle. First, the gates being open, and the draw-bridge let down for receiving of lime and stone, and other things necessaries for building (for Babylon was almost finished), first, we say, assayed William Kircaldy of Grange Younger, and with him six persons, and getting entry, held purpose with the porter if my Lord Cardinal was waking? Who answered, No; and so it was indeed, for he had been busy at his accounts with Mrs Marion Ogilby that night, who was espied to depart from him by the privy postern that morning, and therefore quietness, after the rules of physick, and a morning sleep, was requisite for my Lord. While the said William and the porter talked, and his servants made them to look to the work and the workmen, approached Norman Lesly with his company, and because they were no great number, they easily got entry. They advanced to the middle of the court, and immediately came John Lesly somewhat rudely, and four persons with him. The porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge, but the said John being entered therein, staid it and leaped in, and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broke, the keys were taken from him, and he cast into the ditch, and so the place was seized. The workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, run to the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The first thing that ever was done, William Kircaldy took the guard of the privy postern, fearing that the fox should have escaped. Then go the rest to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty persons to the gate. The number that entered

the Church and State of Scotland; Vol. I. p. 43.

(88) Hollinshed's Hist. of Scotland, in his Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 359.

(89) Id. ibid. P. 452.

(90) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. ubi supra.

(91) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 85.

(92) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 72.

the character of this famous man, it may best be collected from his actions. That he had great parts is certain, and that his pride and ambition were boundless is no less certain; that he was a zealous friend to the Popish religion cannot be doubted, and that this zeal of his altered his natural temper is very probable; for except in matters of religion, he was so far from acting with severity, that he seems to have carried every thing rather by persuasion than by force. Though he was not remarkable for his learning by any writings that he published, yet he was very far from being deficient in that point; and though he is grievously

terprized, and did this, was but sixteen persons. The Cardinal waking with the shouts, asked from his window, What meant that noise? It was answered, That Norman Lesly had taken his castle; which understood, he run to the postern, but perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, and took his two-handed sword, and caused his chamberlain to cast chests and other impediments to the door. In the mean time came forth John Lesly unto it, and bids open. The Cardinal asking, *Who calls?* He answered, *My name is Lesly.* He demands again, *Is that Norman?* The other says, *No, my name is John. I will have Norman,* says the Cardinal, *for he is my friend. Content yourself with such as are here, for others shall you get none.* There were with the said John, James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Master George Wifcharde, and Peter Charmichael, a stout gentleman. In the mean time, while they force at the door, the Cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asks, *Will ye save my life?* The said John answers, *It may be that we will.* Nay (said the Cardinal), *swear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open you.* Then answered the said John, *It that was said is unsaid, and so cried, Fire! fire!* (for the door was very strong), and so was brought a chimney full of burning coal, which perceived, the Cardinal, or his chamberlain (it is uncertain), opened the door, and the Cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried, *I am a Priest! I am a Priest! ye will not slay me.* The said John Lesly (according to his former vows) stroke him once or twice, and so did the said Peter. But James Melvin (a man of nature most genteel and most modest) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said, *This work and judgment of God (although it be secret) ought to be done with greater gravity; and presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr George Wifcharde, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou could have to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remained an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and the holy gospel.* And so he stroke him twice or thrice through with a stag sword, and so he fell, never heard word out of his mouth, but *I am a Priest! Fie! fie! all is gone!* While they were busied with the Cardinal, the fray rose in the town, the Provost raised the commonalty, and comes to the house side, crying, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal? Where is my Lord Cardinal? Have ye slain my Lord Cardinal?* They that were within answered gently, *Best it were for you to return to your own houses, for the man ye call the Cardinal has received the reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more.* But then they more iragely cry out, we shall never depart 'till we see him, and so was he brought to the East Blockhouse head, and shewed dead over the wall to the faithless multitude, which would not believe before they saw, and so they departed without, *Requiem eternam et requiescat in pace,* sung for his soul. Now because the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard) and his funerals could not soon be prepared, it was thought best to keep him from stinking to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the sea tower (a place wherein many of God's children have been imprisoned before), to wait what exequies his brethren the Bishops would prepare for him. These things we write merrily, but we would that the reader should ob-

serve God's just judgments, and how he can deprehend the worldly wife in their own opinion, make their table to be a snare to trap their own feet, and their purposed strength to be their own destruction. These are the works of our God, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty what strength soever they make to the contrary. But such is the blindness of man (as David saith), that the posterity doth ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety, for how little differs the cruelty of that bastard, that yet is called Bishop of St Andrew's, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear. It seems from this last passage, that this account was written very soon after the thing happened, and while all the circumstances were fresh in the writer's mind, which renders it so much the more probable it was really penned by John Knox; and another circumstance which makes it still more likely is, that the whole relation is found in the first octavo edition. But whereas in that edition against the recital of James Melvin's killing the Cardinal, there was this marginal note 'the goldly fact and words of James Melvin;' the word *goldly* in the quarto and folio editions is left out. We must consider this however as a compliance with the milder disposition of the times, for Mr Fox the Martyrologist scruples not saying, *the gentlemen were stirred up by the Lord* (93). Mr Calderwood (94) also tells us, in the same spirit with Mr Fox, *the Cardinal intended further if the Lord had not stirred up some men of courage to cut him off in time.* Upon these insinuations the reverend Mr Jeremy Collier reflects very severely, and says it is strange to astonishment men should defend such things (95). The right reverend Bishop Burnet speaks of this transaction thus (96). 'This fact was differently censured, some justified it, and said it was only killing a mighty robber; others, that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it as treacherous and inhuman; and though some of the preachers did afterwards fly to that castle as a sanctuary, yet none of them were neither actors or consenters to it. It is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it.' It is not at all strange, that even men of sense and learning should differ in their opinions of this fact; but it is very strange, that amongst all the Historians that have mentioned it, there are scarce two that fix it upon the same day. To begin with Buchanan: He says the days were then very long, for it was about the Nones, i. e. the 7th of May. Bishop Lesly places it on the 30th of May. Dempster tells us he suffered on the 28th of May. John Bale says the same. Petrie, in his Church History, says positively it was on the 7th of May in the morning. In Hollinshed's Chronicle he is said to have been killed on the 13th, but in the *History of the Reformation of Scotland*, both the day of the week and the day of the month are fixed, viz. Saturday, May the 29th, which is followed by Archbishop Spottwood, and by Mr Keith. I am the rather inclined to think that this is a right date, because I find that the 29th of May fell that year upon a Saturday, and that the Cardinal was killed on that day of the week, is set down in several collections of those times. The reader will the less wonder at this, when he is told that the death of King James V, and indeed the most remarkable dates in the Scotch history, are not at all better fixed than this; so that there cannot well be a more troublesome task assigned, than to put the memoirs of any remarkable person of that nation into tolerable order, more especially if the facts relating to him are mentioned by several Historians, who in this, as well as in other points, seldom or never agree.

(93) Martyrology, Vol. II. p. 621.

(94) Hist. of the Church, p. 2.

(95) Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 209.

(96) Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

(g) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV.

grievously censured by some, as well as highly extolled by others; yet it seems to be a thing agreed by all, that his abilities were no way inferior to his fortune (g) [O]. He was a great friend to his family, and though a Priest, left behind him posterity, which yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country (b) [P]. He was so well beloved by the

(b) See this explained in the note [P].

Dempst. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Paul. Jovius Descript. Scot.

[O] His abilities were no way inferior to his fortune.] It has been already shewn, in what light Buchanan would have the Cardinal considered in the description he gives us of him, before he proceeds to the account of his death (97). Bishop Lesly speaks of him with great reverence and respect, but without giving us any large or full character of him (98). In the *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, he is represented as a most barbarous and bloody man, and he is scarce mentioned in that book without some mark of infamy and reproach. It is hinted that he poisoned his master, it is suggested that he had an intrigue with the Queen, it is positively affirmed he more than once contrived to have Mr Wishart murdered (99). But there is so much heat and passion expressed, that it is impossible to give any great credit to what is asserted there without proof. Spotwood, though he relates his actions largely, yet declines saying any thing of his conduct or behaviour, except where he condemns him for cruelty, for persecuting the favourers of the Reformation. Paulus Jovius, in his description of Scotland, speaking of St Andrew's, delivers himself thus (100). *In which See David Beaton at present presides, honoured with the purple, and no less distinguished by the lustre of his great actions, and the superiority of his genius.* John Bale bestows on him a very indifferent character, but such an one as it is the reader shall have it in his own words (101). 'David Beaton,

(97) See the quotation from Buchanan, in the remark [N].

(98) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450. lib. x. p. 481.

(99) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34, 41, 47, 50, 53.

(100) In Descript. Scot.

(101) De Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

'descended from no extraordinary family in Scotland, was, at his setting out in the world, a young man of a bold and wicked spirit, and first in his own county, afterward in Paris, gave himself over entirely to flattery, ambition, and luxury, and the finding out some means for the support of these. He wrought in such a manner, that after some embassies to Francis I, and Paul III, he was preferred to be Archbishop of St Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, that he might extinguish the gospel of Christ, which began to be preached there by those who came out of England. Such was his behaviour in this station, and he so persecuted the godly, that by the same Paul III he was made Cardinal Priest, and Apostolic Legate, &c.' Dempster only says, *That having merited exceedingly of the Catholic religion, and of his country, he was promoted to these dignities.* But I have seen a supplement to Dempster, in which there is the following account of this great man, which in my judgment comes very near the truth. 'It frequently happens, that the same great qualities of mind which enable a man to distinguish himself by the splendor of his virtues, are so over-strained or corrupted, as to render him no less notorious for his vices. Of this we have many instances in ancient writers, but none by which it is more clearly displayed, than in the character of the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrew's, David Beaton, who from his very childhood was extremely remarkable, and whose violent death had this in it singular, that his enemies knew no way to remove him from his absolute authority but that. When he was but ten years of age he spoke with so much ease and gravity, with so much good sense, and freedom from affectation, as surprized all who heard him. When he was little more than twenty, he became known to the Duke of Albany and to the court of France, where he transacted affairs of the greatest importance, at an age when others begin to be acquainted with them only in books. Before he was thirty he had merited the confidence of the Regent, the attention of the French King, and the favour of his master, so that they were all suitors to the court of Rome in his behalf. He was soon after made Lord Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament to attend the young King at his Majesty's own desire. Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his age he was Bishop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Archbishop of St Andrew's, and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he added, before he was fifty, those of Lord High-Chancellor, and Legate à latere. His behaviour was so taking, that he never addicted himself to the service of any Prince or person, but he absolutely

obtained their confidence, and this power he had over the minds of others, he managed with so much prudence and discretion, that his interest never weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the Regent Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V, as long as they lived, and the French King and the Governor of Scotland equally regretted his loss. He was indefatigable in business, and yet managed it with great ease. He understood the interests of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight, of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger he shewed great prudence and steadiness of mind, and in his highest prosperity discovered nothing of vanity or giddiness. He was a zealous churchman, and thought severity the only weapon which could combat Heresy. He loved to live magnificently; though not profusely; for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his failings were many, and his vices scandalous. His pride was so great, that he quarrelled with the old Archbishop of Glasgow in his own city, and pushed this quarrel so far, that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was boundless, for he took into his own hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom; civil and ecclesiastical, and treated the English Ambassador as if he had been a sovereign Prince. He made no scruple of sowing discord amongst his enemies, that he might reap security from their disputes. His jealousy of the Governor was such, that he kept his eldest son as a hostage in his house, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chastity he was very deficient, for though we should set aside as calumnies, many of those things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the posterity he left behind him, plainly proves that he violated those vows to gratify his passions, which he obliged others to hold sacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been less fatal, and his memory without blemish. As it is, we ought to consider him as an eminent instance of the frailty of the brightest human faculties, and the instability of what the world calls Fortune.'

He wrote, if we may depend upon Dempster (102), *Memoirs of his own Embassies, a Treatise of Peter's Primacy*, which had been seen by William Barclay, and *Letters to several persons*; of these last there are still some copies, said to be preserved in the library of the French King.

(102) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

[P] Yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country.] The lady who lived with the Cardinal as his concubine, was Mrs Marion Ogilby, by whom he had six children; three sons, to each of whom he gave a good estate in land; and three daughters, who were married into three as good families as any in Scotland (103). Mrs Ogilby was of that family, which has since born the honourable title of Earls of Arby, and lived many years after the decease of the Cardinal, in great credit and respect. One of the sons was Mr Alexander Bethune, Arch-Deacon of Lothian, and Laird of Carigouny, who turned Protefant, married and established the family of Nether-Tarvit, who bear quarterly, first and fourth azure, on a fess between lozenges Or, a leaf of betony (alluding to the name Bethune) slipped Vert, second and third, the arms of Balfour; crest, a Physicians square cap; motto, *Resolutio cauta* (104): From whence it should seem, that Mr Peter was mis-informed, as to the falling of all these families to decay. The eldest daughter married the son and heir apparent of the Earl of Crawford, and the marriage contract is still in being, dated at St Andrew's, April the 10th, 1546; in which the Cardinal expressly styles the bride, *my daughter* (105). The fortune he gave with her, was 4000 marks Scots, which must have been a very considerable sum in those days, since King Henry VIII gave his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, by the Earl of Angus, when he married her to Mat-

(103) Petrie's History of the Catholic Church, p. ii. p. 124.

(104) Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 214.

(105) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. I. p. 28.

the people of St Andrew's, that as soon as they knew the castle was seized, they rose in hopes of delivering him, but his dead body being exposed from a window, their hearts failed them, and they dispersed. The conspirators in the castle were soon joined by many of their friends, who enabled them to hold out for a long time, and to make a tolerable capitulation at last, in consequence of which they were transported to France, but the castle was afterwards demolished, the true reason of which the reader will find in the notes (i) [2]. What Dempster says, as to the apparent judgment of God upon Norman Lesley, is evidently false, and was no doubt contrived to please the Romanists, and to pay his court to the Cardinals and other Ecclesiasticks (k) [R]. But Archbishop Spotwood, though he does

(i) Buchan. *Rev. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv. *Lect. de Reb. Gest. Scotor.* lib. ix.

(k) Dempster. *Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.* lib. ii. p. 88.

(106) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. XV. p. 31.

(107) Petrie's *History of the Cathedral Church*, P. ii. p. 184.

(108) Buchan. *Rev. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv. *Lect. de Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. x. *Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland*, p. 73.

(109) Spotwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 87, 88. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 337, 338. Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, p. 47.

(110) Buchan. *Rev. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv.

thew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, no more than 6800 marks (106). But then it is to be considered, that the proportion between English and Scotch money was not the same that it is at present; for whereas the Scotch mark is now but thirteen pence and one third of a penny, it was then three shillings and four pence, or in other words, whereas eighteen Scotch marks now make a Scotch pound sterling, there were then in it no more than six; so that the Cardinal gave his daughter a thousand marks sterling, which is six hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence. His other two daughters married into the houses of Nairn and Kelly, which, if we may depend upon Mr Petrie, were ruined and come to nothing in his time (107). All these observations of his are calculated to shew, that the wrath of heaven pursued the Cardinal's family, which is a notion equally irreconcilable to the principles of the Christian religion, to those of common sense, or to matters of fact.

[2] *The true reason of which the reader will find in the notes*] The evening of that day in which the Cardinal was killed, there came in about one hundred and forty persons to join those concerned in the action, and to assist them in defending the place, congratulating them upon the success of their enterprize, and applauding them as the deliverers of their country (108). On the other hand, the government of Scotland summoned them to appear, and answer in a judicial way, for what they had done. In this situation things remained from May to November, when the Governor, wearied out by the clamours of the Queen and of the Clergy, marched at length with a body of forces to besiege the castle, which he did for somewhat more than three months, but to no purpose; and therefore he raised it, in order to go to Edinburgh to hold a convention of the Estates, which he had summoned to be held in February. It may seem strange, that so small a body of men, should be so long able to hold out such a place against the force of a whole kingdom; but then we are to consider, that at the very time they seized it, the Cardinal had just repaired and fortified the place, and had filled the magazines, that it might be in a condition to resist the English, in case they should land upon that coast. Besides this, they were very well supplied from England, whither they sent Mr Henry Balnaves as their agent, and they had also another security against the Governor, which was their finding his eldest son in the castle, whom they kept for their security, and in the nature of a hostage, as the Cardinal had formerly done for his (109). But that these men were not such virtuous and godly people, as the history of the Reformation, and some other writers represent them, appears very clearly from what Mr Buchanan tells us of their behaviour, after the Governor had raised his siege. 'They who held the castle, says he, being thus out of all fear of their enemy, did not only make frequent excursions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and sword all round, but as if the liberty gotten by their arms, were to be spent in whoredom, adulteries, and such vices, they ran into all wickedness which idle persons are subject to; for they measured right or wrong by no other rule but their own lust, neither could they be reclaimed by John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them that God would not be mocked, but would take severe punishments on those who were violators of his laws, even by those whom they least dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not stop the course of their impiety (110).' The success they had in defending themselves, did not hinder their listening to propositions made them for surrendering the place upon reasonable conditions, amongst which one was, that they should have an absolution from Rome, which came over in June 1547,

conceived, in other respects, in very strong terms, but because the crime of which they had been guilty was styled, *irremissible*, they refused to accept it, alledging, that if the crime was unpardonable, they could reap no benefit from a pardon. The truth of the matter was, that they had now from England settled pay for the soldiers in the castle, at the rate of 1180 *l.* for the half year, besides good pensions for the principal persons, so that they thought there was no haste necessary in making terms (111). But it was not long before they changed their opinion, for, when they least expected it, a fleet arrived from France, commanded by Leon Strozzi, who blocked up the castle on one side, as the Governor did with his army on the other. They were now in earnest to reduce the place, and therefore planted some of their artillery in the steeples, which had a terrible effect, and what increased their calamity was, the breaking out of the plague in the place itself, by which many were carried off. These misfortunes drove them to such distress, that by the end of July they were content to surrender, but chose to do it by capitulation with the French, who granted them no other terms than preserving their lives and carrying them over to France, where they were to be set at liberty to go where they would (112). By this agreement the French became possessed not only of all the Cardinal's wealth and rich furniture, but of all that many of these people had in the world, which from a notion of security they had brought into the castle. As soon as they had evacuated the place, and the French fleet was sailed, the castle of St Andrew's, in pursuance of an act of council, was demolished, out of respect, as was generally given out, to an injunction of the canon law, which directs, that the place where a Cardinal has been slain shall be ruined and laid level with the ground; but the Governor and Council however proceeded on a much better and more substantial reason, which was an apprehension that the English, who at this time invaded their country both by land and sea, might make themselves masters of this fortress, and from thence infest and destroy all the neighbouring country, which was very open and defenceless (113).

[R] *His court to the Cardinals and other Ecclesiasticks.*] The humour of discovering God's judgments in all remarkable events was very strong at this time, as has been largely shewn in the course of this article; but it must be allowed that Dempster outdoes all the attempts of this kind in the following instance (114). 'This great Prelate, as he tells us, being slain by barbarous Hereticks in his bed-chamber, his principal persecutor Lesly pissed in his mouth, and afterwards caused his dead body, in his Cardinal's robes, to be hanged against a wall, and exposed it to sacrilegious insults; for which, however, God afterwards inflicted due punishments, since none of these wicked murderers escaped a violent death: As for Lesly himself falling dead from his steed, the horse, which was a wonderful thing, staled in his mouth, shewing thereby the certainty and severity (though sometimes delayed) of divine vengeance.' It falls out, not a little unluckily for Dempster, that he fixes on the only person, who, supposing this doctrine to have some foundation, was most likely to have escaped such a particular judgment, and that for this plain reason; that, so far as we know, he was the only one concerned in the Cardinal's murder, who gave public marks of his sincere repentance. For Bishop Lesley (115) tells us, that he was wrought on while in heat of passion to resolve upon this action, and that being ever afterwards disturbed with a remorse of conscience, he laboured by all means possible to atone for what was passed, by doing good to the friends and relations of the deceased Cardinal. But to shew the falsehood of the fact, and thereby remove entirely the credit of this strange story,

(111) Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 8.

(112) Buchan. *Lect. Keith, Burnet.*

(113) Spotwood's *History of the Church*, p. 88.

(114) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(115) De Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ii. p. 42a.

does not speak at all favourably of the Cardinal, seems to give into this opinion, concluding his account of that great Prelate's death with this observation (1). *Indeed, few or none of those who had an hand in that work escaped an extraordinary judgment, God thereby declaring, that howsoever it please him, in the execution of his judgments, to use sometimes the ministry and service of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked disposition, and for the most part, faileth not to reward them with the same, or the like, that they do unto others.*

(1) Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 84.

it will be requisite to give a short account of what became of Norman Lord Lesly to the time of his death. While he remained in the castle, he had a pension allowed him by King Henry VIII of two hundred and eighty pounds, which he also enjoyed during the reign of King Edward VI, but upon the accession of Queen Mary an order of council was made, not only to stop the payment of all Scotch pensions, but also to oblige such as had received them to leave the kingdom by a day certain, upon which he sent over a gentleman to offer his service to King Henry the Second of France in his wars against the Emperor (116), which was readily accepted on account of his known reputation for personal courage; and Bishop Lesley tells us expressly, that he did this with a view to wipe off the stain he had brought upon his family, by being engaged in the slaughter of the Cardinal, for which his father the Earl of Rothes had been brought to his trial, and acquitted. In these wars he distinguished himself most remarkably, and we have the following account of the manner of his death from Sir James Melvil*, a man of great honour, and an eye-witness of it. 'The Constable of France, says he, having besieged the city of Reny, and the Emperor having come to their relief, Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, won great reputation, for with thirty Scotsmen he rode up the hill upon a fair grey gelding; he had above his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with two broad white crosses, the one before, and the other behind, with sleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and seen afar off by the Constable, the Duke of Anguin, and the Prince of Conde, where with his thirty he charged upon sixty horse with culverines, followed but with seven of his number. He in our sight struck five of them from their horses with his spear before it broke, then he drew his sword, and run in amongst them, not valuing their continual shooting, to the admiration of all the beholders. He slew divers of them, and at length, when he saw a company of spearmen coming down against him, he gave his horse the spurs, who carried him to the Constable, and there fell down dead, for he had many shots, and worthy Norman was also shot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. He was first carried to the King's own tent, where the Duke of Anguin and Prince of Conde told his Majesty, That Hector of Troy was not more valiant than the said Norman, whom the said King would see dressed by his own Chirurgions, and made great moan for him, and so did the Constable and all the rest of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the camp the next day after.' But as we have mentioned Sir James Melvil's memoirs upon this occasion, it may not be amiss to give an account from them,

also of the death of the Cardinal, which he positively ascribes to King Henry the Eighth, who, he says, perceiving clearly that all his designs on that kingdom were defeated by that man (117), 'he, to be revenged on that Cardinal, dealt with Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Angus, who were but lately returned out of England, where they had resided during the time of their banishment till the death of King James V. These two brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, persuaded Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, the young Laird of Grange, and John Lesly of Park-hill, who had been persecuted by the said Cardinal for religion, after he had taken their preacher Mr George Wishart, and burnt him at St Andrew's. These, I say, were easily stirred up to slay him, whom they were persuaded to be an enemy to the true religion, to the welfare of the country, and to themselves in particular. This proud Cardinal was slain then in his castle of St Andrew's, so ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for his pretences, and sudden death.' If we may give credit to this, the putting the Cardinal to death was no act of patriotism, as Buchanan represents it, but a downright conspiracy against a man that stood in their way, by a few bold Politicians who had very little, if any, religion. This was Archbishop Spotwood's opinion, who, though he was too honest a man to frame, like Dempster, a false story to serve his purpose, yet he has made no scruple of treating the death of Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, who in 1573 was hanged in the grass-market of Edinburgh, for holding out the castle against the Earl of Morton, then Regent, as a judgment upon him for the share he had in the death of the Cardinal. His words, which are very remarkable, are these (118). 'Such was the end of Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, a man full of valour and courage, who had sometimes done good service to his country against the French, and purchased by that means great honour. But seeking ambitiously to raise his fortunes, and hearkening to perverse counsel, he did break his faith to the Regent who had put him in trust, and thereby lost all his former esteem, and drew upon himself these troubles, wherein he perished. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it when he was in his best estate, many did foremed that he should not escape some misfortune.' Bishop Burnet seems to have been governed in his opinion of this action by the same kind of observation, for having stated very fairly what was said for and against it, he concludes (119). *The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people more inclined to condemn it.*

(117) Id. ibid. p. 7.

(118) Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 252.

(119) Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

X

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (JAMES) Archbishop of Glasgow, nephew to the former, being the son of his elder brother, Mr Beaton or Bethune of Balfour (a); a Prelate of great prudence, moderation, and learning, as appears by the high character given him by all his contemporaries, though many differed from him in sentiments, both with respect to Politicks and Religion. He was educated with great care both at home and abroad, but chiefly at Paris, under the eye of Abbot Bethune, then Resident or Minister from James V to Francis I (b). By this means he came very early into business, and was employed in matters of the greatest importance by his uncle, when he came in a manner to govern Scotland. Yet it does not appear, by what intermediate steps he was raised to the great preferment of Archbishop of Glasgow, to which he was consecrated in 1552, as some writers tell us, at Rome, whither very probably he was sent, to lay before the Pope an account of the situation of ecclesiastical affairs after the murder of his uncle (c). The authors of the common Histories of Scotland, mention him as the immediate successor of Gawen Dunbar in that See, in which they are right, but it was after a long vacancy, of which they take not the least notice. For Archbishop Dunbar died June 30, 1547 (d), so that our Prelate did not succeed him till five years afterwards. He was no sooner advanced to this dignity, than he began to be considered as one of the ablest, and at the same time one of the most powerful, persons in the king-

(a) Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 125.

(b) Supplement to Spotwood's History.

(c) Spotwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(d) This appears by a donation to the Lord Somerville of the bailiwick of Lileclewther, in the crown by the Archbishop's demise.

(116) Mackenzie's Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. III. p. 28.

(*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 17.

(e) Buchan, *Leff. Spotwood, Knox, Keith, &c.*

(f) Buchan, *Rer. Scot. Hift. lib. xvi. Leff. de Reb. Gefl. Scot. lib. ix. p. 518. Spotwood's Hift. of the Church of Scotland, p. 478.*

(g) Keith's *Hift. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 72.*

(h) Buchan, *Leff. Spotwood.*

(i) Pere Daniel *Hift. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 136.*

(k) See this matter explained in note [B].

dom (e). He had the confidence of the Earl of Arran then Regent; his niece, Mrs Mary Beaton, was the Queen's favourite in France; and in regard to his uncle's memory, as well as his own personal merit, he was highly esteemed by the Queen-Dowager, who was endeavouring to gain the regency of the kingdom, to which, before herself, no woman had ever aspired (f). In order to carry this point, it was judged necessary to procure the consent of the States, to the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin, which was accordingly done, though secretly opposed by the Regent, and in the month of December 1557, the same Parliament which had consented to the marriage, appointed also certain Commissioners to be present at it (g). These Commissioners were James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow; David Panter, Bishop of Ross, then Secretary of State; Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, then President of the Session; George Lesly, Earl of Rothes, of the Privy Council; Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassils, Lord High-Treasurer; James Lord Fleming, High-Chamberlain; George Lord Seton; James Stewart, Prior of St Andrew's, the Queen's bastard brother; and James Erekine of Dun (h). They had very large and strict instructions given them, in reference to the contracts, and other instruments that were to be signed before the marriage, and most evident it is from them, that the States considered this as one of the most arduous commissions, and of the greatest consequence to the nation, ever entrusted to any subjects [A]. In discharge of this commission, most of the persons beforementioned, embarked at Leith the February following, and, not without suffering some loss, and being exposed to much danger, arrived at Paris, where, after many disputes, they were present, at last, at the proposed marriage, between Francis Dauphin of France, and Mary Queen of Scots, which was celebrated April 24, 1558, in the cathedral church of *Nôire Dame*, the ceremony being performed by the Archbishop of Rouen (i). On the twenty-eighth, the Commissioners took an oath of allegiance to King Francis and Queen Mary, but when the French Court endeavoured to draw them into farther compliances, they shewed a just firmness to their trust, and could not by any means be brought to yield in any thing, to what was inconsistent with their instructions; by which steadiness of theirs all the French schemes were entirely defeated (k) [B]. After all

[A] *Of the greatest consequence to the nation ever entrusted to any subjects.* We must, in order clearly to comprehend this, consider the situation of things in that kingdom when this commission was given, and next the nature and design of the commission itself. The young Queen Mary was the last of the line of Stuart, and by her marriage the kingdom was either to obtain much good and a powerful ally, or must be exposed to many and great dangers. We find the States agreed to her marriage with Francis, Dauphin of France, and the business was to provide, that this step might procure as many benefits, and expose the kingdom to as few inconveniencies, as possible; to which end these commissioners were chosen and intrusted. Their commission, which is still preserved, bears date the 14th of December, 1557, and is subscribed by the Governor, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, many of the Nobility, and some of the Commons; and the principal points in their instructions were, I. To obtain from their sovereign Lady Queen Mary, by and with the consent of her Curators, before the marriage, and by and with the advice and consent of the King of France her father-in-law, and the Dauphin her husband afterwards, a full and ample ratification of the act passed in the Parliament held in the convent near Haddington, July 7, 1548, for the transferring the person of her Majesty to France. II. To obtain from the King of France a ratification of the promises made to the Duke of Chastelherault, for so the Governor James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had been created in that kingdom, for supporting him in his claim to the succession, in case the Queen's Majesty should chance to die without children; to obtain farther, after the marriage, a declaration to the same purpose from the Queen and her husband the Dauphin, as also a full discharge to the said Duke of the dispositions he had made of the publick money, &c. during the time of his regency. III. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a promise, in the most ample form, to preserve and keep all the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the same, whole and entire, as in the days of her Majesty's royal ancestors, Kings of Scotland. IV. To obtain from the Queen and her future husband, an ample commission for a Regent to govern the said kingdom of Scotland, according to the laws and privileges above-mentioned. These they did accordingly obtain, in as full and ample manner as they were instructed. But such was the baseness and perfidy of the French court, in the midst of all this seeming candour and fair

dealing, that they contrived to defeat these very grants and concessions while they were making. For notwithstanding all the solemn declarations made by that King, and his son the Dauphin, to the Queen, yet in one day, *viz.* the 4th of April, they made the poor young Queen subscribe the three following papers, *viz.* one, wherein she makes over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in case she shall happen to die without children. Another, in which she is made to assign to the King of France the possession of the kingdom of Scotland, after her decease without children, until he shall be reimbursed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any great sum that he shall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education during her abode in France. And a third (the worst of all), by which the Queen declares, that although both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the desire of her Parliament, she shall sign a declaration touching the lineal succession of her Crown; yet she protests that the genuine sense of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers. There are authentick copies of all these instruments in a large fair manuscript, preserved in the Advocate's library in Edinburgh, which manuscript contains all the treaties and other publick transactions between the Crowns of France and Scotland, and was by the order of Louis XIV transcribed from the publick records, for, and bestowed on, the Lord Viscount Preston when Ambassador to him from King Charles II, in lieu of a considerable (but usual) present in gold offered him at his departure, and by him so deposited, for preserving these memorable pieces for the satisfaction and benefit of latest posterity.

[B] *All the French schemes were entirely defeated.* The French upon this, as well as other great occasions, affected a great shew of candour and good faith in publick transactions, though at the same time they meant nothing less. Thus, soon after the arrival of the commissioners, they proceeded to sign with them the marriage-contract, agreeable to a new commission granted them by the Queen for that purpose, that her own and the Parliament's commissioners for this great affair might be the same. This contract bears date, April 19, 1557 (1), and appoints the Sunday following, *viz.* the 24th, for the celebration of the marriage, upon which day it was accordingly performed. The jointure assigned by it to the Queen is 60,000 Livres, in case the Dauphin shall die King of France, or a greater sum if such shall be found to have been ever given to a Queen of France. And it provides

(1) See a copy of this contract in Keith's *Hift. of the Church and State of Scotland*, in the Appendix.

all their business was dispatched, they began to provide for their return to Scotland, but before they were able to proceed from Dieppe, they lost no less than four of their number, and many likewise of their servants, which happening in a very healthy season, and when there was no sickness in the country, occasioned a very strong suspicion of poison, and the more so, as those died, who declared themselves with most heat against the projects of the French Ministry (l). The Archbishop, with the rest of the surviving Commissioners, arriving on the ninth of October 1558, at Montrose, a Parliament was immediately summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of November following. To this Parliament the Archbishop and his three colleagues repaired, and exhibited to the States; the several instruments they brought with them from France, as also, a general Act of Naturalization in favour of all Scotsmen; which papers being read and considered, an Act passed for the general naturalization of the French in Scotland, and then an Act declaring the Parliament's entire and absolute approbation of the Commissioners conduct in every respect (m). The Archbishop of Glasgow, after his return, acted as a Privy-Counsellor to the Queen-Dowager, appointed Regent of the kingdom of Scotland by her daughter, and laboured all he could to maintain peace by fair and equal measures, to which, according to the accounts given us by the best historians, that Princess was sincerely inclined. But by the arts of some, and the open violence of others, the kingdom for the space of three years after, was a scene of fury, faction, fraud, and folly, so that all things ran into confusion, and this chiefly on the score of religion, for which, while in words both sides expressed much zeal, their actions shewed it was little regarded by either. For the Papists on one hand, did all they could to blow up again the flames of persecution, and on the other, the Reformers proceeded with such violence, that they seemed bent upon destroying all monuments of antiquity, under colour of rooting out superstition (n). It was from this disposition, that the Duke of Chastelherault, whom Cardinal Beaton drew from the Reformers, and who was now gone over to them again, came with a great force to Glasgow, in the month of November 1559, and under pretence of pulling down images committed great havoc in the cathedral, and also took possession of the castle (o). But the Archbishop, with the assistance of a few French soldiers, soon recovered the place, but perceiving (that considering his principles) it was not probable he should be able to remain there long in quiet, he began to prepare for a retreat into France, resolving to carry with him the treasures and records of his archiepiscopal See, which accordingly he did, in the month of July 1560 (p), and carefully deposited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris [C]. On his arrival in France, he was extremely well received by Queen Mary,

(l) Histoire de France, par Mézeray.

(m) See the Records of Parliament, in which all that regards this transaction is still extant.

(n) Con. de duplici statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 117, & seq. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 146.

(o) Lell. de Rebus Gest. Scot. lib. x. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xv. Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 140; Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 156.

(p) Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 141. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

now

vides 30,000 livres in case her husband shall die, being only Dauphin. The eldest son of the marriage to be King of France and Scotland. The eldest daughter (in case there be no sons) to be Queen of Scotland only, and to be given in marriage by the advice of the King of France and the Estates of Scotland, and besides her inheritance of this kingdom, to have, as a daughter of France, 400,000 crowns in portion, and each younger daughter 300,000 crowns. After the death of her husband, the Queen to be at liberty either to remain in France, or to return into Scotland at her pleasure, and to carry along with her her servants, cloaths, jewels, and such other things as belong to a Queen of France, and to have her jointure duly paid her in what place soever she shall chuse to abide. The commissioners from Scotland to give presently after the marriage, in name of the Estates of Scotland, an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin during the subsisting of the marriage, and the Dauphin shall bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and have his arms quartered with those of Scotland, and when he comes to be King of France shall bear the title and arms of the two kingdoms of France and Scotland united under one crown. And to this all parties concerned did likewise promise and swear. The marriage being celebrated, it was now thought time to try what might be done with the commissioners, in order to bring them to promote the great design of the Guises, which was under colour of this marriage to gain the entire possession of Scotland. The whole is succinctly related by a great Historian thus (2). 'The court of France, says he, for some days being transported with the nuptial revels, when they came to themselves called the Scots Ambassadors into council, where the Chancellor of France dealt with them to produce the crown and the other ensigns of royalty, and that the Queen's husband should be created King of Scotland according to custom. To whom the Ambassadors answered in short, That they had received no commands concerning those matters. The Chancellor replied, That no more was desired of them at present than what was in their power, viz. That when this matter came to be debated in the parliament of Scotland,

' they would give their suffrages in the affirmative, and give it under their hands that they would do so. ' That demand seemed to be fuller of peremptoriness than the former, and therefore they thought it best to reject it with great vehemence and disgust, inso-much that their answer was, *That their embassy was limited by certain instructions and bounds, which they neither could or would transgress; but if they had been left free without any restriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful friends to require that of them which they could not grant without certain infamy and treachery, tho' there were no danger of life in the case. That they were willing to gratify the French, their old allies, as far as the just laws of amity required, and therefore they desired them to keep within the same bounds of moderation in making their demands.*' This is a very clear testimony to the honour and fidelity of the Archbishop and the rest of the commissioners, and from the same author we have a farther account of what happened to them afterwards, which we shall give the reader in his own words (3). ' Thus the Ambassadors were dismissed the court, and though they hastened home as soon as they could, yet before they went a shipboard, four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George Lefly, Robert Reid, and James Fleming, all brave men and true patriots, departed this life, as did likewise many of their retinue, not without suspicion of poison. It was thought that James, the Queen's brother, had also taken the same dose, for although, by reason of the strength of his constitution and his youth, he escaped death at that time, yet he lay under a constant weakness of stomach as long as he lived.'

(3) Id. ibid.

[C] Carefully deposited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris. It was certainly a very wise and prudent step in the Archbishop to secure his church-plate from being plundered under pretence of Reformation. The violences of those times were such, that it was with much difficulty private property was preserved, and as to publick offices and preferments, they were coveted only for the sake of what went along with them; and though there might be many zealous

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xvi.

(g) Supplement to Spotswood.

(r) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv. *Lett. de Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. x. p. 579. Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 151.

(s) This Commission is still extant amongst the Archbishop's MSS.

(t) See this explained and supported in note [D].

now Sovereign also of that country, and by all the Court of France to whom he was before known. Immediately after his departure, the Protestants in Scotland named Mr John Willock to preach at Glasgow, seized all the revenues of the archbishoprick, and afterwards proceeded against the person of our Prelate (g). As his return to his own country was by this means rendered in a manner impracticable, and as his fidelity and capacity were well known to the Queen his mistress, she resolved after the death of the King her consort, and her going back to her hereditary dominions, to leave her affairs in France in his hands (r). Accordingly, in 1561, he was declared her Ambassador to the most Christian King, and on the first of June 1564, that commission was renewed (s), under which he acted as long as her Majesty lived, and having most carefully preserved her letters, those of her Ministers, and other papers of state communicated to him during that time; these form at once the most complete, the most curious, and most authentick memoirs of that unfortunate reign, that are still any where remaining (t). The publishing this collection entire, would be unquestionably a great and acceptable service to the lovers of true and genuine History [D]. While he remained at Paris in quality of Ambassador

of

in words, yet very few in their hearts had any real concern for the good of their country. The Archbishop saw and considered this, which induced him to take advantage of the going over of the French troops out of Scotland, in pursuance of a solemn agreement for that purpose, to transport himself, his effects, and the treasury of his church, which it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable for him to have carried away at another time (4). It is impossible for us to give any exact account of what was then taken away, but the best writers agree, that the church of Glasgow was very rich in plate of all sorts, and we are particularly told that they had an image of Jesus Christ made of gold, and the twelve Apostles in silver (5). Besides the plate, he carried away all the writings, evidences, and records, belonging to his See, which by this means were preserved from destruction: Amongst these there were two chartularies, one of which, from its character, as well as its contents, is judged to be above 500 hundred years old; and the other, commonly called *The Red Book of Glasgow*, was certainly written in the time of King Robert III. There were besides many original charters, particularly one of King David I, with the seal well preserved, as also bulls from the Popes, and the grants to and from the Bishops of this See, from the time of its first erection (6). All these the Archbishop, soon after his arrival in France, placed in the monastery of the Carthusians, founded by a Bishop of Murray in 1325, and which has been since known to the world by the name of the Scotch college at Paris, to which he was himself so liberal a benefactor, that he has been esteemed a second founder, and besides what he bestowed in his life-time, bestowed upon it at his death no less a sum than 80,000 livres for the maintenance of poor scholars of his own nation (7). There are certainly very ample and authentick marks of a disposition in that Prelate very suitable to his dignity, and it was this behaviour that gave him such credit at the French court as he could never have obtained by less honest arts. This procured for him a rich abbey in Poitou, the treasurer'ship of St Hilary the Great in the capital of that province, and the priory of St Peter's, which furnished him with the means of living decently, and affording some assistance to such of his countrymen as were driven by the confusions at home to seek for safety and a subsistence abroad (8). His behaviour in all respects was so prudent, and so free from any imputations of pride, self-interest and revenge, that though he always continued faithful to the Queen his mistress, and expressed the greatest zeal upon all occasions for her service, yet we find little or nothing said to his prejudice by such as were enemies to her and to all her adherents, which is a manifest proof that virtue is its own reward, and that men who behave with duty to their benefactors, moderation towards the rest of the world, and are charitable in their opinions of such as differ from them, may not only secure peace and tranquillity in the place of their exile, but also raise to themselves a reputation equal, if not superior to what would have waited upon them in better fortune. There is one thing ought to be added before I close this note, which is, that the Archbishop, at the time he deposited the valuable effects of his See with the Carthusians at Paris, took care to make a declaration that it was in trust only, and and for the benefit of his successors, in case that any

time thereafter the Romish religion should prevail in Scotland (9), of which he was too wise a man to have any great hopes then; and as there is no sort of probability of it now, it would be well if the papers there, of a publick nature, were committed to the press, the only way by which they can be made useful.

[D] *To the lovers of true and genuine history.* As the Archbishop of Glasgow resided in quality of Ambassador from Queen Mary and King James, from 1560 to 1603, and was all that time in the highest confidence with those Princes, it might well be supposed that his papers would afford a curious and authentick collection, of the most important facts relating to the history of those times, from which most of the printed histories might receive, what it is plain they very much want, correction; and in this respect our Prelate was no less careful, than he had been with regard to the records of his Church, though it should seem that equal attention was not paid to this last collection of papers, by which they have suffered much, though they are still very valuable, and are capable of affording us many particulars not to be met with elsewhere. The best account that can be given the reader of these memoirs, in the condition they are now in, is the following letter from a person resident in the Scotch college to the reverend Mr Keith, dated Paris, May 25, 1733 (10).
 ' For your farther information as to the remains of the
 ' last Archbishop of Glasgow, our second founder, I
 ' must tell you, that though all or almost all his papers
 ' and letters of negotiations should naturally have come
 ' to this house, to which he left the small remains of
 ' his fortune, to wit, his moveables, yet it happens
 ' that many of these papers were scattered and want-
 ' ing before our time by several chances, and 'tis even
 ' much that there is even so many remaining as yet.
 ' The first time I had occasion to see them here, in or
 ' about A. D. 1686 or 1687, they were lying in con-
 ' fused heaps or bundles in old trunks without locks, in
 ' a wardrobe exposed to all hands, and thus they had
 ' lain for about eighty years after the Archbishop's
 ' death; and besides that, many of them were carried
 ' off by curious or unskilled people during that time,
 ' as I found by some important papers found in a
 ' Scots gentleman's house in the country, the remains
 ' of which I recovered. Besides, I say, accidents
 ' which happened to them since the Archbishop's
 ' death, I find by Counsellor Blackwood's letter to the
 ' Archbishop, that he had the use of many important
 ' pieces concerning Queen Mary in the Archbishop's
 ' own time, whilst he was writing at Poitiers the apo-
 ' logy for that Queen, and so of others. But as I
 ' formerly wrote to you to prevent farther dilapidations
 ' of these papers in time to come, after reading them
 ' all over, and ranging them in order of time, we have
 ' caused to bind them up in volumes, and cyphered the
 ' pages. The chief reason why I take notice to you
 ' of the loss made before our time of many of them,
 ' by the little concern and care our predecessors had of
 ' them, is to answer an objection made to me more
 ' than once, That it would seem that Queen Mary's
 ' cause was not sufficiently justifiable, since there were
 ' no more important pieces for her justification to be
 ' met with now among the Archbishop her trustee's pa-
 ' pers. And I doubt not but that there were many
 ' and more important pieces among them when the
 ' Archbishop

(9) Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 151.

(4) Buchan. *Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv. *Lett. de Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. x.

(5) Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 477.

(6) Bishop Nicholson's *Scotch Library*, p. 77.

(7) *Con. de duplici statu Religionis apud Scotos*, lib. ii. p. 165.

(8) Dempster's *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* lib. ii. p. 125.

(10) Keith's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Appendix to the first Volume, p. 146.

of Scotland, he received very little, if any thing, from thence; for we find Mr James Boyd appointed Superintendent of that diocese after the death of Mr Willock, and upon the death of Mr Boyd in 1578, it was bestowed on Mr Robert Montgomery, who, tho' a zealous Protestant, was so persecuted by his brethren for accepting a bishoprick, that in 1587 he resigned it to Mr Ereskine, by whom the best part of the revenues of the See, were granted away to the family of Lenox (u). But not long after, King James VI becoming of age, and having a full account of our author's fidelity to his mother, restored him both to the title and estate of his archbishoprick, of which he had been so long deprived. Before this, however, he had obtained several ecclesiastical preferments in France (w), for the support of his dignity, which he enjoyed as long as he lived, King James continuing him there as his Ambassador, to whom he rendered many, and those too important services. He was universally and deservedly esteemed for his learning, loyalty, and hearty affection to his country (x). He was uniform in his conduct, sincere in his religion, and unblamable in his morals. He was unfortunate in many respects, but more especially in being driven from the cathedral chair, and from his country; but wonderfully happy in this, that he lived in credit abroad, beloved and admired by all parties, and left his memory unstained to posterity [E]. He died April 24, 1603, aged eighty-six, and was succeeded in his See by that grave and worthy Prelate Mr John Spotwood.

(u) Spotwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 364.

(w) Dempster. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(x) Con. de Anaplici Statu Religionis apud Scot. lib. ii. p. 165. Dempster. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125, 126. Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

' Archbishop died than now remain.' We shall have frequent occasion to make use of several of these letters in different parts of this work, that will sufficiently shew both the nature and the value of this collection, which certainly deserves the character that is given it by a learned and ingenious Prelate, who has done great justice to the histories and antiquities of Scotland, and who, speaking of the papers in the Scots college at Paris, makes use of these words, viz. (11) ' There are also letters and minutes of the said Archbishop (digested in a good orderly manner), which might furnish out a valuable history of the troubled face of affairs during all his ministry, and (consequently) afford some of the best lights for the history of a couple of reigns which were both full of extraordinary occurrences.' It might be added, that from these papers most of the dates in which the printed histories are so remarkably perplexed and deficient, may be set right, which alone would be a singular conveniency, and would contribute more than could well be imagined to the clearing up things within that period of time, by shewing what facts might possibly be true, and what could not be so, let there be what authorities there will to support them. For the Historians of those times, writing mostly in a declamatory stile, very frequently join facts of a like nature, though long spaces of time intervened between them.

[E] *Left his memory unstained to posterity.* If our Archbishop was restored to the revenues of his See, as some writers suggest, for the ten or twelve last years of his life, he might have grown rich, since, according to the best accounts I have been able to meet with, those revenues might amount at that time to about four thousand pounds a year Scots money; but I rather believe that he received but a part, and that the family of Lenox kept the rest. His benefices in France must likewise have suffered during the civil wars in that kingdom, and without doubt his interest was not so great under the reign of Henry IV, upon account of his connections with the house of Guise, from which, by the mother's side, the Queen his mistress was descended. His age and experience made him, however, respected to the last, for in these he had scarce any equal, as his epitaph takes notice (12). For he had sat Archbishop of Glasgow fifty-one years, and had been forty-two honoured with a publick character at the court of France, where he had seen a succession of six Kings, and had transacted publick affairs under five of them. He was likewise so fortunate as to see that accomplished which had been long the object of his wishes, that is to say, the succession of King James to the crown of England, very soon after which he died. The popish writers give him, as we may naturally expect, a very high character; but that which seems to do him most honour, is, the account, which remains of him in his successor Archbishop Spotwood's writings (13). ' A man, says he, honourably disposed, faithful to the

Queen while she lived, and to the King her son; a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen. In his last will he bequeathed all his means to pious uses, leaving, as was said, ten thousand crowns for the education of poor scholars, being Scotsmen born. The evidences, vessels, and ornaments to the See of Glasgow, he consigned in the hands of the Carthusians of Paris, appointing the same to be re-delivered how soon Glasgow should become catholick, and this year, being the sixty-sixth of his age, departed peaceably this life.' The reader will observe, that here is a mistake of no less than twenty years as to the age of our Prelate, who, at the time of his decease, instead of sixty was eighty-six, and faults of the like kind occur very frequently in the works of this author, which however are not to be ascribed to any negligence in him, but to the books being printed from a very incorrect copy, that which the Archbishop had prepared himself for the press, and which is still preserved, being remarkably fair and perfectly exact. Mr Middleton, who wrote an appendix to Spotwood's history, speaks therein of Archbishop Beaton in the following terms (14). ' He was a person honourably disposed, faithful to Queen Mary while she lived, and to King James, whose Ambassador he was, a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen. He died 1613, a full jubilee of years from his consecration.' We might add many more authorities of the same kind if they were necessary. As he had much time upon his hands, especially in the latter part of his life, he composed several books, which are still preserved, tho' none of them have been ever published. Their titles are (15), I. *Commentary on the Books of Kings.* II. *A Lamentation for the Kingdom of Scotland.* III. *A Book of Controversies against the Sectaries.* IV. *Observations upon Gratian's Decretals.* V. *A Collection of Scotch Proverbs.* These we have upon the credit of Dempster, who was very likely to be well acquainted with what relates to this Prelate, considering how long he resided himself at Paris, and the opportunities he had of enquiring into all the facts he has set down concerning him. Thus we have given the reader a much larger and more distinct account of this remarkable family of the Beatons, than hath been until now any where published, and have set a great many facts, that have hitherto been misrepresented, in their proper lights, which we hope will be so much the more satisfactory to the learned and inquisitive reader, as we have thereby had an opportunity to clear up many perplexed points of history within the compass of one hundred years, which will therefore excuse the length of these articles, as they could not have been curtailed without omitting many useful and curious particulars that lay scattered in a multitude of books that required much time to peruse, and could not have been collected without difficulty. X

(11) Bishop Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 77.

(12) Dempster. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(13) Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(14) Appendix to Spotwood's Hist. p. 9.

(15) Dempster. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 126.

B E A U C H A M P, in Latin *de Bello Campo*, a very noble English family, transplanted hither from Normandy at the Conquest (a). One of the first of this race mentioned in our Histories, is Hugh de Beauchamp, who received from Duke William, after he subdued this kingdom, lands of great extent, for by the general survey it appears, that he was possessed of Belinghou, in Hertfordshire; Linclade, Solebery, and Catebery, in Buckinghamshire; and of forty-three lordships in Bedfordshire (b). Another nobleman of this family was Walter de Beauchamp, who had likewise large grants made him, and whose capital seat was Elmley in Worcestershire. This Walter, as we learn from an author of good credit, was related to the Conqueror, who therefore enriched him, as he did others of his countrymen, at the expence of the English (c). There seems indeed to be no doubt, that Hugh and Walter de Beauchamp were of the same family, and they appear to have been equally favoured by Duke William their master; yet their fortunes were very different, for the family of the former soon extinguished in the male line of the eldest branch, and the descendants of a younger branch, so divided and diminished the lands that came to them from their ancestors, as to lose the degree of Barons, so that we know very little or nothing of their posterity (d). But in regard to Walter de Beauchamp, he married a lady of the name of Talbot, and by her had several children, whose posterity came to have large estates, and to be honoured with many high titles (e) in this kingdom, though the male line seems to be now extinct. We might be thought inexcusable if we should take no notice of the great men of this family, who at several times bore the titles of Earls and Dukes of Warwick, Lords Bergavenny, Powyke, Holt, Bletsho, St Amand, Essex, and Hacch, and at the same time, if we should pretend to give an exact account of all these, it would swell this work beyond its due bounds. We shall therefore endeavour to avoid both these inconveniencies, by giving a concise account of such of this noble family, as make the greatest figure in our Histories, and refer the reader for an account of the rest, to Sir William Dugdale, who has treated of them largely in his *Baronage of England* (f).

B E A U C H A M P (RICHARD DE) Earl of Warwick, and one of the most considerable persons in this kingdom in the XVth century, was descended from a series of illustrious ancestors both by father and mother, and enjoyed, in virtue of that descent, very large estates in different parts of the kingdom (a) [A]. He was born January 28, 1381,

[A] *Very large estates in different parts of the kingdom.*

In order to keep this article as much within bounds as it is possible, we have chosen to give an account of this noble Earl's descent in a note. Walter de Beauchamp, of Helmely-castle, mentioned in the former article, had a son named William, who in the wars, after the death of King Henry I, adhered to the Empress Maud against King Stephen. He was hereditary Sheriff of Worcestershire, which descended to him from his mother, and he had a grant of the town and castle of Tamworth in Warwickshire for the good services he did the Princess before-mentioned. He was also in great favour with King Henry the Second, and executed various high offices in his reign (1). He was succeeded by his son of the same name, of whom we find nothing remarkable. His son Walter, in the time of King John, was Governor of Hanley-castle in Worcestershire, but afterwards took part with the Barons against that Prince, and his son King Henry III, but was at length reconciled to him, and died in the year 1236 (2). He was succeeded in all his possessions by his son William, who was in great favour with King Henry. This William de Beauchamp married Isabella, sister to William Mauduit Earl of Warwick, and by her had issue another William de Beauchamp, who upon the death of the said Earl took the title of Warwick in his father's life-time, which Sir William Dugdale thinks was by the King's special favour, for that otherwise he could not have borne it till the death of his mother (3). We do not know exactly the time of this Lord Beauchamp of Helmely's death, but we find, that on the 9th of February, 1268, William Earl of Warwick did homage to King Henry III, for the lands descended to him by his father's death. (4). This Earl, during the reign of King Edward I, was principally employed in awing the Welsh, with whom he had many engagements, and in the year 1295 gave them a great defeat near Montgomery (5). He afterwards served the King in his wars against the Scots and French with great reputation. He married the daughter of Richard Fitz-John, Justice of Ireland, and had by her several manors in Wiltshire, Northamptonshire, and Bucks, besides a large estate in Thomond (6). He departed this life in May, 1298, leaving his son Guy, so called no doubt from the famous Saxon Guy Earl of Warwick, aged 26 years. He, the very same year that his father died, attended the King into Scotland, and was pre-

sent at the battle of Falkirk, where he behaved so well, that the King gave him all the lands, of which three Scots Lords were possessed, on the day upon which it was fought, which was the 22d of July (7). He served that Monarch several years after in that country with such fidelity and success, that, as a reward for his services, he obtained a grant to himself and his heirs of Bernard-castle in the Bishoprick of Durham, together with the town and lordship, with the manor of Middleton and the chaces thereto belonging, and the manor of Gainsford, which lands were held for life by the wife of Hugh de Baliol, as also all the lands held by the wife of Alexander de Baliol, which were to have descended to John de Baliol, then the King's enemy and rebel (8). In the reign of King Edward II he was one of the nobility who seized Piers Garveston, the King's favourite, at Scardeburgh, of which the King having notice, he sent to desire they would spare his life, which the Lords, at the request of the Earl of Pembroke, agreed to do, and thereupon delivered him into the hands of that Earl, who sent him to Wallingford, from whence he was again taken by our Earl Guy, who carried him back to Warwick-castle, where, having conferred with some of the Lords, and persuaded them they could not be safe while this man lived, he caused him to be conveyed to Blacklow-hill, about a mile from Warwick, and there cut off his head. It seems this great favourite had a particular spleen to the Earl, and was wont to call him in derision *the Black Dog of Arden*, for which, as we have seen, he paid with his life (9). The Earl thought fit notwithstanding this bold step, to demand a pardon from the King, who was obliged to grant it him, but never loved him afterwards (10). They did not however live long together, for on the 12th of August, 1315, the Earl died at his castle of Warwick, as some insinuate, of poison (11). He left behind him by Alice his wife, sister and heir of Robert de Tony (by whom another great estate was brought into the family), several children, particularly two sons, Thomas and John, the former of which was scarce two years old at his father's death, and therefore the King's great favourite, Hugh le Despenser, had the custody of his lands, and probably of his person; but after the ruin of that great favourite, in the beginning of the next reign, the Lord Mortimer obtained the custody of Warwick-castle, and the rest of this young Lord's

(a) Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 95.

(b) Domesd. in iildern Com.

(c) Leland, in Collectan. Tom. III. p. 127.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. 1. p. 225.

(e) Leland, ubi supra. Dugdale, as before.

(f) Vol. I. p. 223—254.

(a) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. 1. p. 243. Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. 1. p. 405. History of the Earls of Warwick.

(1) Henr. Huntingd. p. 226.

(2) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I. Wigorn.

(3) Baronage of England, Vol. 1. p. 223. Cartular. War. Com. fol. 131. a.

(4) Rot. Fin. 52 Hen. III. m. 9.

(5) MS. in Biblioth. Bod. K. 84.

(6) Rot. Fin. 27 E. I. m. 1, 3.

(7) Thom. Walsingham, p. 42.

(8) Cartular. War. Com. fol. 172. a.

(9) Thom. Walsingham, p. 76.

(10) Pat. 7E. II. p. 1. m. 15. in cedula.

(11) Thom. Walsingham, p. 78. Rot. Johan. Rous.

1381, at the manor-house of Salwarpe in the county of Worcester, and had for his god-fathers, King Richard II, and Richard Scroope, then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and afterwards Archbishop of York (*b*). He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Henry IV, in the year 1399 (*c*), and in the fourth year of the same reign he had livery of his lands, and was retained to serve the King one whole year, with one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers (*d*). The next year which was 1404, on the coronation of the Queen, he kept, according to the custom of those times, Jufts, in which he behaved himself very gallantly. He was called the same year to do the crown more serious service, in that dangerous rebellion raised by Owen Glendowr, against whom he behaved bravely, and took his standard in open battle. He was likewise in the famous battle at Shrewsbury, against the Percies, where he gained great honour (*e*), and was, not long after, made Knight of the Garter (*f*). In 1408, he obtained a licence from King Henry IV, to visit the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in pursuance of a vow he had made, and set out with a splendid retinue for that purpose. He took the Court of Bar in his way, the Duke being his cousin, by whom he was nobly entertained for a week, and then that Prince accompanied him to Paris (*g*), where he was very graciously received by Charles VI, King of France, with whom he dined on a high festival, and at his departure was attended by a Herald, who was charged to conduct him safely through that realm (*b*). Upon his entering Lombardy, he was met by another Herald from Sir Pandulph Malacet, or Malet, with a challenge to perform certain feats of arms with him at Verona, upon a day assigned, for the Order of the Garter, which he accepted, and having performed his pilgrimage at Rome, returned to that city, where, in the presence of Sir Galeot of Mantua, he first engaged Sir Pandulph with spears, and afterwards with battle-axes, in which combat Sir Pandulph received a dangerous wound on the shoulder, and had been killed out-right, if Sir Galeot had not interposed and cried *Peace* (*i*). He went from thence to Venice, where he was most nobly entertained by the Doge; and then pursued his journey to Jerusalem. He had much respect shewn him in that city by the Patriarch's Deputy, and having performed his devotions and offerings at the Holy Sepulchre, he set up his arms on the north side of the Temple, where they long after remained (*k*). He was also very respectfully treated by the Soldan's Deputy, and between them there passed many reciprocal acts of kindness [B]. From Jerusalem

(b) Hist. MS. de Gestis ejus in Biblioth. Cotton.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Thom. Walsingham, p. 407.

(e) Hist. MS. ubi supra.

(f) Id. ibid. but this I take to be an error, see note [G].

(g) Clauf. 9 Hen. IV. m. 17.

(h) Hist. MS. ubi supra.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ibid.

lands, on account of a marriage intended between him and a daughter of that Lord's (12). And two years afterwards the King received his homage by special favour, as if he had been of full age, though only in his seventeenth year, when he took upon him his hereditary offices of Sheriff of Worcestershire, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer (13). Before he was twenty the King made him Governor of Guernsey, and the little islands adjacent (14). He attended the King in his wars in Scotland and in France, and was present and did great service in the famous sea-fight in 1340 (15). In the eighteenth of Edward III he was constituted Sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire for life, and the very same year was created Earl Marshal of England (16). At the famous battle of Cressley he commanded the van of the English army, and afterwards, for the great service he performed at the siege of Calais, he had a thousand marks a year granted him during life. He was present after this in the famous battle of Poitiers, where the King of France was taken prisoner, and where our Earl fought so long, that his hand was extremely galled with using his sword and poll-axe, but he had the good fortune to take prisoner William de Meleun, Archbishop of Seinz, for whom he received as a ransom eight thousand pounds (17). He attended Edward the *Black Prince* in several campaigns after this, and in the year 1360 he passed through France with a train of six hundred horse in his passage to the east, where he made war against the Infidels for three years, and at his return into England brought with him the son of the Prince of Lithuania, who was christened at London by the name of Thomas, the Earl being his godfather (18). This noble Earl and his brother John were two of the first Knights of the Garter, and we find that he continued in high favour with the Sovereign, and in the exercise of his military virtues, to the time of his decease, which happened on November 13, 1369, of the Plague, at the time that he commanded the King's army in France (19). He had by his Countess Catherine, daughter of Roger Earl of March, five sons and nine daughters. His eldest son Guy died in his life-time; the third son, Reynburne, died a little after him; William, his fourth son, was created Lord Bergavenny, and married the sister and co-heiress of Thomas Earl of Arundel; his fifth son, Roger, died young. Seven of his daughters married into the greatest families in

the kingdom, Catherine, the youngest but one, became a Nun at Wroxhall, and Juliana died a maid (20). Thomas, his second son, who succeeded him as Earl of Warwick, served King Edward III in his wars with great reputation, and succeeded his father as Governor of the island of Guernsey. In the third year of Richard II he was chosen by the Commons in parliament to be Governor of the King, who was then young (21), and when that Prince afterwards took the government into his own hands, he treated this noble Lord so ill, that he was constrained to join with Thomas Earl of Gloucester, the King's uncle, to compel him to rule by law, in which, though he succeeded at that time, yet the King gave him afterwards such marks of his displeasure, as induced him to retire to his own estate (22). At this time he built the stately tower at the north-east corner of Warwick-castle, the cost of which amounted to (23) *three hundred ninety-five pounds, five shillings and two-pence*. But though he no longer intermeddled with publick affairs, yet the hatred the King bare him was so strong, that having by an invitation to dinner got him into his power (24), he intended to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Earl of Salisbury to send him prisoner to the Isle of Man, from whence he was very soon removed to the tower of London, and the King granted his fine castle of Warwick to Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey (25). After King Richard was deposed, he recovered his liberty, was restored to his estate, and had a grant of all the goods, which the Duke of Surrey had at Warwick (26). This noble Earl, who was also a Knight of the Garter, spent the remainder of his days in peace, having a great reputation for his valour, publick spirit, piety, and charity, as saith John Rous the Historian of this family, and departed this life, April 8, 1401 (27), lying buried under a noble monument in the fourth part of the collegiate church at Warwick, built by himself, and wherein also lies his Countess Margaret, daughter of William Ferrers, of Groby (28), by whom he had Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, his only son, who is the subject of this article, to whom descended all the great estates this family had acquired by marriage, and which by the same means he much augmented, as will be shewn in it's proper place.

[B] *Between whom there passed many reciprocal acts of kindness.* This part of the story is thus given us by Sir William Dugdale, from the memoirs of John Rous

(20) See the Accurate Genealogical Table of this Family, in Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. 1. p. 387, 388.

(21) Thom. Walsingham, p. 243.

(22) Plac. Parl. coram Rege 21 R. II. n. 12.

(23) Ex comp. Ball. War. Com. An. 17 Richard II. penes S. Archer. Equ. Aurat.

(24) Thom. Walsingham, p. 364.

(25) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. m. 112.

(26) Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 14.

(27) Hist. MS. de Gest. &c.

(28) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. 1. p. 404.

(12) Pat. 11 E. II. p. 2. m. 24. Rot. Fin. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 23.

(13) Clauf. 4 E. III. m. 4. Ibid. m. 42.

(14) Pat. 5 E. III. p. 2. m. 2.

(15) Thom. Walsingham, p. 134.

(16) Rot. Fin. 18 E. III. m. 21. Pat. 18 E. III. p. 1. m. 18.

(17) Thom. Walsingham, p. 162, 164. Pat. 37 E. III. p. 1. m. 25. MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. Cantuar. K. 84, 123.

(18) Hist. MS. Johan. Rous.

(19) Thom. Walsingham, p. 178.

he came back to Venice, and was there nobly received. Thence travelled he into Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Prussia, Westphalia, and some countries of Germany, shewing great valour in divers tournaments whilst he was in those parts (l). And no sooner returned into England, but that he was, by indenture dated 2 October, 12 Hen. IV, retained with Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards King by the name of Henry V, to serve him as well in times of peace as war, both in this realm, upon, and beyond the seas, and two hundred and fifty marks *per annum*, to be paid out of the Prince's Exchequer at Caermarthen, at Easter and Michaelmas, by even portions: and whensoever he should be in that Prince's Court, to have four Esquires and six Yeomen with him, and diet there for them all; provided that the Prince, in service of war, should have the third part of what he got in battle, and the third of the thirds of what his men at arms should gain; and in case he took any great commander, fort, or castle, the Prince likewise to have them, giving him reasonable satisfaction (m). He was also appointed, in conjunction with the Bishop of Durham and others, the same year, to manage a treaty with the King of Scots (n). At the ceremony of the new King's coronation, he was constituted Lord High-Steward, as the patent expresses it, *for his known wisdom and indefatigable industry* (o). One would have imagined, that by these great employments he should have been sufficiently employed, and yet in this same year 1413, we find him one of the King's Commissioners into France, to treat of a solid peace between the two kingdoms, to be strengthened and cemented by a marriage, between the King his master, and the Princess Catherine, daughter to the King of France (p). In the second year of Henry V, when the Lollards, as they were then called, created some disturbances, he, amongst others of the nobility, took up arms on that occasion, and was very instrumental in reducing them to their duty (q). In the year 1415, he was declared Captain of Calais, an office of great trust and honour in those days, and never conferred but upon a man of known abilities as a soldier, and of a clear unquestionable character in point of fidelity; and in such case, there was a contract in writing between the King and this Captain, whereby the former undertook to pay, and the latter to keep in constant order and readiness, such a garrison as was thought requisite, by which means it was very easy to discover where the fault lay, if any miscarriage happened; and, on the other hand, a Governor had it always in his power to demonstrate his innocence, if maliciously accused by his enemies of ill conduct (r) [C]. While the Earl of Warwick commanded in Calais, there was a report, that the French were drawing troops together with a view to besiege that fortress; which occasioned his putting himself hastily into a posture of defence, but learning afterwards that this was an alarm only, and that the French forces were actually marched another way, he, to cover his former preparations, and to prevent the French from perceiving his mistake, gave out, that he meant no more than to exercise some feats of chivalry, according to the custom of those times, and so turned this accident into a means of acquiring great honour and reputation (s) [D]. The Council of Constance sitting during the time

(l) Ibid.

(m) Penes Cler. Pelli.

(n) Rot. Scacc. 12 Hen. IV. m. 6.

(o) Pat. 1 Hen. V. p. 1. m. 36.

(p) Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus.

(q) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xvi. p. 31. T. Livii Forojulienfis Vita Henrici V. p. 7. Thom. Walsingham, p. 430.

(r) See this explained in the note [C].

(s) Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus.

(29) Baronage of England, Vol. 1. p. 243.

Rous (29). 'At the time of his being thus at Jerusalem, a noble person, called Baltredam (the Soldan's Lieutenant), hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace, and royally feasted him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants, where this Baltredam told him privately, that he faithfully believed, as he did, though he durst not discover himself, and rehearsed the articles of the Creed. 'But on the morrow he feasted Sir Baltredam's servants, and gave them scarlet, with other English cloth, which being shewed to Sir Baltredam, he returned again to him, and said he would wear his livery and be marshal of his hall. Whereupon he gave Sir Baltredam a gown of black peak furred, and had much discourse with him, for he was skilful in sundry languages.' I must confess there are many circumstances in this short tale that render it in my opinion fabulous, and therefore I did not insert it in the text. But the reader will the better judge what credit is due to this and other relations from the same author, if he consults our article of this John Rous, who was Chaplain at Warwick-castle, and is therefore supposed to have wrote from good memoirs.

[C] *If maliciously accused by his enemies of ill conduct.* It may not be amiss to give the reader an instance of this manner of proceeding from the present case. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by indenture (30) bearing date June 19, in the third of Henry V, covenanted to serve the King to February 3, 1416, as Captain of Calais, and to have with him in the time of truce or peace, for the safeguard thereof, thirty men at arms, himself and three Knights, accounted as part of that number, thirty Archers on horseback, two hundred Foot-soldiers, and two hundred Archers, all of his own retinue, besides ten men

at arms, and ten Archers on horseback, belonging to the treasurer of Calais, for which service he was to receive for himself six shillings and eight-pence *per diem*, for his Knights two shillings apiece, for the rest of the horse twelve-pence, for every Archer on horseback and Foot-soldier eight-pence, and for every Archer on foot six-pence *per diem* for their wages: In which town there was also to be at the King's charge forty cross-bow men, twenty Carpenters, and five Masons, besides Bowyers, with other officers and pensioners; and in time of war, to have one hundred and forty men on horseback, himself, and sixty Knights, accounted part, and one hundred and fifty Archers on horseback, one hundred Foot-soldiers, one hundred and eighty-four Archers on foot, and four Scouts on horseback, for his own retinue, over and above twenty men at arms, and ten Archers on horseback, as also ten Archers on foot, belonging to the same Treasurer, besides Balistiers, Carpenters, &c.

[D] *A means of acquiring great honour and reputation.* The reader cannot help perceiving, by what has been already related, that this was an age in which knight-errantry flourished, and when even the greatest persons in the kingdom, and those too distinguished by prudence and conduct, as well as intrepidity and courage, thought fit to distinguish themselves in this way; and indeed as this was the case, the Earl of Warwick was to be commended for deceiving the French by so well contrived a stratagem, rather than allow them to think they could not march a body of troops on any side, without alarming the Governor, of Calais. The method he took was this (31). He caused three shields to be made, and in each of them a Lady painted, the first harping at the end of a Bedstead, with a grate of gold on her left sleeve, and her Knight, called the *Green Knight*, with a black quarter, who was ready to joust with any Knight of France, twelve Courtes having two shields of Purveyance, and his

(30) Ex Autograph, penes Cler. Pelli.

(31) Hist. MS. de Gestis ejus.

of his residence in Calais, and the King's sending thither the Bishops of Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Hereford, and St David's, the Abbot of Westminster, Prior of Worcester, and other learned men; the Earl of Warwick, for their greater honour, escorted them thither, their whole train consisting of eight hundred horse (t). While he remained at Constance, he received a challenge from a great Duke for his Lady's sake, slew the Duke in jousting, whereupon the Empress took his livery; viz. the Bear from one of his Knight's shoulders, and for great favour to him set it on her own shoulder. But he having notice thereof, made one of pearl and precious stones, which being presented to her, she received with great respect (u). Here also it was, that the Emperor Sigismund gave him his sword to bear, and offered him the heart of St George (the Englishman's tutelary Saint) to bring over into this realm, but hearing the Emperor say, that he would come in person into England, he restored it to him again, saying, *That the delivery thereof with his own hand, would be much more acceptable.* Nor was it long after, that the Emperor did come over accordingly, and being then installed Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, offered the holy heart at Windsor, which was there kept in great esteem. Upon whose passage hither and return, he was sumptuously entertained at Calais by the Earl, then Captain there, whose behaviour was such, that the Emperor told King Henry, 'That no Christian Prince had such another Knight, for wisdom, courtliness, and manhood; adding, that if all courtesie were lost, yet might it be found again in him.' Inasmuch as ever after, by the same Emperor's authority, he was called *the Father of Courtesy* (w). In his return from Calais at that time, he took at sea two great carricks. In 4 Henry V, his commission for Captain of Calais, and Governor of the Marches of Picardy was again renewed. In the same year he was one of the chief commanders at the siege of Caen in Normandy, the King himself being there with a great army (x). In 1417, he was constituted one of the King's Commissioners for settling the capitulation of that castle, the same year he was likewise empowered to reduce and receive into the King's obedience several other strong places in that country, which he likewise performed to the great satisfaction of the King, and with great credit to himself (y). In the same year he attended Thomas, Duke of Clarence, General of the King's army into France, where he gave fresh marks of valour, and did several eminent services, for having taken Dampfront, he was the first who entered Caen, which was taken by storm, and set the King's and the Duke of Clarence's ensigns on the walls (z). Then he laid siege to Caudebeck on the river Seine, blocked up the city of Roan by land and water, and reduced Mount Saint Michael, and other strong places, as a reward for which services, the King created him Earl of Aumarle, or, as we usually call it, Albemarle (a). At the siege of Roan his tent stood between the King's pavillion and St Catherine's, which last place being taken, he was appointed to keep port Martevile (b). In the month of May King Henry sent him to the King of France, attended by a thousand men at arms, to treat of a marriage between him and that King's daughter, the Lady Catherine; but the Dauphin knowing that this marriage was intended to defeat his succession, he sent a body of five thousand men under the command of the Earls of Vendosme and Lymosin, to obstruct his passage, to whom the Earl gave battle, in which both of those noblemen were killed, and one of them fell by the Earl of Warwick's own hand, and about two thousand of their troops were either slain or taken (c). He then proceeded on his embassy, in which, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, he very happily succeeded

(t) Thom. Wal-
lingh. p. 433.

(u) Hist. MS. de
Gestis, &c.

(w) Ibid.

(x) Rot. Franc.
& Hen. V. m. 22.
Thom. de Elm-
ham Vita Hen.
V. cap. xlii. p.
101.

(y) Thom. Wal-
lingh. p. 445.

(z) Hist. MS. de
Gestis, &c.

(a) Hist. MS. de
Gest. ejus. and it
plainly appears
that he had this
title by his file
in all his writings
afterwards.

(b) Hist. MS. ubi
supra.

(c) Id. ibid. ult
supra.

his letter sealed with the seal of his arms, the field silver, a manch gules. The second pavice on shield had a Lady sitting at a covered board working pearls, and on her sleeve a glove of plate tacked, her Knight being called Chevalier Vert, having his letter sealed with these arms. The field silver, two bars of gules, who was to joust fifteen courses, and that should be saddles of chains. The third pavice had a Lady sitting in a garden making a chaplet, and on her sleeve a polein with a rivet, her knight being called Chevalier Attendant, who with his fellow must run and course with sharp spears, his letter being sealed with gold, and gules quarterly, and a border Vert; which letter was sent to the King's court of France, where three French Knights received them, and promised their fellows to meet at a day and place assigned, whereof the first was a Knight, called Sir Gerard Horbaumis, who called himself Le Chevalier Rouge; the second a famous Knight, named Sir Hugh Launey, calling himself Le Chevalier Blank, and the third a Knight named Sir Collard Fines. Twelfth-day in Christmas being appointed for the time that they should meet in the land called the Park-hedge of Gyves. On which day this Earl came into the field with his face covered, a plume of Ostrich feathers upon his head, and his horse trapped with the Lord Toney's arms (one of his ancestors), viz. Argent a manch gules, where first encountering with the Chevalier Rouge, at the third course he unhorsed him, and

so returned with close vizor unknown to his pavillion, whence he sent to that Knight a good courser. The next day he came into the field with his vizor close, a chaplet on his helmet, and a plume of Ostrich feathers aloft, his horse trapped with the arms of Hanlap, viz. Silver two bars gules, where he met with the Blank Knight, with whom he encountered, snote off his vizor thrice, broke his bisagurs and other harness, and returned victoriously to his pavillion with all his habiliments safe, and as yet not known to any, from whence he sent this Blank Knight, Sir Hugh Launey, a good courser. But the morrow after, viz. the last day of the jousts, he came with his face open, and his helmet, as the day before, save that the chaplet was rich with pearl and precious stones, and in his coat of arms of Guy and Beauchamp quarterly, having the arms of Toney and Hanlap on his trappers, and said, that as he had in his own person performed the service the two days before, so with God's grace he would the third. Whereupon, encountering with Sir Collard Fines, at every stroke he bore him backward to his horse, inasmuch that the Frenchman, saying that he himself was bound to his saddle, he alighted, and presently got up again. But all being ended, he returned to his pavillion, sent to Sir Collard Fines a fair courser, feasted all the people, gave to those three Knights great rewards, and so rode to Calais with great honour.

(d) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henric. V. cap. lxxxviii. p. 246.

(e) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vita Hen. V. p. 79. Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xc. p. 275. Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus.

(f) Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xcix. p. 281. Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus.

(g) Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus. Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(h) Hist. MS. ubi supra.

(i) Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(k) Hist. MS. de Gest. ejus.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 245. See the articles at large in his Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 408—411.

(n) See his epitaph in note [H].

(o) Ex Hist. MS. Abb. de Tewkesbury, in Leland, Itin. Tom. VI. p. 88, 89.

ceeded to the King's great satisfaction (d) [E]. But as many places in France immediately after this treaty declared for the Dauphin, it was thought requisite to take the strongest of them which was Melun, in order to set an example to the rest; which place this noble Earl reduced in fourteen weeks and four days, to the great amazement of the French, who had flattered themselves that it was impregnable (e). In the last year of the victorious Henry V, he attended John, Duke of Bedford, the King's brother, who marched with an army to the relief of a town, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Dauphin had besieged; but the reputation of these Noblemen did all that was expected from their army, for the French no sooner heard of their coming, then they retired from before the place (f). King Henry dying soon after this, gave, by his will, the highest testimony a Prince could give, of his respect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by directing that he should have the tutelage of his son, then an infant, till he arrived at the age of sixteen, which was afterwards confirmed by Parliament (g). In the first of Henry VI, he was by indenture retained to be Captain of Calais for two years, which fortrefs being besieged by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, now reconciled to the French, this noble Earl, assisted by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and Humphrey Earl of Stafford, so gallantly defended it, that, after a long siege and great loss, the Duke of Burgundy was forced to rise from before it (h). Upon the death of the Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of France for King Henry, the Earl of Warwick was judged by the King's uncles, and the principal nobility of the realm, the only person that could repair his loss, and therefore he was discharged from the care of the King's person, and constituted Lieutenant-General of the realm of France and duchy of Normandy, the highest honour a subject of England could receive (i). He embarked thereupon with his lady and son, in order to pass the seas to his charge, but meeting with a dangerous storm in his passage, he caused himself and both of them to be bound to the main mast of the ship, to the intent that if they had perished, and were afterwards found, being known by his coat of arms, they might have been buried together (k). He had with him in this voyage a peculiar officer at arms, called Warwick herald, who received from him an annuity of ten marks a year (l). There are still extant the articles of agreement, made between this noble Earl and the King on his going over to govern France, dated the 11th of May in the fifth year of Henry VI, which being of a great length, we could not insert here (m). He executed this great and difficult employment with his usual wisdom and diligence, for the four last years of his life, and died in possession thereof in the castle of Roan, April the 30th, 1439 (n). Leaving issue by Elizabeth his first wife, daughter and heiress to Thomas Lord Berkely, three daughters, viz. Margaret, married to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Eleanora married to the Lord Roos, and afterwards to Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Somerset; and Elizabeth, who espoused George Nevil, Lord Latimer. Our great Earl took to his second wife, by special dispensation from the Pope, because she was the widow of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, his uncle's son, Isabel, daughter to Thomas le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, and, by the death of her brother Richard, and her elder sister Elizabeth without issue, heiress of all his lands (o). By this his second Countess, Richard Earl of Warwick had a son and a daughter, the name of the former was Henry, of whom in our next article, at the close of which we shall speak of his sister, whose name was Anne. This noble Earl of Warwick, who was the fifth of his family who bore that title, died possessed of a vast estate in lands, from the consideration of which, and of the nature of tenures in those times, we may very easily form an idea of his great power and influence [F]. We are certainly much

[E] He very happily succeeded to the King's satisfaction.] We are told by the author of the life of King Henry, that this treaty was first proposed to that Prince by Philip, Duke of Burgundy (32), and that he solicited his Majesty to send a Nobleman, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to confer with and settle preliminaries of peace, with the ministers of Charles VI of France, who, by reason of his having been long disordered in his senses, was not able to transact the great affairs of his kingdom in person; and he tells us, that the Earl of Warwick was thereupon made choice of for his singular abilities in negotiation, and that he was attended by several of the King's ministers, who were to assist him in this important affair. He accordingly adjusted the principal points of this most remarkable treaty, which was of the greatest consequence by far, of any, in which a subject of England had been employed; and by his advice it was agreed, that there should be an interview between the two Kings, in order to settle the remaining points, which accordingly took place at Troyes (33). There this treaty, of which that writer gives us a copy at large, was concluded and ratified in the cathedral church of St Peter, under the great seals of the respective Kings, on the 21st of May, 1420. By this treaty King Charles appoints and acknowledges King Henry heir to the crown of France; but it is agreed, that Henry should not

bear the title of King of France till the death of Charles, but should content himself with the title of Regent, and the managing all publick affairs. The two kingdoms of France and England were to remain under one Prince, viz. Henry, and his heirs, but were to be independent of each other, and to be governed each by its own laws, the privileges and rights of all persons and estates were to be preserved, and no treaty of accommodation with the Dauphin was to be made, but by the consent of the two Kings, the Duke of Burgundy, and the three Estates of both realms (34). Such were the terms of this treaty, by which the crown of France, after the death of the before-mentioned Charles VI, was set upon the head of our King Henry VI, son to Henry V, by the Lady Catherine.

[F] An idea of his great power and influence.] We have already seen how the estates of several noble families came to the Beauchamps, and what vast grants they received from the crown, in gratitude for the services performed by them, so that we may well credit what Sir William Dugdale tells us upon this subject, tho' he has not given us the roll of the Earl's estates, which, I apprehend, would have been more satisfactory than the Painter's bill, upon the Earl's going to France, which he has twice exhibited; he has, however, given us the substance of that roll, which shall be presented in his own words (35). 'The lands whereof

(32) Thom. de Elmham. Vita Henr. V. p. 245—266.

(33) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vita Hen. V. p. 81—89.

(34) Mezeray Abrege de l'Histoire de France, Tom. III. p. 209, 210.

(35) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 247.

much indebted to the historian of the family, John Rous, for the particulars he has preserved in relation to this noble Earl's life and actions, with respect to most of which, there seems to be no reason to doubt of his veracity, since we find them fully confirmed by contemporary historians; but in one thing he seems to have been much mistaken, which is with regard to the time of his being made Knight of the Garter, at least if there be any dependance on the register of the Order in those times [G]. One might have reasonably expected to have had this matter cleared up by the inscription on his monument, which remains undefaced in the collegiate church of Warwick, and of which there is a very fine cut by the famous William Hollar, preserved in Dugdale (p), but there is not a word of it. However, as this inscription is but short, and withal very curious, I thought the reader might be pleased to see it, and therefore it is placed in the notes [H]. His second Countess Isabel, on her return from France, retired to the monastery of Southwyke where she did not long survive him, as appears by her monument in the chapel of the abbey of Tewksbury, her own foundation, the inscription on which says, that she died on the 24th of June, 1439 (q). As to the pious legacies and foundations of this great Earl and his Countess, the reader may find an account of them in the books mentioned in the margin.

(p) Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 410.

(q) See the inscription, in Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 412.

‘ he was possessed were very vast, as may be seen by
 ‘ the computation of their yearly value, extracted from
 ‘ the accounts of his several bailiffs through England
 ‘ and Wales in 12 Henry VI (36), amounting to no
 ‘ less than eight thousand six hundred and six marks,
 ‘ eleven shillings, eleven pence half-penny, which,
 ‘ setting aside the good pennyworths that his tenants
 ‘ had of what they then held, would, in the days we
 ‘ live, augment the sum six fold at least, considering
 ‘ about that time, barley was sold for four shillings and
 ‘ two pence a quarter, oats at two shillings and one
 ‘ penny half-penny, capons at three pence a piece,
 ‘ and hens at one penny half-penny, as by certain ac-
 ‘ counts of his household officers appeareth (37).’

(36) Ex Rot. penes Franc. Nethesole, Equ. Ausrat.

(37) De An. 7 Hen. IV. et 38 Hen. VI. penes S. Archer Equ. Aur.

[G] Any dependance on the register of the Order in those times.] Sir William Dugdale introduces his Memoirs of this noble Earl by these elegant observations (38). ‘ If the leaving behind us an honourable fame, which lives in the memories of all good men, when these mortal bodies of ours are turned to dust, be accounted some happiness, as doubtless it is, and hath therefore excited divers noble spirits to bold and high adventures, whereof we want not manifold testimonies, then surely the transmitting a remembrance of our virtuous actions to posterity by a faithful register, must needs be a thing most acceptable to those whose memories are so preserved, as the like by Polybius of Scipio Africanus was, as also a singular estimation with after-ages, which are so much quickened we see by such notable examples, and therefore I cannot but observe, that the advantage which this Earl had herein was much more than any of his ancestors, by reason that Rous being his contemporary, and so well affected to history in general, out of the special relation he had to this family, hath with great diligence observed the most remarkable passages of his life, which with no less art than industry are set forth by him in curious pictures, historically representing them in order of time from his birth to his death, and which has added much to the lustre of his history, as by and by will appear.’ All this we allow to be handsomely said, but for all this John Rous cannot pass for an accurate writer, of which we cannot well have a stronger proof than his asserting the Earl of Warwick was honoured with the Garter early in the reign of Henry IV. The plain reason for his saying so is, to give him greater lustre in his tournament at Verona against Sir Pandolph Malet, who he insinuates had offered combat to any of the Knights of this order, the honour of which was gloriously sustained by the Earl of Warwick. But in the registers of the order, which contain the names of twenty-five Knights, elected companions during that reign, we meet with nothing of this Earl of Warwick. It must indeed be allowed that these registers were not so compleat as could be wished, because we have the names only of the Knights, and not the dates of their election. But from the beginning of the reign of Henry V they became more regular, and though the dates of their elections were not then added, yet their names were set down in the order they were elected. It is from hence

we have some light as to the time when the Earl of Warwick was really elected, for we find him the fourteenth Knight companion elected in this reign, and the hundred and twenty-fourth of the Order from its first institution (39). It is therefore clear enough, all circumstances considered, that instead of obtaining this honour in 1403, he did not attain it before 1420. I might take notice of some other small slips of this nature, but as they are not of great consequence, and seem to proceed purely from his excess of zeal for this noble family, from which he received his living, I shall not detain the reader longer upon this subject, which I hope is already rendered sufficiently clear.

(39) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 610.

[H] I thought the reader might be pleased to see it, and therefore it is placed in the notes.] This noble Earl, by his last will and testament, bearing date at Caverham in Oxfordshire, appointed that first, and in all haste possible, after his decease, there should be five thousand masses said for his soul; next, his debts to be truly paid, and then, that till the new chapel adjoining to the collegiate church of Warwick should be finished, his body should be laid in a chest of stone before the altar, on the right hand of his father's tomb, and afterwards to be removed into the chapel before-mentioned, where he directed three masses every day to be sung as long as the stone should endure (40). We have a copy of the epitaph inscribed on this monument in Leland, which is very exact (41). But it seems a little strange that he does not take any notice of an odd circumstance therein, which is, that instead of the usual stops we find the figure of a bear, or of a ragged staff, through the whole inscription, which runs thus (42).

(40) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 411.

(41) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VIII. p. 60, 61.

(42) Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 410.

‘ Pray devoutly for the fowle whom God assoyle of
 ‘ one of the most worshipfull Knyghtes in his dayes of
 ‘ manhod and connyng, Richard Beauchampe, late
 ‘ Earl of Warwicke, Lord Despenser of Bergeveny,
 ‘ and of many other greate Lordships, who's body
 ‘ restithe here under this tombe in a full feire vaulte of
 ‘ stone set in the bare roche; the whiche visyted with
 ‘ long sycknes in the castle of Rohan, therin deceasyd
 ‘ full christianly the last day of Aprile, the yere of
 ‘ owr Lord God, A. D. 1439, he beinge at that tyme
 ‘ Livetenaunt General, and Governer of Fraunce and
 ‘ of the Duchye of Normandy by sufficien auctorite
 ‘ of owr Sovereigne Kyng Harry the VI; the whiche
 ‘ body, with great deliberation and ful worshipfull
 ‘ conducte by sea and by land, was brought to War-
 ‘ wyke the fowrthe of Octobar the yere abovefayde,
 ‘ and was leyde with full solemne exequies in a fayre
 ‘ chufft made of stone in this chirche, afore the west
 ‘ doore of this chapell, accordyng to his last wyll
 ‘ and testament, therein to rest tyll this chapell by hym
 ‘ devisid in his life wer made, al the whiche chapelle
 ‘ foundyd on this roche, and all the members ther of
 ‘ his executors, dyd fullylly make and apparil by the
 ‘ aucthorytie of his last will and testament, and there-
 ‘ after by the fayde aucthorytie they dyd translate ful
 ‘ worshipfullye the fade Body into the vout abovefayde.
 ‘ Honouryd be God therefore.’ E

BEAUCHAMP (HENRY DE) son to Richard Earl of Warwick, of whom in the foregoing article. He was born at Hanley castle in Worcestershire, on the 22d of March, 1424, and baptized two days afterwards. The famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, being one of his god-fathers, and Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, the other; his god-mother Joan, Lady Bergavenny (*a*). At the time of his father's decease he was very little above fourteen years of age, and yet he had been for some time married, for his father having formed a design of allying himself to the house of Salisbury, he made a double match between this only son of his, then stiled Lord Despenser, and Cecily, daughter to Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, with whom he had a portion of 4700 marks, and at the same time gave his younger daughter, Ann, to Sir Richard Nevil, son to the Earl before mentioned (*b*). This Henry, Earl of Warwick, being a young Nobleman of great spirit and courage, offered his service before he was full nineteen for the defence of Normandy, with which the king was so well pleased, that, by his charter bearing date the second of April in the twenty-second year of his reign, he created him Premier Earl of England, and for a distinction between him all other Earls, he farther granted him, and the heirs male of his body, leave to wear a gold coronet upon his head, as well in his own presence as elsewhere, in all such assemblies, and upon all such feasts as the like ornaments were worn (*c*). Within three days after this he advanced him to the rank of Duke of Warwick, in consideration of the many virtues and great services of his father, granting him place in parliament and at all other meetings, next after the Duke of Norfolk, before the Duke of Buckingham, bestowing likewise a pension of forty pounds, *per. ann.* to be paid by the Sheriffs of Warwickshire and Leicestershire out of the revenues of those counties, towards the better support of that honour (*d*). But this extraordinary mark of the royal favour, was not more kindly and gratefully received by the young Duke of Warwick, than it was hatefully and enviously looked upon by the Duke of Buckingham, who thought himself extremely injured thereby. In that reign every thing was apprehended from the feuds and disputes of the nobility, and therefore, to prevent any ill consequences that might arise from the differences between these two noblemen, this point was settled by an act of parliament; which declared, *that for appeasing the contention and strife moved betwixt them for that pre-eminence*, it was established, that from the second of December then next ensuing, they should take place of each other by turns, one that year, and the other the next, and so on as long as they should live together. The Duke of Warwick to have the first year's precedence, and he which should survive, to take place of the other's heir male as long as he lived, and from that time the heir male of each should take place of the other, according as it should happen, that he had livery of his lands before him (*e*). Besides these additional titles and marks of honour, the King gave Henry, Duke of Warwick, more substantial proofs of his affection and gratitude, by granting him the reversion after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, Erm, and Alderney, for the yearly tribute of a rose, to be paid at the feast of St John the Baptist (*f*), as also of the manor and hundred of Bristol in Gloucestershire, for the yearly farm of sixty pounds, as also the castles and manors of the King within the forest of Dene, yielding and paying the yearly rent of one hundred pounds (*g*). But as if all these honours and grants had been still insufficient to express the King's affection for this young nobleman, and his remembrance and respect for his father's services, Henry VI went still farther, even to the utmost verge and extent of his prerogative, by declaring the said Henry Duke of Warwick King of the Island of Wight, and placing the crown upon his head with his own hands (*h*). But as this was the highest honour the King could bestow, so it proved the last favour the Duke could receive, since he was taken off in the flower of his age, at the castle of Hanley, where he was born, on the eleventh of June 1445, in the twenty-second year of his age (*i*). He was buried in the abbey of Tewksbury, leaving behind him an only daughter, Anne, Countess of Warwick, born at Kaerdiff in February 1443 (*k*). This young lady was first under the tutelage of Queen Margaret (Consort to Henry VI) afterwards she was committed to the care of William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk; at whose manor of Newelme in the county of Oxford, she deceased January 3, 1449, having not quite attained six years of age (*l*). She was afterwards buried in the abbey of Reading, near the body of her great-grand-mother Constance Lady Despenser, daughter of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (*m*). As for Cecily, Duchess of Warwick, she afterwards espoused John Lord Tiptoff, Earl of Worcester, but did not long live with him, deceasing in the month of July 1450, and was buried in the abbey church of Tewksbury (*n*). In order to complete our account of this most noble family, we must farther observe, that upon the demise of Anne, Countess of Warwick, in her childhood, Anne, sister to Henry Duke of Warwick, of the whole blood, became his sole heir, and her husband, Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury, took in her right the title of Warwick (*o*). This title was afterwards confirmed to him by Patent dated July 23, 1445, with all the pre-eminencies enjoyed by any of his wife's ancestors, before her brother Henry was created Duke of Warwick. After this, Richard Earl of Warwick and Anne his Countess, levied a great xv. Trin. 28 Hen. VI, by which they entailed the castle of Warwick, with a great number of fine lordships, in that and sixteen other counties, upon the issue of their bodies lawfully begotten, and for default thereof upon the issue of her, with the remainder to the

(a) Leland's Iten.
Vol. VI. p. 90.
Rot. J. Rous.

(b) Ex veter.
membran. pines.
Fr. Netherisole,
Eq. Aur.

(c) Cart. ab an.
21 unique an. 24
Hen. VI. n. 35.

(d) Ibid. n. 24.

(e) Ex Bund. Pe-
tit. in Parl. 23
Hen. VI. n. 12.

(f) Pat. 24 Hen.
VI. p. 1. m. 20.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Leland's I-
tiner. Vol. VI.
p. 91.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Leland's Iten.
as before.

(l) Pat. 27 Hen.
VI. p. 2. m. 27.

(m) Rot. Johan.
Rous.

(n) Leland's Iten.
as before.

(o) Pat. 27 Hen.
VI. p. 1. m. 1.

heirs of Richard Beauchamp late Earl of Warwick, &c. (q). Thus we have shewn how this high honour descended from the Mauduits to the Beauchamps, and from them in the same manner to the Nevils, of whom more may be seen under their articles. At present we are to proceed with other honourable branches, from this great stock of the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick; and first of

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) Baron of Kidderminster in the reign of Richard II, and the first Baron created by patent in this kingdom. He was the son of Sir Richard Beauchamp of Holt, who was the grandson of William de Beauchamp of Elmeley, and brother to William de Beauchamp the first Earl of Warwick of that family. He was born in 1320, and by the death of his father inherited the lands of Holt in Worcesterhire, 1 Edward III (a). He was early in the service of his Prince, for 12 Edward III, when he was not more than twenty, he was in the expedition to Flanders, and in 20 Edw. III. in France, and acquired reputation in both (b). In 1353 he was in Gascoigne, in the retinue of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and continued there all the next year (c). In the thirty-third of the same reign he served again in France with much honour. In the forty-second of that King, he went over into that realm on the same account (d); and in 46 Edward III, he attended the King's son, John Duke of Lancaster, in his expedition into Spain (e). By these long and faithful services to the Crown, he so raised his credit at Court, that in the sixth of Richard II, being then one of the Esquires of the King's chamber, he had a grant of twenty marks *per annum*, out of the manor of Sutton, in the forest of Macklesfield in Cheshire (f). But growing more and more into the King's favour, he in the ninth of the same reign, from the like considerations, and because he had received the honour of knighthood, under the King's banner displayed against Scotland, had an annuity granted him of one hundred marks, out of the King's rents and revenue in North Wales (g). But soon after he made a surrender of this annuity, and, instead thereof, had a considerable grant made him in Caermarthenshire, and was also appointed Chief-Justice of North-Wales, both for term of his life. He had also a special charter of divers liberties and privileges, as well in vert and venison, as other things, in his lordship of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester, granted him, much about the same time (h). By these repeated testimonies of royal kindness, Sir John Beauchamp now advanced to be Steward of the King's household, and one of his chief favourites, was encouraged to procure new gifts from the Crown, and therefore in the eleventh year of King Richard, laying hold of the breaking out of a French war, Sir John Beauchamp obtained for himself, a grant of all the manors and lands belonging to the priory of Deerhurst in the county of Gloucester, then seized into the King's hands; as all other priories-alien were (i). By such grants he acquired a good estate, and to add an augmentation of honour to these of fortune, he procured himself to be created Baron Kidderminster by patent, limiting that honour to his heirs male; which became the precedent for all future creations (k) [A]. It was thought that the King intended him farther honours, and one

(g) Penes Cambr. Scac. (Recordat. oct. m. 6 E. IV.)
 (a) Esch. 1 Ed. III. n. 20.
 (b) Rot. Franc. 20 Ed. III. p. 5. m. 5.
 Rot. Alem. 12 Ed. III. m. 7.
 (c) Rot. Gascon. 27 Ed. III. m. 1.
 (d) Rot. Franc. 42 E. III. m. 3.
 (e) Rot. Franc. 46 E. III. m. 14.
 (f) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 31.
 (g) Ibid.
 (h) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 5. Cart. 9 & 10 R. II. n. 9.
 (i) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.
 (k) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. 411. p. 295.

[A] Which became the precedent for all future creations.] It was this circumstance of his being the first Baron created by patent, that induced us to insert his article preferable to others of his noble family, of whom enough might be collected from our histories to fill a volume. But in order to conceive the reason of this, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the different kinds of Barons and Baronies amongst us. He who would see all the antient learning upon this subject, and has a mind to judge for himself as to the most probable etymology of the word, and it's various significations, may consult the learned Selden (1), or the no less learned Spelman (2), who have undoubtedly shewn as much labour, reading, and judgment, on the subject, as any man can expect. In respect to our present purpose, it is sufficient to say, that as at his entrance into this kingdom, William Duke of Normandy subjected most lands to military or honorary tenures, as in making hereditary Earls, so he invested others in smaller territories, and with lower jurisdiction; these were *Barons* (3). Such persons might, and did grant lands to others, to hold of them as they of the King, and if the number and value of these amounted to 13 1/2 Knights fees, then such a one was *Baro Regis*, and might sit in parliament. Thus it is clear our first Barons had their dignity *à censu* from their possessions, or, as things stood then, from their tenures; for whoever held land to the value of four hundred marks, as immediately from the King was his *Baron* (4). But Baronies were not only held from the King, but from Earls and other superior nobility, and if such as held under them attained the limited sum of four hundred marks, then he became a *Baron's Peer*, or one having equal privileges with a Baron; and thus we plainly see the sense of *Barones* and *Peeres Baronum* (5). But besides these there were yet another kind of Barons, that is, such as held lands with mean jurisdiction, but not

to this value; in plain English, every Lord of a manor to whom as such a *Court-Baron* belonged. In antient times therefore, that is, before the forty-eighth of Henry III, upon the King's calling a parliament, all who had a right to sit therein, came of their own accord; but at that time we are told, the King having made his peace with Simon de Montfort, it was agreed that such of the Barons only should resort to parliament as the King summoned (6). By this means came in the second sort of Barons, who are from thence stiled *Barons by writ*. But of these there have been distinguished two kinds, *viz.* Barons by *writ* and *tenure*, and by *writ only*; for the King might if he pleased summon others as well as Barons to parliament, but this did not give their posterity, or indeed themselves, a right to sit in parliament independent of the summons from the Crown, whence some have taken a new distinction between *Barons* and *Peers* (7); esteeming the former, such as were so tenure, as well as summons, and the latter such as obtained their seats in parliament by their writs only. As to the third kind of *Barons by patent*, our John de Beauchamp being the first, and this now being as usual a method, or rather more so, of creating Barons, than the other by writ, it may not be amiss (especially as they are short) to insert the King's letters patents on this occasion (8).

(1) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1672, fol. p. 509 —620.
 (2) Spelman. Glossograph. voce *Baro*.
 (3) See Sir William Dugdale's Prefaces to the first and second Volumes of his Baronage of England.
 (4) The old Record *Modus tenend' Parliamenti*.
 (5) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1604, 4to, p. 274, 275. He afterwards changed his opinion of this matter entirely, as appears from what is said in the subsequent editions in folio, but the reason of the thing, and the authority on which it was founded, remain, and will always remain the same.
 (6) Camd. Britan. p. 122.
 (7) See Dugdale's Prefaces before cited.
 (8) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 12.

RICHARDUS, &c. *Sciatis quod, pro bonis et gratuitis servitiis quæ dilectus et fidelis miles noster Johannes de Beauchamp de HOLT senescballus hospitii nostri nobis impendit, ac loco per ipsum Tempore Coronationis nostræ hucusque impenso et quem pro nobis tenere poterit in futurum in nostris Consiliis et Parliamentis, nec non pro nobili et fideli genere unde descendit, ac pro suis magnificis sensu et circumspectione, ipsum Johannem in unicuique Parium ac Baronum Regni nostri Angliæ præficiamus, volentes quod idem Johannes et heredes masculi*

(l) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 304.

(m) *Thom. Walsingham*, p. 365.

(n) *H. Knyghton*, p. 2075.

historian tells us particularly, that he was to have had the title of Bridgnorth (l), if a sudden reverse of fortune had not put a stop to his master's power, and to his prosperity. This happened in the same, or the next, year, viz. 1388, when the Duke of Gloucester, and other powerful Lords, having first defeated the army raised by the King's favourite, whom he had created Duke of Ireland, marched on to London, and forced him to call a Parliament, which for the strange and extraordinary things done therein, and thereby, was called the *Wonder-working Parliament* (m). Amongst other noble persons then called to account for their past behaviour, our Lord Beauchamp was one, who was first removed from his office of Treasurer of the King's household, then sent prisoner to Dover-castle, and lastly condemned and executed for high-treason upon Tower-Hill (n) [B]. Thus

culi de corpore suo exeuntes statum Baronis obtineat ac Domini de Beauchamp, et Barones de Kidderminster, nuncupentur. In cuius rei, &c. T.

The form of these Patents hath been since often varied, but this before us seems to be remarkably clear, succinct, and to the purpose, agreeing very well with the account which we have before given of the state and degree of *Barons* of this realm, until this method of creation took place. With respect to the other ceremonies used in conferring this dignity, Sir William Dugdale discourses thus: 'That the solemn investiture of this John, and all other the Barons who were thenceforth created by patent, was performed by the King himself, by putting on a robe of scarlet, as also a mantle (with two guards on the left shoulder), and a hood all furred with minever, there is no doubt. Which form of creation continued, until the thirtieth year of King James, that Sir James Hay (a Scotsman) was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by letters patent, bearing date the 29th of June, by the title of Lord Hay of Sauley, in Com. Ebor. the Lawyers then declaring, that the delivery of the letters patent was sufficient without any ceremony. But now besides this honourable Robe, through the special favour of our present sovereign King Charles II, there hath been granted to the Barons a coronet of gold, with six pearls placed upon the circle thereof, as by a special instrument under his Majesty's royal signer, bearing date upon the 6th day of July, 1661, in the thirteenth year of his reign, appeareth, the form of which is by divers Painters and Carvers already so much mistaken, as that they commonly advance the pearls thereon in such sort, as those are wherewith the Earls coronets be regularly adorned, though not (as yet) to the full height, whereas they being devised in imitation of the Viscounts coronets, the pearls ought to stand as they do, without any advancing at all.'

[B] *Condemned and executed for high-treason upon Tower-hill.*] The circumstances of this Nobleman's unhappy fate are but confusedly reported in our general histories, and the dates very differently set down; but from the best authorities we can procure, this transaction seems to have happened thus. King Richard II was a Prince of great condescension and good nature, which made him too easy towards such, as by being long in his service, and gratifying his humours, had found a way to conciliate his good graces (9). Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, was one closely allied by all the ties of friendship, gratitude, and interest, to those about the King, who were most obnoxious to the Lords, such as Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York; Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk; and for their service had consulted and acted in all the steps taken to preserve the King's ministers, and to bring the patriot Lords under the imputation of treason, for what they had done in parliament for the King's service and the publick good. It was very probably for this conduct and ill-turned zeal for the King's inclination against his interest, that he was, October 10, 1387, raised to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster (*). But the tide soon turned, for the five great Lords, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester; Henry, Earl of Derby; Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Thomas, Earl of Warwick; and Thomas, Earl Marthal, seeing plainly that since Sir Robert Tresilian and the rest of the Judges had, at the instigation of the King and his favourites, declared them traitors, there was no way to avoid being treated as such, but by having recourse to force; and immediately began to arm, and hearing that the King was got to London before them, where he had a strong party,

they assembled their forces at Haringay-Park near Highgate, where they appeared to be 40,000 strong (10). The King used all the means he could devise, to save when he could no longer support his creatures, and sending most of them out of the way, he consented at last to a conference with the Lords in the Tower, at which he promised to come the next day to Westminster, to consider of the best means for settling publick affairs, now in the utmost distraction. Before the next morning, however, he changed his mind; but upon the Lords giving him to understand, that if he would not come and countenance their counsels with his presence, they would take other measures, implying they would elect another Prince, he was constrained to go, and when amongst them, gave up all his Ministers, who were soon after seized, and sent to several prisons, and amongst the rest Lord Beauchamp was transferred to Dover-castle (11), there to be kept till he should abide the judgment of the next parliament (that wonderful parliament mentioned in the text), which was summoned to meet upon the third of February next following (12). The first step taken when this parliament did meet, was a solemn claim made therein by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that whatever was moved therein, or in future parliaments touching Peers, should be discussed and decided not by the civil law or common law of the land, but by the law and custom of parliament, which by the King was cheerfully granted. In consequence of this, the five great Lords before-mentioned, as appellants, accused or impeached the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, of various treasons, and they being fled were condemned for want of answer (13). On the twelfth of March following, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp of Holt, John Salisbury, and James Berners, Knights, were impeached by the Commons of various treasons, as being engaged with and assisting in the contrivances of the great Lords before-mentioned. These articles, in number sixteen, have nothing in them very remarkable, except that Sir John Beauchamp is charged with having been unfaithful to his old master King Edward III, and to Lionel Duke of Clarence (14), whence an old Monkish historian (15) takes upon him to stile this unfortunate Lord *an old false Traitor*, which however is not justified by any proof. To this impeachment the persons accused pleaded *Not guilty*; the Commons joined issue, and the Lords took time to consider, adjourning to the twentieth of that month, then to the thirteenth of April, and lastly to the fifth of May, when they gave judgment, as is usual in cases of high-treason, on Sir Simon Burley; but in regard he was a Knight of the Garter, his father's old servant, and his own, the King remitted all but the beheading, which he suffered on Tower-hill (16). On the twelfth of May the Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Salisbury, and Sir James Berners, received the like sentence. Beauchamp and Berners were the same day beheaded, and Sir John Salisbury suffered according to his sentence at the common place of execution (17). After all these severities (which had been extorted from the King) were over, some new demands were formed to prevent such a turn as had happened once before in this reign, which were, that no judgments given in this parliament should be reversed, none of the statutes made controverted, and none of the parties attainted pardoned which the King promised (18). He likewise, to satisfy the people more effectually, and to re-settle the crown upon his head, renewed his coronation-oath, hoping after these great sacrifices to reign happily, in which however he was, chiefly through the unsteadiness of his own nature, miserably disappointed.

(10) *H. Knyghton*, col. 2701.

(11) *Thom. Walsingham*, p. 365. n. 30, 40.

(12) *Rot. Parl. II. R. II. n. 1. p. 2.*

(13) *H. Knyghton*, ubi supra.

(14) *Thom. Walsingham*, p. 365. n. 40.

(15) *Hist. Vitæ & Regni Rich. II. a monacho quodam de Evesham conges nata*, p. 102.

(16) *H. Knyghton*, ubi supra.

(17) *Chron. Godstovianum MS.* p. 121.

(18) *H. Knyghton*, ubi supra.

(9) *Thom. Walsingham*, p. 365. *H. Knyghton*, col. 2700, & seq.

(*) *Dugdale's Baronage of England*, Vol. III. p. 195.

Thus died Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Kidderminster, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving, by Joan his wife, daughter and heir to Robert le Fitzwith (o), John, his son and heir, about ten years of age, during whose minority, the lordship of Holt was committed to the custody of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, from whom it was held (p). When this John de Beauchamp came to man's estate, he attended King Richard II in his voyage to Ireland (q), but it does not appear that he was restored to his father's honours [C]. In the eighth of Henry IV, we find that he executed the office of Escheator for the county of Worcester (r), which he likewise had in the reign of Henry V (s), and in the eighth year of that King, died possessed of four manors in Warwickshire, and two in Worcestershire, which estate descended to his daughter and sole heiress Margaret (t), then twenty years of age, who was married first to John Pauncefort, and afterwards to John Wysham (u), of whose posterity I find no account.

(o) Clauf. 49 E. III. m. 21.
 (p) Clauf. 12 R. II. m. 33.
 (q) Pat. 22 R. II. p. 3. m. 37.
 (r) Rot. Fin. 8 Hen. IV. m. 22.
 (s) Rot. Fin. 7 Hen. V. p. 8; m. 8.
 (t) Ech. 8 Hen. V. n. 70.
 (u) Ibid. n. 71.

[C] But it does not appear that he was restored to his father's honours.] It was the great misfortune of this unhappy Monarch, Richard II, that he was ready to risk any thing for his favourites when they were present, but did not so much regard those who suffered from their attachment to him, when either banished or dead. Thus, notwithstanding all his affection for the Duke of Ireland, and the hazards he had run to support him, when he escaped to the Low-Countries, he let him remain there in so low and poor a condition, that he broke his heart (19). It is true, that afterwards, in the twenty-first year of his reign, A. D. 1398, when he had brought matters so about as to have all things done in the parliament, held in the 11th of his reign, declared null and void; and those who had acted most in them, attained on that score of high-treason, he procured an express repeal of all forfeitures incurred by judgments then given (20); yet we do not find that this young man was restored to his honour of Kidderminster, or that he had any benefit of the

(19) H. Knyghton. c. l. 2075.

(20) Placit. Coron. 21 R. II. n. 50, 51.

royal grants made to his father. But perhaps we want sufficient memoirs of those times to enable us to speak with certainty on that head. It is very remarkable, that on the execution of Sir Simon Burley, the Earl of Arundel interposed so warmly with the Duke of Gloucester to save his life, that a quarrel had very near happened on his refusal, but we hear nothing of any application made by Thomas Earl of Warwick in behalf of his near relation the Lord Beauchamp, though upon his unfortunate death he had his estate and son committed to his care. But upon the new and strange turn in 1398, this very Earl of Warwick was by the same kind of process, appealed and convicted of treason, and received (though remitted) the same sentence with Lord Beauchamp (21). Such sudden and violent revolutions was this age subject to, from the rage of parties, the power of faction, and the scandalous corruptions of Parliaments; so that no man knew how to be safe, or by what means to distinguish loyalty from treason.

(21) Ibid.

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) son to Sir William de Beauchamp, Constable of the castle of Gloucester, by Catherine, daughter to Gerard de Usflete, was, on the death of Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, constituted one of the guardians of his son Henry (a). He purchased from Thomas de Botreax, the moiety of the manor of Alcester, and obtained from King Henry VI, a charter for various privileges and immunities to that place, as also the grant of another fair to be held there on the eve of St Dunstan, and to continue for two days following (b). He was in so great credit with that Monarch, that in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he was advanced by him to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and had an annuity of sixty pounds, out of the fee-farm of the city of Gloucester (c). He was also constituted Justice of South Wales, with power to execute that office by himself, or his sufficient Deputy (d). About three years after this, by the kindness of the same Prince, he was promoted to the office of Lord High-Treasurer of England, which he did not hold full two years (e), but retiring to a private life, died at a good old age, in the year 1475 (f), leaving his son Sir Richard Beauchamp then forty years of age, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. in the private chapel of his manor-house of Beauchamp's Court, by virtue of a special licence from the Bishop of Worcester (g), by which lady he had three daughters coheiresses, the eldest, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke; the second, Anne, to Richard Ligon; and the third, Margaret, to William Rede (h).

(a) Rot. Fin. 17 Hen. VI. m. 10.
 (b) Cart. 25 & 26 Hen. VI. n. 20.
 (c) Pat. 22 Hen. VI. p. 3. m. 33.
 (d) Ibid.
 (e) Pat. 28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 19.
 (f) Ech. 15 E. IV. n. 11.
 (g) Carpenter, Vol. I. f. 47. a.
 (h) Ech. 16 H. VIII. n. 3.

BEAUCHAMP (WILLIAM DE), Lord Bergavenny. He was the younger son of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Catherine Mortimer, as has been before shewn (a), and there are no memoirs extant of any one of this noble family better worth notice, than those of this Lord Bergavenny. He seems to have made his first campaign in 1366 under the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (b), in his expedition into Castile, who, when the armies were in fight, is recorded to have said, *Sir William, yonder are our enemies, this day shall you gain the name of a successful Knight, or else die in the quarrel.* He served continually after this through that whole reign, mostly under John Duke of Lancaster, sometimes in Spain, sometimes in France, by land sometimes, and sometimes by sea (c). For these great services and others expected from him, we find in the first of Richard II, he was appointed Governor of the castle and county of Pembroke, and in the fourth of the same King, Lord Chamberlain, with an annual pension of two hundred pounds for life (d). The same year he was retained to serve by indenture with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, in Spain (e). In the sixth of that King, he should have served under that martial Prelate, Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, then victorious in Flanders; but not receiving, according to the terms of his agreement, the full sum of five hundred marks, Lord Bergavenny declined the service (f). In the seventh of that King, he was retained

(a) See before in BEAUCHAMP (RICHARD) Earl of Warwick, note [A].
 (b) Froissard, lib. 1. p. 138.
 (c) Rot. Franc. 5 R. II. m. 4. Rot. Franc. 6 R. II. m. 30.
 (d) Pat. 4 Rich. II. p. 7. m. 5.
 (e) Ex Autogr. penes cleric. pell.
 (f) Tho. Walsingham. p. 365. n. 10.

in the manner before described, to serve as Captain of Calais for two years, and was also appointed a Commissioner to treat with the crown of France about a peace. His conduct in this important employment, was not only every way irreproachable, but so highly esteemed and approved, that his commission was continued for three years more, in which space he took from the French no less than forty-eight vessels, two of which were laden with spices, and some with white herrings bound for Flanders (*g*). In the ninth of King Richard, he again attended the Duke of Lancaster into Spain, to support his pretensions to the crown of Castile. He was the next year constituted Captain of the castles of Pembroke and Kilgaran in Wales, and holding still his command of Calais, was appointed the King's Commissioner to treat with the Earl of Flanders (*b*). It was at this juncture he distinguished himself in a manner so particular, that it deserves to be for ever remembered. Amongst other base schemes put into the head of King Richard II by his favourites, one was, to retire, when the Duke of Gloucester and the other Lords were near London with an army, to France, and there purchase the assistance of that Monarch, by giving up to him most of the fortresses he then held in that realm (*i*). If it be some scandal to our country, that it produced men base enough to betray a young and inconsiderate Prince into so foul a contrivance; we must allow that is no less honourable for us, that this gallant Lord Bergavenny had the courage to stand in the gap to secure our possessions from being so shamefully given up, and, at the hazard of his life, serve the King against his will, and merit his confidence by a noble act of disobedience. For when all things were ready at home for carrying this dark design into execution, and the King sent orders to this Lord to quit his command, and transmit certain letters to the court of France he stoutly refused both (*k*). He declared with respect to the former, that he was intrusted with this important fortress, with the advice and consent of the nobility, and without their consent, he would not render up his command. As for the letters, (guessing at their tenor) instead of sending them to Paris, he transmitted them to the Duke of Gloucester in England. He went still farther than this, for when John de la Pole, brother to the great favourite, Suffolk, came with the King's orders to take from him the command of Calais, he not only refused to yield it into his hands, but seized him and carried him over prisoner to England, which at that time incensed the King to such a degree, as it entirely ruined the scheme of his ministers, that he caused the Lord Bergavenny immediately after his arrival, to be arrested and committed to close custody; but soon after, either through fear or choice, caused him to be set at liberty again (*l*). But I do not find (and I speak it to his honour) that after this, he was much employed during that reign. But in the very first of Henry IV, we find him constituted Justice of South Wales for life, and restored to the government of the town and castle of Pembroke and Lordship of Tineby, with the addition of the castle and lordship of Kilgaran, and county of Osterlowe also for life, paying into the Exchequer seventy marks, *per. ann* (*m*). This noble Lord deceased about 1411, possessed of a very large estate, which descended to his only son by Joan, one of the daughters of Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of the sisters and coheiresses of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton (*n*). The name of this only son and successor of the Lord Bergavenny was Richard, who married the lady Isabel Despenfer very soon after his father's death, and had by her a very large estate in land (*o*). In the fourth year of Henry V, we find him retained to serve the King abroad in his wars, where he behaved with such courage, wisdom, and success, and rendered the King so many and so important services, that in reward of his zeal and fidelity, that Monarch advanced him in the eighth year of his reign, to the title of Earl of Worcester (*p*), and for the better support of that dignity, made him large grants of land in Normandy and other parts of France (*q*). It was not long that he survived to enjoy these marks of Royal favour; for very soon after he was wounded by a stone from a sling at Nusembry in France, of which he languished for some time and then died; his body was interred at Tewksbury with great solemnity (*r*), and in him ended this branch of the family. He left an only daughter Elizabeth, born at Hanley castle, December 16, 1415, who afterwards married Edward Nevill, a younger son of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland (*s*). The best part of his paternal estate descended, by virtue of a special entail, to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who observing that his widow Isabel, Countess of Worcester, had a very large estate, and a fair prospect of increasing it, he applied to the court of Rome for a special dispensation to enable him to marry her, who had been his uncle's son's wife, which having obtained, he espoused her (*t*), and had by her, as we have already shewn, Henry, Duke of Warwick; and a daughter, Anne, by whom this title was transferred to the family of Nevill. We might add to these many other illustrious persons of this great and noble family, such as Roger Beauchamp of Bletsho, from whom the St Johns, Barons of Bletsho are descended (*u*). Bishop Beauchamp of Hereford (*w*), Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, who died in the reign of Henry VII, and was buried in the Black-Friar's church near Ludgate (*x*): But the bounds we have prescribed to ourselves in this work, will not admit of our prosecuting our account of this family any farther; nor had we insisted on it so long, but as it affords variety of circumstances, necessary to be referred to in many subsequent articles.

E

BEAVER (JOHN) otherwise named *Bever*, and in Latin *Fiber, Fibérius, Castor*, and *Castorius* (a), was a Benedictine Monk in Westminster-Abbey, and flourished about the beginning of the XIVth century (b). He was a man of quick parts, and of great diligence and ingenuity (c). But he applied himself particularly to the study of the History and Antiquities of England, and became a great master of both. Among other things, he writ a *Chronicle of the British and English Affairs*, from the coming in of Brute to his own time [A]. He also writ a book *De Rebus cænobii Westmonasteriensis*, of Westminster-Abbey, and the several Transactions relating thereto (d). Leland commends him (e) as an historian of good credit; and he is also cited with respect by J. Stow in his Survey of London and Westminster (f). Bale says (g), he doth not give a slight or superficial account, but a full and judicious relation, of things; and takes proper notice of the virtues and vices of the persons mentioned in his History.

There was another of the same name, a Monk of St Alban's; who left behind him a collection of some treatises that are of no great value. They are extant in the King's Library (b).

[A] He writ a *Chronicle of the British, and English affairs*.] It was never published, but remains in manuscript in several places, particularly in the Cottonian library (1). In the late fire there, it was pretty much

damaged, but may still be used. Mr Hearne published, in 1735, proposals for the printing of it; but his death put a stop to the publication (2).

(a) Baleus, Script. Brytan. Cent. IV. n. 80. Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Script. an. 1306.

(b) In 1306, says Pits, ibid.

(c) Bale & Pits, ibid.

(d) Bale & Pits, ubi supra.

(e) Affer. Regis Arthuri; & Comment. in Cygn. Cant.

(f) See Bishop Nicolson's English Historic. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, fol. p. 63.

(g) Ubi supra.

(b) 2 F. VII.

(1) Vitellius E. XVII. 4.

(2) See the article H E A R N E C (THOMAS.)

BEAUFORT, was at first the *Surname*, and became afterwards the *Title*, of a noble family, which hath produced several eminent persons of both sexes. It was taken from the castle of Beaufort in Anjou (a), which came to the House of Lancaster, by Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund Crouch-back, second son of King Henry III, and first Earl of Lancaster. The children to whom that SURNAME was first given, were John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan; being the natural issue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (fourth son of King Edward III) by Catharine, daughter of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guyenne King of Arms, and widow of Sir Otes (b) Swinford; then Governess to the ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, daughters of the said Earl of Lancaster (c); and afterwards married to him, being his third wife (d). Those children were legitimated, by Act of Parliament [A], bearing date February 9; 1396-7, the twentieth of Richard II, and exemplified afterwards by King Henry IV, on February 10, 1406-7 (e), by which legitimation they were rendered capable of all offices and honours whatsoever, the royal dignity excepted. In pursuance of this, John was created Earl of Somerset; Henry became Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal of St Eusebius; and Thomas was made Earl of Dorset, and Duke of Exeter (f). Joan was married, first to Robert, son of Robert Lord Ferrers, and afterwards to Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmoreland. The grandson of John Earl of Somerset, was, Henry Duke of Somerset, who being beheaded April 3, 1463, for his adherence to the House of Lancaster, left issue by Joan Hill, or De la Montaign, an only natural son named Charles, who assumed the surname of Somerset. Descended from him in the fifth generation, was Edward Somerset Marquis of Worcester; on whom King Charles I, conferred the TITLE of Baron Beaufort (g), as King Charles II did, that of Duke of Beaufort (Decemb. 2, 1682.) on his son Henry Somerset, great-great-grandfather of the present Duke of Beaufort.

[A] Those children were legitimated by Act of parliament.] There is an observation at the beginning of this act, made by Dr Edmund Stafford, Bishop of

Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England, intimating, that Pope Urban VI, at the earnest request of King Richard II, had before legitimated these children (1).

(a) Catalog. of the Nobil. by R. B. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 121. Sandford and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hist. Book iv. c. 8. Lond. 1707, p. 322.

(b) Dugdale calls him Sir Hugh, Baronage Vol. II. p. 119.

(c) Sandford, ibid. p. 253.

(d) Dugdale and Sandford, ubi supra.

(e) This Act is a length in Sandford and Stebbing before quoted, p. 322, 323. and in G. Buck's Life of Richard III. Book ii.

(f) Idem p. 260, &c. Dugdale, p. 121; &c.

(g) Sandford and Stebbing, p. 357. Peerage of England, by Arth. Collins, Vol. I. p. 75, &c. ed. 1735.

(1) Life of Richard III. by G. Buck, in Compleat Hist. Lond. 1706, Vol. I. p. 536.

BEAUFORT (JOHN) eldest son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by Catharine Swinford, as is above related, was born in Beaufort-castle in Anjou. In 1394, being then a Knight, he accompanied his father into Gascogne (*). He was advanced to the honour of Earl of Somerset, in a Parliament held at Westminster (a), by creation, bearing date 1396-7. And on September 29, in a Parliament held at the same place, was created Marquis of Dorset [A]. But this last honour being vacated, he was created the same day, Sept. 29, Marquis of Somerset (b). Notwithstanding which, he was summoned to Parliament (c) by the title only of Marquis of Dorset: And, by that denomination, was made Constable of Wallingford-castle, and Steward of the honour of Wallingford, November 22, 1397 (d); as also Constable of Dover-castle, and Warden of the Cinque-ports, on the 5th of February following (e); and not long after, King Richard the second's Lieutenant in Aquitain (f). He was likewise, on the 2d of February the same year, constituted Admiral of all the King's fleet, both to the north and west (g). In 1397, he was one of those Lords, who, at the great Council at Nottingham, impeached Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, &c. of treason (b). For which, he and the rest of them, were adjudged, in the first Parliament of King Henry IV, to lose their titles, and

[A] Was created Marquis of Dorset.] With the ceremonies used in those times, namely *per gladii circumtorem, et circuli aurei suo capiti impositionem*, by gird-

ing a sword on, and putting a golden circle or coronet on the head. See Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5.

(*) Rot. Vasc. 18 Ric. II. m. 7.

(a) Rot. Parl. 20 Ric. II. n. 28, 29. Carta 22 Ric. II. n. 1, as quoted by Dugdale in Baron. Vol. II. p. 121, &c.

(b) Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5. Carta 21 Ric. II. n. 18, 23.

(c) An. 21 & 23 Ric. II. & 1 Henr. IV.

(d) Pat. 21 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 20.

(e) Ibid. m. 9.

(f) Rot. Vasc. 21 Ric. II. m. 8.

(g) Rot. Franc. 21 Ric. II. m. 4.

(b) Placit. Parl. 21 Ric. II. Wallingham Hist. Angl. p. 354, edit. Franc. 1603.

and the estates that had been given them, at or since the last Parliament, belonging to any of those persons they had impeached; or such as they enjoyed at the time of the Duke of Gloucester's imprisonment (i). By this means, John Beaufort lost the title of Marquis of Dorset, and retained only that of Earl of Somerset. But soon ingratiating himself with the new King, who was his brother by the father's side, he was constituted by him Chamberlain of England for life (k), Febr. 9, 1399-1400. In 1401 he was retained by indenture to serve the King as governor of the town of Caermardhyn (l), and had his estate restored to him (m). He was also made Captain of Calais, with its marches. In 1401, or 1402, he was commissioned with others, to treat of a League of amity, between the King of England, and the Duke of Gueldres (n). In 1402, the Commons in Parliament petitioned for his restitution to the dignity of Marquis; which he seemed unwilling to resume, because that title was new in this kingdom, he being the second on whom it was conferred; however, he accepted of it at last (o). In the year 1404, he had an assignation of the isle of Thanet, for the support of himself, and the garrison of Calais, which consisted of his soldiers (p): And was appointed Embassador to treat of a peace with the French (q). He also was one of the Commissioners, empowered to receive such sums of money, as then remained unpaid for the ransom of John, King of France, taken prisoner at the battle of Cressy (r). And finally, in the eighth year of King Henry IV, was constituted Admiral of the King's whole fleet, as well for the north as west (s). Having thus passed through many honourable employments, he departed this life, on the 21st of April 1410, and was buried in St Michael's chapel, on the south side of Canterbury cathedral (t). He married Margaret Holand, third daughter of Thomas, and sister and coheir to Edmund, both Earls of Kent, by whom he had four sons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas; (of whom, and their posterity I shall give an account in the note [B]) and two daughters: Joan, married to James I, King of Scotland; and Margaret, to Thomas Courtney, the seventh Earl of Devonshire (u).

(i) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 513. Tho. Walsingham, ubi supra, p. 361.

(k) Pat. 1. Henr. IV. p. 3. See Sandford & Stebbing, ubi supra, p. 324.

(l) Penes Cler. Pell.

(m) Rot. Parl. 2 Henr. IV. n. 33.

(n) Rot. Franc. 3 Henr. IV. m. 6.

(o) Rot. Parl. 4 Henr. IV. n. 18.

(p) Pat. 5 Henr. IV. p. 2. m. 26.

(q) Rot. Franc. 5 Henr. IV. m. 4.

(r) Ibid. m. 16.

(s) Pat. 8 Henr. IV. p. 2. m. 17.

(t) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi supra, 324, 311.

(u) Ibid. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 122.

[B] He had four sons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas, &c.] Henry dying young, and unmarried, was succeeded in the earldom of Somerset by his brother JOHN; who, in 1443, was created Duke of Somerset and Earl of Kendal (1), and constituted Lieutenant and Captain-General of Aquitaine; as also of the whole realm of France, and duchy of Normandy (2). He was taken prisoner at the battle of Baugy in 1421, and was not released till some years after (3). Dying May 27, 1444, he left issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletso, an only daughter named Margaret, of whom I shall give an account in a particular article. — To him succeeded his next brother EDMUND, who, before that time, had the title of Earl of Mortain in Normandy, and the Lordship of Chirkland in the marches of Wales (4); and had also, Aug. 20, 1442, been created Earl, as he was on June 24, 1443, Marquis of Dorset (5); and finally, after his brother's decease, Duke of Somerset, March 31, 1448 (6). He had at several times the regency of France and government of Normandy; and behaved with great bravery there at the taking of Harfleur, though he lost afterwards a great deal of his glory upon the surrendering of Caen and Roan (7). Being recalled to England by King Henry VI, to make head against the Yorkists, he was slain at the first battle of St Alban's, May 22, 1455 (8). His wife was, Eleanor, second daughter and coheir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. Of the daughters, Eleanor was the second wife of James Butler Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire; Joan was married first to the

Lord of Hoth in Ireland, and next to Sir Richard Fry, Kt. Anne was the wife of Sir William Paston of Norfolk, Kt. Margaret was first married to Humphry Stafford Earl of Stafford, and secondly to Sir Richard Darrel, Kt. and Elizabeth was married to Sir Henry Lewis, Kt (9). The sons were HENRY Duke of Somerset, who being taken prisoner at the battle of Hexham in 1463, was there beheaded on the 3d of April. EDMUND, that succeeded him, sailed into France, where he lived in great misery. But returning again to England, he was in the second battle of Barnet, and in that of Tewksbury; after which last, being taken prisoner, he was beheaded May 6, 1471 (10). JOHN, his next brother, was slain in the same battle of Tewksbury, May 4 (11), and Thomas, the fourth son, died young (12). But to return to Henry, the elder brother, mentioned a little above: He bore the title of Earl of Mortain in his father's life-time, and gained great honour in the French wars (13). In the 36th of Henry VI, he was constituted Lieutenant and Governor of the Isle of Wight and Carebrooke-castle (14); and the next year made Governor of Calais. But being recalled to England, he was made General to Queen Margaret, and led her main battle at Wakefield. He was also commander in chief for King Henry VI, at the bloody fight of Towton, March 12, 1461; after which, seeing this poor King's affairs desperate, he submitted to the conqueror, Edward IV, though he turned afterwards against him (15), for which he was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, as is above related; leaving only a natural son, named Charles, who took the surname of Somerset. C

(1) Carta 21 Henr. VI. n. 45.

(2) Rot. Franc. 21 Henr. VI.

(3) Sandford, ubi supra, p. 327.

(4) Ibid. p. 331.

(5) Cart. from 1 to 20 of Henr. VI. n. 3. — and from 20 to 24. n. 46.

(6) Ibid. from 25 to 27. n. 9.

(7) Hollinshed, p. 615, 630, &c.

(8) Ibid. p. 643.

(9) Sandford & Stebbing, p. 332.

(10) Hollinshed, p. 667.

(11) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi supra, p. 336.

(12) Ibid. p. 333.

(13) Page 335.

(14) Pat. 36 Henr. VI. p. 1. m. 10.

(15) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi supra, p. 335. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 124.

BEAUFORT (HENRY), Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church, was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford [A]. He studied for some years at Oxford, but had his education chiefly at Aix

[A] He was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford] John of Gaunt's third wife, Speed tells us (1) 'was Catherine, the widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a knight of Lincolnshire, eldest daughter and coheir of Payn Roet, a Gascoigne, called Guen King of Arms for that country, his younger daughter being married to Sir Geoffrey Chaucer our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue (born before matrimony, and made legitimate afterwards by parliament holden in the twentieth year of King Richard the Second) John Earl of Somerset, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Henry Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal, and Joan, who was first married to Robert Ferrers (Baron of Wenme and Ousely in the counties of Salop and Warwick), and

secondly to Ralph Nevill, the first Earl of Westmorland. She and all her brethren were surnamed BEAUFORT, of a castle which the Duke had in France, where they were all born; and in regard thereof bare the Portcullis of a castle for the cognizance of their family.' We shall produce the charter of legitimation of the Beauforts, after having observed that the preamble of the Act of Parliament (2), which confirmed it (drawn up by Dr Edmund Stafford Bishop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England), intimates, that Pope Urban VI, at the earnest request of the King, vouchsafes to legitimate these Beauforts, the natural children of the Duke of Lancaster; and that the King also, having power to legitimate and enable bastards in as ample a manner as the Emperor hath

(1) History of Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632, p. 709.

(2) Records, preserved in the Tower of London.

(a) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Winton. an. 1405.

Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himself to the Civil and Common Law (a). Being of royal extraction, he was advanced very young to the prelacy, and was elected Bishop of Lincoln in 1397 (b), in the room of John Buckingham, who resigned [B]. In 1399, he

(b) Il. ib. 1405. Episc. Lincoln. an. 1397.

was

or had, was pleased, at the humble request and suit of the Duke their father, to make them not only legitimate, but also capable of lands, heritages, titles, honours, offices, dignities, &c. and that the King, for the more authority thereof, craved allowance and favourable assent of the Barons in Parliament; which was accordingly granted. The charter (3) runs thus:

(3) It is extant in George Buck's Life of Richard III. apud Complete History of England, Vol. I. p. 536, 537.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum Joannis Ducis Lancastriæ.

Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Charissimis Consanguineis nostris, Nobilibus Viris Joanni de Beaufort Militi, Henrico de Beaufort Clerico, Thomæ de Beaufort Domicello, et nobili mulieri Joannæ Beaufort Domicelle, præclarissimi Patris nostri Nobilis Viri Joannis Ducis Aquitanicæ et Lancastriæ Germanis Natis et Liegis nostris, Salutem. Nos pro honore et meritis, &c. avunculi nostri, proprio arbitratu, et meritum suorum intuitu, vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honestate fulgetis, et ex regali estis prosapia propagati, &c. hinc est quod Joannis, &c. Avunculi nostri, Genitoris vestri, precibus inclinati vobis (cum, ut asseritur, defectum natalium patimini) hujusmodi defectum et ejusdem qualitates quas-cunque abolere presentes, vos haberi volumus pro sufficientibus ad quoscunque honores, dignitates præeminentias, status, gradus, et officia publica et privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque judicialia et nobilia, quibuscunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam si Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediata vel immediate à nobis dependeant seu teneantur, præfici, promoveri, eligi, assumi, et admitti, illaque recipere proinde liberè ac licitè valeatis, ac si de legitimo thoro nati existieritis, quibuscunque Statutis, seu consuetudinibus regni nostri Angliæ in contrarium editis seu observatis, quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostræ regalis potestatis, et de assenso Parliamenti nostri, tenore præsentium dispensamus, vosque et quemlibet vestrum naturalibus restituimus et legitimamus — Die Feb. Anno Regni 20 R. 2.

In English, as follows.

A Charter of Legitimation of the Bastards of John Duke of Lancaster.

Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To our most dear Cousins, the illustrious John Beaufort, Knight, Henry Beaufort, Clerk, Thomas Beaufort, Gentleman, and Joanna Beaufort Gentlewoman, of our most renowned Uncle, the noble John Duke of Guienne and Lancaster, Children German, and our Lieges, Greeting. We, for honour and merits, &c. of our Uncle, of our own good pleasure, and in consideration of his deserts, because you are conspicuous for your virtuous inclinations, and honesty of life and manners, and defended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that, moved by the earnest intreaties of our Uncle your parent, to remove from you (for, as is said, there is a defect in your birth) this defect, and all it's present consequences, we will that you be, and be reputed, capable to be preferred, promoted, elected, assumed and admitted, to any honours, dignities, states, degrees, offices public and private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what appellations soever distinguished, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending, or holding of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy, as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Customs of our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or observed, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithstanding; with which, out of the fulness of our Royal Power, and with consent of our Parliament, by the tenor of these Presents, We dispense, and you, and every one of you, to Birth restore and legitimate — Day of February, in the 20th year of our Reign. R. II.

Notwithstanding this Act of Legitimation, it was afterwards disputed (especially in the reign of Richard III, when, after the death of Edward Prince of Wales, the affair of the Succession came to be considered), whether the Beauforts were of the House of Lancaster, or not; as also whether King Richard the Second's Charter conferred on them any title to the Crown. Upon which we shall subjoin the observations of George Buck, who, though otherwise a writer of little weight, may be allowed to speak upon this subject, which concerns a matter of right, rather than of fact. After reciting the above-mentioned Charter, he goes on ' Here we find large Graces, Honours, and Privileges conferred upon these Beauforts; for the King calls them consanguineos suos, and not only confirms their legitimation, but makes them, by the help of the Parliament, capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all offices public and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of, and enjoy, all Feuds, as well noble as other, all lands and seignories hereditary, as lawfully, firmly, and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful matrimony; but yet confers no Royal title nor interest in the crown, at the least to the observation of those, who allow not the claim of the Beauforts and Somersets, and say, that, to reach that, there must be words of higher intent, words of Empire, Majesty, and Sovereignty; such as Regni summa Potestas, Corona, Sceptum, Diadema, Purpura, Majestas, and the like; neither of these, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, so no title to the Crown or Sovereignty could pass to them. To which the other side replies, that there is a word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and Sovereignty; that is, Principatus, whereof the King and Parliament make the Beauforts capable, Principatus being the State of Princes, a title of the most absolute sovereign power; for the Roman Emperors in their greatest height were called Principes; therefore Princeps is thus defined: Princeps est penes quem summa reipublicæ potestas est, et qui primus omnium dominatur; and Principatus and Dominatus are used as synonymies. But it is conceived an error now, to take Principatus for Regnum or Supremus Dominatus, being the word Principatus long before, and in the age of Richard II, also ever since, hath been restrained to the Estate of Primogenitus, and Heir Apparent, not only of Kings, but also of Dukes and Marquisses, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King, Henry IV, a wise, discreet, and wary Prince, tho' he was much inclined to these Beauforts (as being his natural brethren by the paternal side, and willing to advance them all he could), yet he discovered clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entailed the Crown successively to his four sons, and to the heirs of their bodies, that he reputed not the Beauforts to be Lancastrians, or near the Crown; neither is there the least clause or mention to leave any Remainder therein to them. First, he entailed the Crown to his eldest son Henry Prince of Wales; after him, to the heirs of his body: if they fail, then to Thomas of Lancaster his second son, and to the heirs of his body; so to his third son John of Lancaster, and to the heirs of his body. Lastly, to his fourth son Humphrey, and to the heirs of his body. The words are, post ipsum successivè hæredibus suis de ipsius corpore legitime procedendis; which is implicitly an express exclusion of the Beauforts (4). Our author adds in the margin, This Charter I saw in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and from it took these summary notes.

(4) George Buck's Life of Richard III, ubi supra.

[B] He was elected Bishop of Lincoln, in the room of John Buckingham, who resigned.] On occasion of this promotion, Godwin complains (5) of the tyranny exercised at that time by the court of Rome. He tells us, that the Popes not only appointed Bishops in England, but deprived them at pleasure; which they generally effected by translating persons, without their consent, to other Sees, from which it was well known they could reap little or no advantage. Thus Urban VI extorted the archbishopric of York from Alexander Nevill, whom he translated, whether he would or no,

(5) De Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Winton. an. 1405.

(c) Successio Decan. Wollenf. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacra. P. i. p. 589.

(d) Continuat. Hist. Winton. apud Wharton, ibid. p. 318.

(e) Aubery, Hist. Generale des Cardinaux, edit. Paris, 1643, Tom. II. p. 123, 124.

(f) Continuat. Hist. Winton. ubi supra.

(g) Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632, p. 303.

(h) Th. Walsingham, Chronic. edit. Lond. 1574, p. 396.

(i) Ibid. p. 406.

(j) Aubery, ubi supra.

(k) Continuat. Hist. Winton. ubi supra.

was Chancellor of the university of Oxford, and at the same time Dean of Wells (c). He was Lord High-Chancellor of England in 1404, the fifth of his brother Henry IV. The next year, he succeeded William of Wickham, by Papal provision, in the See of Winchester, and received the spiritualities from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Bishop of London's palace, the 18th of March. He was again Lord-Chancellor in 1414, the second of his nephew King Henry V (d). The same year, he went over one of the King's Embassadors into France, to demand in marriage, Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI (e) [C]. He was a third time Lord-Chancellor in 1417, the fifth of Henry V (f). The same year, he lent the King his nephew twenty thousand pounds (a prodigious sum in those days) towards carrying on his expedition against France [D], and had the crown in pawn as a security for the money (g). This year also he took a journey to the Holy Land; and in his way, being arrived at Constance, where was held a General Council, he exhorted the Prelates to union and agreement in the election of a Pope; and his remonstrances contributed not a little to hasten the preparations for the Conclave, in which Martin III was elected (h). We have no farther account of what happened to our Prelate in this expedition. In 1421, he had the honour to be god-father, jointly with John Duke of Bedford, and Jacqueline, Countess of Holland, to Prince Henry, eldest son of his nephew Henry V, and Catherine of France, afterwards Henry VI (i). M. Aubery pretends, that James, King of Scots, who had been several years a prisoner in England, owed his deliverance to the Bishop of Winchester, who prevailed with the government to set him free, on condition of his marrying his niece, the grand-daughter of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (k). This Prelate was one of King Henry Vth's guardians during his minority; and in 1424, the third of the young King's reign, he was a fourth time Lord-Chancellor of England (l). There were perpetual jealousies and quarrels between the Bishop of Winchester, and the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester [E], which ended in the ruin and death of the latter (m). Their dissensions began to appear publicly in the year 1425 (n), and rose to such an height [F], that Beaufort thought it necessary

(m) See the article of that Nobleman.

(n) Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 815.

to that of St Andrew's in Scotland, from which, receiving no benefit, he lived in extreme poverty. In the same manner, the same Pope deprived Thomas Merks of the See of Carlisle; and Alexander V turned out Lewis from that of Bangor, *trusting them* (says my author) *into certain shadowy Bishoprics* *. And Boniface IX intended to have translated John Buckingham to the See of Lichfield, to make room for Henry Beaufort; but that Prelate, to make the injury done him the more glaring and notorious, chose rather to be without both, and, abdicating the See of Lincoln, retired to the monastery of Canterbury, where he took the habit, and lived a Bishop without a Bishopric to the day of his death.

[C] He went over — into France, to demand in marriage Catherine the daughter of Charles VI.] A French writer, cited by M. Aubery (6), tells us, that this year, 1414, the Duke of York, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Somerset, the King's uncles, with some other persons of distinction, came to Paris, to demand the King's daughter Catherine for the King of England. They were splendidly entertained by the King at his palace of the Louvre; but received for answer, that his Majesty could not for the present take the affair into his consideration. The ambassadors being to return home, and knowing that King Henry's intent was to make a descent with a powerful army in Normandy, desired to be conducted to Harfleur, and from thence to embark for England; but their real design was to take a view of that town and its fortifications. We shall set down the original, because it wants a little correction. *Celui an vindrent à Paris, par sans-conduit, le Duc d'Yorb *, l'Archevesque de Vincerre, et le Comte † Dorsec, Oncles du Roy d'Angleterre, le Sire de Cornouaille, et autres Cheualiers Anglois, et Gens de Conseil, pour demander à auoir en mariage, pour ledit Roy d'Angleterre, Madame Katherine fille du Roy: lesquels Ambassadeurs furent moult grandement festoyez du Roy, en son Chastel du Louvre a Paris, et aussi Monseigneur de Berry en son Hostel de Neelle. Et fut donnee responce ausdits Ambassadeurs, que l'on ne pouoit entendre à cette matiere pour le present, et ainsi s'en retournerent. Et pour ce qu'ils scauoient que l'intention de leur Roy estoit de venir descendre en grande armee en Normandie, requierent qu'on les amenaist monter en mer à Harfleu pour aller en Angleterre. Mais le principal port estoit, pour regarder la ville, et comment elle estoit fortifiee.*

[D] He lent the King 20,000 £. towards his expedition against France.] In the month of May (Speed tells us) a Parliament was held at Westminster, whose chief intent was to have means to continue the

King's conquest in France; but such was the state of those lavish times, that, to stop the current of this melting mint, some, minding more the heaps of their money than the spreading abroad of England's faire monarchy, exhibited their bills unto the three Estates in Parliament, and petitioned the King to commiserate the poverty of the Commons, which (as they said) were beggered by these wars. For which cause, as it seemeth, no subsidy or ayde was demanded; but the King, pawning his Crown to his uncle Beaufort, the rich * Cardinal, for twenty thousand pounds, before the said month was expired, with foure thousand horse, and foure and twenty thousand foot, returned into France to follow those warres (7). Bifhop Godwin tells us, that King Henry V, a little before his death, having, by his continual and expensive wars, contracted large debts, began to cast his eyes upon the wealth of the Church, which was then arrived at it's highest pitch, and was even advised to supply his wants out of the spoils thereof. But the Bishop of Winchester, to stop this mischief in the birth, lent his nephew the above-mentioned sum out of his own pocket. *Henricus Quintus Rex, paulo ante exitum, per continua maximoque bella ere alieno ingenti contracto, in opes Ecclesie (quae id temporis ad summum pervenerant) oculos cepit conjicere: neque deerant permulti, qui ex spoliis ejusdem inopiam suam sublevaret, hortarentur. Quapropter Praesul hic noster, ut huic malo tum primum pullulanti obviam iret, viginti librarum millia ex suis loculis deprompta, nepoti Regi mutuo dedit (8).*

[E] There were perpetual jealousies and quarrels between the Bishop of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester.] The grounds of their dissension are not certainly known; whether it was that the Bishop of Winchester was disgusted at the preference given to the Duke of Gloucester in the government of the kingdom; or that the Duke conceived an aversion to the Bishop on account of his perpetually opposing the excess of authority he would annex to the office of Protector.

[F] Their dissensions — rose to such an height, &c.] About Michaelmas, 1425 (an historian writes), Peter Duke of Coimbra, eldest son of the King of Portugal, came into England, and finding a kind and generous entertainment from the Protector and Nobles, staid the whole year, to inform himself of the customs, and enjoy the pleasures of the country. In the time of his abode here, there happened a fierce and mighty quarrel between the Protector and the rich Bishop of Winchester, *Henry Beaufort*, the King's great uncle, the English Pope, who in his magnificence and grandeur seemed so much to out-

(*) The Historian thro' mistake anticipates the title of Cardinal, which was not conferred on Beaufort till the year 1426, nine years after the date of this Loan.

(7) Hist. of Great Britain, p. 803.

(8) Godwin, ubi supra.

(*) In umbraticos nescio quos episcopatus.

(6) Alain Chartier, Hist. de Charles VI. apud Aubery, Hist. Generale des Cardinaux, edit Paris, 1643, T. II. p. 124.

(*) It should be *ave que*.

(†) It should be *Somerfet*.

cessary to write a letter to his nephew the Duke of Bedford [G], Regent of France, desiring his presence in England, to accommodate matters between them. The Regent accordingly arriving in England the 20th of December (o), was met at his landing by the Bishop of Winchester with a numerous train (p), and soon after convoked an assembly of the Nobility at St Alban's [H], to hear and determine the affair. But the animosity on this occasion was so great on both sides, that it was thought proper to refer the decision to the Parliament, which was appointed to be held at Leicester the 25th of March following. The Parliament being met [I], the Duke of Gloucester produced six articles of accusation against the Bishop of Winchester, who put in his answers severally [K]; and a Committee

(o) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. Vol. X. p. 359.

(p) *Complete Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 352.

(*) He was not as yet the Pope's Legate.

to shine the Protector himself, though on the throne almost, that he drew his *Odium* and hatred upon him; which was so increased by the haughty spirit of the Bishop, who being the Protector's uncle, and the Pope's Legate (*), carried himself as if he were much above him both in nature and grace, that the Protector could not endure his pride; and so an implacable enmity grew between them, and great parties were raised on both sides for each other's defence, the Bishop's dependencies, money, and Church-power, making him able to contend with the Protector himself. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, interposed themselves to reconcile them, and were so zealous to heal this dangerous breach, that they went from the one to the other ten times in one day; but all proved to no purpose. No mediations could pacify the mind of the Protector; and Winchester would yield no farther than was becoming his place and state, though he was willing, for the good of the nation, that the difference might be composed without arms (9). M. Rapin relates (10), that the Duke of Gloucester, going one day to the Tower, was refused admittance by Richard Woodvile the governor, at the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester; and a French writer (*), cited by that historian, pretends the quarrel rose so high thereupon, that the Bishop was forced to take refuge in the Tower, and that five or six of his attendants were killed by those of the Duke. But this is not probable, since there was no mention made of it in their mutual complaints before the Parliament the year following.

(9) *Complete Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 351, 352. See the remark [K].

(10) *Hist. d'Angleterre*, sub an. 1425.

(*) Montrelet.

(11) Page 591.

[G] He wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford.] It is extant in Hollinshed's Chronicles (11), and is as follows.

(* Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right noble and after One, Leignst [Earthly] Lord. I recommend me unto you, [Your Grace] with all my heart. And as you desire the Welfare of the King our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France, your own Weal [Health] with all yours [with Ours also] haste you hither: For by my Troth, if [and] you tarry [long] we shall put this land in jeopardy [adventure] with a Feild; such a brother you have here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom well knoweth, that the Profit of France standeth in the Welfare of England, &c. The blessed Trinity keep you. Written in great haste at London on Allhallowen-Even. By your Servant to my Lives end.

(*) The words inclosed thus [] shew the difference of the copies of this Letter.

HENRY, Winchester.

This letter was sent over to the Regent by his chamberlain Sir Robert Butler.

[H] The Regent convoked an assembly of the nobility at St Alban's.] The Duke of Bedford had a nice affair upon his hands. If he had sided with the Duke his brother, as the ties of blood seemed to demand, he would have been a very improper person to discharge the office of mediator. And, besides the characters of brother and nephew, he had another to support, in order to act agreeably to his own duty and the just expectations of the people; namely, that of Protector, who ought to prefer the good of the State to the obligations of kindred. He therefore very judiciously threw the business off his own shoulders upon a general assembly of the Nobles.

[I] The Parliament being met, &c.] The meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, when it was usual for the Lords to come with great numbers of servants and attendants, and it being feared that the great trains of the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester might fall into open war one with another, if no restraint were laid upon them; it was therefore thought fit, that the King should strictly forbid any

person coming to it with swords or other warlike weapons: Which order, though it was literally observed, yet the Lords attendants came with *Bats*, or great clubs, on their shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called *The Parliament of Bats*; but this, as soon as it was taken notice of, was also prohibited (12).

[K] The Duke of Gloucester exhibited six articles against the Bishop of Winchester, who put in his answers severally.] As these articles were thought not unworthy the Parliament's notice, they may not be beneath the reader's perusal, and are as follows (13).

(12) *Complete Hist. of England*, ubi supra.

(13) See Hollinshed, p. 591. and *Complete Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 353.

ARTICLES of Accusation presented to the Parliament by the Duke of Gloucester, against Henry, Bishop of Winchester, with his ANSWERS to them severally.

I. That Richard Woodvile, Esq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did, by the instigation and encouragement of the said Bishop of Winchester, deny admittance to him the said Duke of Gloucester, then being Protector of the kingdom, into the Tower, contrary to reason and duty, and in derogation to the King's authority.

To this Article the Bishop answered, 'That while the Duke of Gloucester was gone into Hainault, it happened that many Pamphlets and Reports being dispersed up and down the city of London, tending to Rebellion, it was ordered by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, that Richard Woodvile, Esq; should, with a sufficient number of armed men, have the keeping of the Tower, and should not permit any man to come into the Tower stronger than himself, without the special commandment of the King, by the advice of his Council. After this strict charge, the Duke of Gloucester, returning out of Hainault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the citizens, who were dissatisfied at it, that had he been in England, it should not have been so; and immediately going to the Tower, demanded admittance; but Woodvile, not daring to give him entrance, came to the Bishop of Winchester for advice; who told him, that the Duke of Gloucester took upon him greater authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower, he ought to provide himself a sufficient warrant of the Council and King for his so doing, contrary to the former order.'

II. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester, without the advice and consent of my Lord Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty's Privy-Council, contrived and purposed to lay hands of his Majesty's person, and to have removed him from *Eltham*, the place he was then in, to *Windsor*, there to put him under the government of such persons as he pleased.

The Bishop's Answer to this Article was, 'That he never could propound to himself any advantage, by removing the King, or taking him into his custody or charge; nor did ever intend to meddle with any thing about the King's person, without the advice of the Privy-Council, as in time and place he could prove.'

III. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester, knowing that the Duke of Gloucester had resolved to prevent his design of seizing the King's person at *Eltham*, laid wait for him, by placing armed men at the end of London-Bridge, and in the windows of the chambers and cellars in Southwark to have killed him, if he had passed that way; all which is against the King's peace, and duty of a true subject.

Committee appointed for that purpose having examined the allegations, the Bishop was acquitted [L]. The Duke of Bedford however, to give some satisfaction to the Protector, took away the Great-seal from his uncle (q). Two years after, the Duke of Bedford, returning into France, was accompanied to Calais by the Bishop of Winchester (r), who, on the 25th of March, received there with great solemnity, in the church of Our Lady, the Cardinal's hat [M], with the title of *St Eusebius*, sent him by Pope Martin V (s). In September 1428, the new Cardinal returned into England, with the character of the *Pope's Legate* lately conferred on him; and in his way to London, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and the principal citizens on horse-back, who conducted him with great honour and respect to his lodgings in Southwark (t). But he was forced for the present to waive his Legantine power, being forbid the exercise of it by a proclamation published in the King's name [N]. Cardinal Beaufort was appointed, by the Pope's bull, bearing date March 25, 1427-8 (u), his Holiness's Legate in Germany, and General of the Crusade against the Hussites, or Heretics of Bohemia [O]. Having communicated the

Pope's

(q) M. Rapin, *Ann Regia*, translated into English, Lond. 1726, Vol. II. p. 258.

(r) Polyd. Vergil, *Hist. Angl.* l. xxiii. p. 594, edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(s) Aubery, ubi supra, p. 125.

(t) *Complete Hist. of England*, ib. p. 360.

(u) Rymer's *Fœdora*, &c. ib. p. 414.

The Bishop's defence to this heavy charge was this; That true indeed it is, that he did provide a certain number of armed men, and set them at the foot of London-Bridge, and other places, without any intention to do any bodily harm to the Duke of Gloucester, but merely for his own safety and defence; being informed by several credible persons, that my Lord Duke of Gloucester had purposed bodily harm to him, and gathered together a company of citizens for that end.

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, that when he was Prince, a man was seized in his chamber, who was hid behind the hangings, and confessed, after his apprehension, that he was set at work by the Bishop of Winchester to kill the Prince in his bed. He was delivered to the Earl of Arundel, who drowned him in a sack in the Thames.

To this Accusation the Bishop replied, 'That he was ever a true and faithful subject to his Sovereigns, and never purposed or contrived any treason against any of their persons, and especially against his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was sufficiently evident to any that considered the great wisdom and courage of the said King; and the great trust he reposed in him so long as he remained King, which he would not have done, had he found him guilty of such unfaithfulness to him while he was Prince.'

V. That the Bishop of Winchester, in the sickness of King Henry the Fourth, advised his son Prince Henry to assume the government of the nation before his father's death, as the said Prince himself told him.

The Bishop replied, 'That this was meer calumny, which could not be proved; and he hoped the Parliament would appoint them judges, that he might vindicate his honour, or else leave him to sue out his right before suitable judges.'

VI. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester had, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, plainly declared his malicious purpose of assembling the people, and stirring up a Rebellion in the nation, contrary to the King's peace.

The Bishop's Answer to this Accusation was, 'That he never had any intention to disturb the peace of the nation, or raise any Rebellion, but sent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haste, to settle all things that were prejudicial to the peace; and though he had indeed written in the letter, that if he carried, we shall put the land in adventure by a field, such a brother ye have here, he did not mean it of any design of his own, but concerning the seditious assemblies of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers, and Plasterers, who being distastful by the late Act of Parliament against excessive wages of those trades, had given out many seditious speeches and menaces against the Great Men, which tended much to Rebellion; and yet the Duke of Gloucester did not use his endeavour, as he ought to have done in his place, to suppress such unlawful assemblies, so that he feared the King and his good subjects must have made a field to withstand them; to prevent which he chiefly desired the Duke of Bedford to come over.'

[L] *The Bishop was acquitted.*] The Committee, appointed by the Parliament for examining the Allegations and Answers, were, Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Exeter, John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Bishop of Durham, Philip Bishop of Worcester, John Bishop of Bath and Wells, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, Ralph Lord Cornwall, and Mr Alnwick, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; who, having thoroughly examined all the matters, acquitted the Bishop of Winchester, and by a formal award enjoined the two Princes to be firm friends for the future; and by such inducements wrought upon them, that they shook hands, and parted with all outward signs of perfect love and agreement; which gave mighty satisfaction to all people, both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King, by the advice of his Council, made a magnificent feast at Whitfuntide, to rejoice for this happy reconciliation (14). Speed tells us (15), the Duke and the Bishop swore friendship, the one upon his princeness, and the other upon his priest-hood.

[M] *He received — the Cardinal's Hat.*] The late King Henry V opposed Beaufort's promotion to the dignity of a Cardinal as long he lived; but in this reign, the King being very young, and the Duke of Bedford his friend, he was at liberty to obtain his ambitious purpose. The Regent staid some time at Calais to see the ceremony of his uncle's Inauguration; which being over, that Prince, taking the new Cardinal by his right hand, conveyed him with great respect to his lodging, and there entertained him, and the Lords with him, at a magnificent banquet (16).

[N] *He was forbid to exercise the Legantine power, by a proclamation published in the King's name.*] His return with such an increase of dignity and power was not at all pleasing to the Duke of Gloucester, who, as soon as he heard he was landed, caused a Proclamation to be published in the King's name, declaring, that *Whereas the Most Christian King Henry VI, and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore possessed time out of mind with a special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm, from time to time, that no Legate from the Apostolic See shall enter this land, or any of the King's dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Request, Invitation, or Desire of the King; and forasmuch as Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal of St Eusebius, hath presumed to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called nor desired by the King; therefore the King, by his Procurator Richard Caudray, doth protest, by this instrument, that it standeth not with the King's mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratify, the coming of the said Legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights and customs of this realm, or to allow and assent to any exercise of his Legantine power, or to any Acts attempted by him, contrary to the said laws (17).*

[O] *He was appointed — the Pope's Legate — against the Hussites, or Heretics of Bohemia.*] These Heretics, as they were called, having thrown off their subjection to the Pope, not only fortified themselves in Bohemia, but began to make war upon their neighbours. Whereupon Pope Martin V sent Embassadors into Germany, to stir up the Catholic Princes against them, and at the same time appointed Cardinal Beaufort his Legate, granting him a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues in England for the maintenance of the forces he should raise (18). In the Bull for this purpose, his Holiness implored him by the wounds of Christ,

(14) *Complete History of England*, ib. p. 354.

(15) Ubi supra, p. 305.

(16) *Complete History*, &c. ib. p. 355.

(17) Fox's *Acts and Monuments*. p. 649.

(18) Polyd. Vergil, *Hist. Angl.* l. xxiii. p. 604, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

Pope's intentions to the Parliament, he obtained a grant of money, and a considerable body of forces, under certain restrictions [P]. But, just as he was preparing to embark, the Duke of Bedford having sent to demand a supply of men for the French war, it was resolved in Council, that Cardinal Beaufort should serve under the Regent [Q], with the troops of the Crusade, to the end of the month of December, on condition they should not be employed in any siege (w). The Cardinal complied, tho' not without reluctance, and accordingly joined the Duke of Bedford at Paris (x). After a stay of forty-five days in France [R], he marched into Bohemia, where he conducted the Crusade [S], till he was recalled by the Pope [T], and Cardinal Julian sent in his place with a larger army (y). The next year, 1430, the Cardinal accompanied King Henry into France (z), being invested with the title of the King's *Principal Counsellor* (a), and had the honour to perform the ceremony of crowning the young monarch in the church of *Nôtre Dame* at Paris (b); where he had some dispute with James du Chastellier, the Archbishop, who claimed the right of officiating on that occasion (c). During his stay in France, he stood godfather to the Duke of Burgundy's son. He was present at the Congress of Arras for concluding a peace between the Kings of England and France, and had a conference for that purpose with the Dukes of Burgundy, between Calais and Gravelines; which had no effect, and was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence [U], who came thither with a most splendid train (d). In the mean time the Duke of Gloucester took advantage in England of the Cardinal's absence to give him fresh mortification. For first, having represented to the Council, that the Bishop of Winchester intended to leave the King, and come back into England, to resume his seat in Council, in order to excite new troubles in the kingdom,

(w) *Ib.* p. 422.

(x) Polyd. Vergil, ubi supra, p. 604.

(y) *Ib.* p. 605.

(z) Polyd. Vergil, *ib.* p. 608.

(a) Rapin, *Anna Regia*, ubi supra, p. 260.

(b) Polyd. Vergil, *ibid.*

(c) Aubery, ubi supra, p. 126.

(d) *Ib.* *ib.* p. 127.

(24) Ubi supra, p. 604, 605.

Christ, his zeal for the Church, and as he tendered his own salvation, to contribute his utmost assistance to extirpate those Heretics, who had so long withstood the Emperor and other Princes of Europe (19). The Cardinal had also some unusual powers in his commission; for he was allowed to relax the customary penance of those who had debauched Nuns; to dispense with matrimony in the fourth degree of consanguinity; to confer orders and benefices under the age prescribed by the Canons; and, in short, to supersede the discipline and constitutions of the Church in several other instances (20). M. Rapin conjectures (21), that the Pope might have another view besides that of extirpating Heretics. As he was inclined to favour King Charles of France, he might hope to weaken England by drawing from thence money and troops under pretence of a Crusade.

[P] *The Parliament granted him a sum of money, and a considerable body of forces, under certain restrictions.* The conditions, upon which the Cardinal's petition was granted, are dated at *Westminster, June 18, 1429* (22). These were the chief: That the money, which the King's subjects give for the service of the Crusade, shall be raised by commissioners to be appointed by the King: That the Gold and Silver shall not be carried out of the Realm, but employed in merchandize: That the Cardinal shall raise in all but 250 Spear-men, and 2500 Bow-men, including therein all that are inclined to serve without pay: That the Pope shall impose no tax for this cause, either upon the Laity or Clergy, but shall be content with every person's voluntary contribution: That, before the departure of the troops, sufficient security be given to the Council for their return: That it shall be said expressly in the Proclamation of the Crusade, that the same is published by the consent of the King: That the person, who is to command those troops, as also all the officers, shall have their commissions from the King: That, in case the Crusade does not take place, the money received of the subjects shall be converted to no use, which has not the King's express approbation. All these articles are plainly so many precautions against the pretensions of the Popes, and to prevent the abuses of former Crusades.

[Q] *It was resolved* — that the Cardinal should serve under the Regent.] The CONVENTION between the King and the Cardinal, by which the latter engaged to serve six months in France, with the troops raised for the Crusade, under the command of the Duke of Bedford, is dated at *Rocheber, July 1, 1429* (23). This shews that the Cardinal did not go to Germany till the year 1430, at the soonest; though Mechovius, and after him Spondanus, say he went thither in 1428. This mistake seems to have arisen from the date of Martin the Fifth's Bull, appointing the Cardinal of Winchester his Legate; which was dated March 25, 1427-8, but was not received by the Cardinal till June, 1429.

[R] *He staid forty-five days in France.* Polydore

Vergil informs us (24), that the Duke of Bedford, being joined by the forces under Cardinal Beaufort, resolved to hazard a general battle, and for that purpose marched against the enemy; but finding that King Charles declined as much as possible coming to an engagement, he returned with his army to Paris, and the Cardinal was at liberty to pursue his intended expedition.

[S] *He conducted the Crusade.* The author last cited tells us (25), the Cardinal did signal service to the Christian (he should have said the *Papal*) cause, during the few months he continued in Bohemia, and that he behaved with great gallantry in that Holy war. *Quo ubi pervenit, cum omnia flagrare bello reperisset, rem Christianam pro virili parte fortiter juvare cepit, mansitque in Boemis aliquot per menses. — Ac ita Henricus, post egregiam sacro bello enervatam operam, domum incolumis rediit.* M. Aubery represents the success of this expedition very differently. He tells us (26), the Germans raised three bodies of forces under the command of the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Archbishop of Treves; which entering Bohemia at three different places were attacked and put to flight by the Bohemians; and that Cardinal Beaufort coming up, endeavoured in vain to rally them, and was forced to retreat with them, to avoid being taken prisoner.

[T] *He was recalled by the Pope*] This circumstance seems to confirm M. Aubery's account of the Cardinal's ill success in the Bohemian war. But it is not true, what that author adds (27), that he immediately returned into England, and raised fresh forces for the carrying on that war; which, instead of employing against the enemies of the Holy Sec, he turned against the King of France; and that the Pope thereupon wrote to him sharply, reproaching him for undertaking a Crusade against the first kingdom of Christendom. For it does not appear, that there was a second levy of troops in England for that Crusade; and, if there were, yet the Cardinal's serving in France evidently belongs to the first expedition.

[U] *The conference was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence.* The old French writer (28), cited by M. Aubery (29), tells us, the English came with great pomp, and very richly dressed; and particularly the Cardinal of Winchester had ordered several rich tents and pavillions finely adorned to be brought thither, and a great quantity of gold and silver plate; and that he gave a most splendid entertainment to the Dukes of Burgundy, his great niece. *Et quant est aux Anglois, ils y estoient venus en grande pompe et bou-bant, et moult richement habillez. Et par dessus ledit Cardinal de Winchester y avoit fait venir de moult riches tentes et paillions bien parez et aornez, et de tout ce qui y faillloit tant de vaisselle d'or et d'argent, comme d'autres besonges necessaires et delectables. Et fist à la dite Duchesse sa belle niece moult joyeuse chiere et reception, et la festoya tres-honorablement.*

[W] *The*

(19) *Complete Hist. of England*, *ib.* p. 362.

(20) Duck, in *Vita Archiep.* Chicheley, p. 38.

(21) *Hist. d'Angleterre*, liv. xii. sub an. 1429.

(22) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. *ib.* p. 419, 420.

(23) *Ib.* p. 427.

(25) *Ibid.*

(26) Ubi supra, p. 126.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Monstrelet.*

(29) Ubi supra, p. 127.

dom, and that his intentions were the more criminal, in that he made use of the Pope's authority to free himself from the obligations of assisting the King in France; he procured an Order of Council forbidding all the King's subjects of what condition soever to accompany the Cardinal, if he should leave the King, without express permission (e). The next step the Protector took against him, was an attempt to deprive him of his bishopric, as inconsistent with the dignity of Cardinal [W]; but the affair having been a long time debated in Council, it was resolved that the Cardinal should be heard, and the Judges consulted, before any decision (f). Being returned into England, he thought it necessary to take some precaution against these repeated attacks. Wherefore he prevailed with the King, thro' the intercession of the Commons, to grant him letters of pardon for all offences by him committed contrary to the statute of *Provisors*, and other acts of *Præmunire*. This pardon is dated at *Westminster*, July 19, 1432 (g). Five years after, he procured another pardon under the Great-Seal for all sorts of crimes whatever, from the creation of the world to the 26th of July, 1437 (h). Notwithstanding these precautions, the Duke of Gloucester, in 1442, drew up articles of impeachment against the Cardinal [X], and presented them with his own hands to the King, desiring that judgment might pass upon him according to his crimes. The King referred the matter to his Council; which, being composed chiefly of ecclesiastical persons, and consequently inclined to favour the Cardinal, deferred the examination thereof so long, that the Protector, grown weary of their delays, let fall the prosecution, and so the Cardinal escaped (i). This famous Prelate died the 11th of June, 1447 (k); having survived the Duke of Gloucester not above a month, of whose murder he was suspected to have been one of the contrivers. It is said, he expressed great impatience and uneasiness of mind at the approach of death, and died in a

(e) Rymer's *Fœd.*
&c. id. p. 472.

(f) Rapin. *Hist.*
d'Angleterre, liv.
xii. *sub an.* 1431.

(g) Rymer, *ib.*
p. 516.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 670.

(i) *Complete Hist.*
of England, *ib.*
p. 390, 391.

(k) *Contin. Hist.*
Winton. ubi *supra*.

fort

[W] *The Protector attempted to deprive him of his Bishopric, as inconsistent with the dignity of Cardinal*] There is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (30) the petition of the King's Attorney-General, praying that the Cardinal of Winchester may be deprived of his Bishopric, dated November the 6th, 1431. He supported his demand by the examples of Simon Langham and Robert Kilwardi, formerly Archbishops of Canterbury, who, being made Cardinals, did thereupon resign the Archbishopric. It appears likewise by this petition, that the Cardinal had obtained of the court of Rome an exemption from the Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction, for himself, for the city, and for the whole diocese of Winchester. And this was what the Duke of Gloucester made a handle of against him, in order to convince the Council of the inconveniency there was in permitting Cardinals to enjoy Bishoprics in England.

(30) Tom. X.
p. 497.

[X] *He was impeached by the Protector.*] The impeachment consisted of fourteen Articles (31), as follows:

(31) *See Complete Hist.*
of England, *ib.* p.
390.

I. That the Bishop of Winchester had not only taken upon himself the dignity and title of a Cardinal, contrary to the express command of King Henry the Fifth, and in derogation to the Church of Canterbury: But,

II. Having forfeited his Bishopric thereby by the Act of Provisions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to secure his Bishopric still to him, contrary to the laws of the realm, which made it *Præmunire* so to do.

III. That the said Cardinal, with John Kemp, Archbishop of York, had assumed the government of the King's person and the realm, which no subject could do without a treasonable usurpation.

IV. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King of his jewels. — This article, probably, was founded upon Beaufort's taking the Crown in pawn for the 20,000 *l.* he lent King Henry V.

V. That being Chancellor of England, he had against Law set at liberty the King of Scots, and forgiven him part of his ransom upon condition the said King should marry his niece.

VI. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King by taking the customs of wool, and other merchandizes, at the Port of Southampton. — Probably, he repaid himself this way the sums he had lent the King.

VII. That notwithstanding the said Cardinal neither hath, nor can have, any title to the Crown, yet he presumeth to take upon him the Royal Dignity, in

summoning and calling persons before him, in derogation of the King's authority, being without his permission or command. — This article must refer to the Cardinal's behaviour in quality of the Pope's Legate.

VIII. That the said Cardinal had obtained a pardon from Rome, to exempt his diocese from paying of tenths to the State, and so had given both an ill example to the other Bishops to do the like, and laid the whole burthen upon the Laity, to the great discontent of the kingdom.

IX. That the said Cardinal had been a means of uniting the French and the Duke of Burgundy, and this latter with the Duke of Orleans, to the great damage of the Realm, and benefit of our adversaries the French.

X. That the said Cardinal, after communication had with our enemies, sent the Archbishop of York to the King, to persuade him to quit his right and title to the Crown and kingdom of France for certain years, and be content with writing himself *Rex Angliæ*, &c. to the great disgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the release of the Duke of Orleans was brought to pass only by the mediation and procurement of the said Cardinal and the Duke of York, contrary to the will of King Henry the Fifth.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had, instead of promoting the good of the King, bought his lands and manors of him.

XIII. That the said Cardinal, by sending such Captains and Soldiers into France as he thought fit, hath been the cause that so much of Normandy and other parts are lost.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath sold commissions of Captains and other officers for money in France, whereby unfit persons have been put into the army, to the loss of the King's dominions there.

It is said the Duke of Gloucester was extremely incensed against Cardinal Beaufort for instigating (as was generally thought) certain persons to accuse and prosecute his Dukes for treason, witchcraft, and other notorious crimes; and that revenge for this injury put him upon taking a strict review of that Prelate's conduct for many years past, and of drawing up the above-recited articles; which amounted to no less than a charge of high-treason, and which, the Protector maintained, could not come within the intention of the Amnesties heretofore granted him by the King.

[Y] *H*

fort of despair [Y]. He lies buried under a fair monument on the south side of the high altar of the cathedral church of Winchester [Z]. Godwin tells us (l), that Cardinal Beaufort, in his youth, had a daughter named Jane, by Alice the daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury; whom he afterwards gave in marriage to Sir Edward Stradling of Glamorganhire. He left an immense sum by will to pious and charitable uses, particularly (if Harpsfield is to be believed) 400,000 l. * to the prisons of London. He ordered ten thousand masses to be said for his soul. He distributed two thousand marks to the poorer tenants of the bishopric, and forgave the rest all that was due to him at the time of his death (m). Besides these benefactions, he founded a hospital near that of St Cross at Winchester, and settled an estate upon it of 158 l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum, according to the then valuation of money, besides the lands belonging to the college of Fordinbridge, for the maintenance of a master, two Chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three nurseries (n). He left to almost every cathedral church and monastery in England, jewels and plate of a considerable value, and particularly to the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean, 283 ounces of gilt plate, and 148 l. in money (o). He is usually distinguished by the title of *The rich Cardinal of Winchester*; but in our publick records, he is every where stiled *The Cardinal of England*, doubtless because he was of Royal extraction. Tho' the generality of our historians give Beaufort the character of an ambitious, haughty, and turbulent Prelate, yet they seem to agree, that by his death the King lost one of his faithfulest and best counsellors, and that the state of affairs from that time grew every day worse and worse (p).

(l) Ubi supra.
(*) cccc Librarum milia. There must be some mistake in this account, the sum being incredibly large, whether we consider it in itself, or with respect to its application.
(m) Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. edit. Duaci, 1622, p. 643.
(n) Godwin, ubi supra.
(o) Continuat. Hist. Winton. ibid.
(p) Polyd. Vergil, ubi supra, p. 627. & Harpsfield, ubi supra.

(32) Hist. Eccles. edit. Duaci 1622, p. 643, 644.

[Y] He died in a sort of despair.] Harpsfield tells us (32), that in his last sickness, being confined to his bed, he uttered such complaints as these: *And must I then dye? Will not all my riches save me? I could purchase the kingdom, if that would prolong my life. What! is there no bribing of death? When my nephew the Duke of Bedford died, I thought my happiness and my authority greatly increased; but the Duke of Gloucester's death raised me in fancy to a level with Kings, and I thought of nothing but accumulating still greater wealth, to purchase at last the triple crown. Alas! how are my hopes disappointed! Wherefore, O my friends, let me earnestly beseech you to pray for me, and recommend my departing soul to God.* Cum enim ex suprema ægritudine lecto affigeretur, ad hunc modum questus fertur. Cur ego tantis tandem copiis accumulata affluens, supremum diem obirem? Si vel ipsum regnum vitam meam redimere veleret, aut ingenio illud, aut pecunia comparare possem. Quid! An pecunia ad depellendam mortem nullas habet vires? Cum nepos meus Bedfordiensis Dux fato sanctus esset, putabam magnam felicitati et auctoritati meæ accessionem adjunctam; at post Glocestrensis obitum, parem me etiam regibus censebam, majoresque accumulare opes cogitabam, ut triplici illa tandem tiara pontificia potirem. Sed video insigniter me circumventum. Quare à vobis postulo, ut egressuram animam Deo vestris precibus commendetis. Next to the Historians, let us set down the Poet's description of Cardinal Beaufort's death, which is painted in such lively colours, that the reader, I am sure, will not be displeas'd with the length of the citation.

SCENE the Cardinal's Bed-chamber (33).

Enter King Henry, Salisbury, and Warwick, to the Cardinal in bed.

K. Henry. How fares my Lord? Speak, Beaufort, to thy Sovereign.

Card. If thou best death, I'll give thee England's treasure,

Enough to purchase such another Island,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.

K. Henry. Ah! what a sign it is of evil life,
Where death's approach is seen so terrible!

War. Beaufort, it is thy Sovereign speaks to thee.

Card. Bring me unto my tryal, when you will.

Dy'd he * not in his bed? where shou'd he dye?

Can I make men live whe're they will or no?

Oh, torture me no more, I will confess —

Alive again? then shew me, where he is:

I'll give a thousand pound to look upon him —

He hath no eyes, the dust hath blinded them:

Comb down his hair; look! look! it stands upright

Like lime-twigs set to catch my winged soul:

Give me some drink, and bid th' Apothecary

Bring the strong poison that I bought of him.

K. Henry. O thou Eternal Mover of the Heav'ns,

Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch;

Oh, beat away the busie, meddling, fiend,

That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul,

And from his bosom purge this black despair.

War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.

Sal. Disturb him not, let him pass peaceably.

K. Henry. Peace to his Soul, if God's good pleasure be!

Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on Heaven's bliss,

Lift up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.

— He dies, and makes no sign. — O God forgive him.

War. So bad a death argues a monstrous life.

K. Henry. Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.

Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close,

And let us all to meditation.

[Z] He lies buried — in the cathedral church of Winchester.] Nothing remains of the inscription on his tomb, but the following words (34):

TRIBULARES SI NESCIREM MISERICORDIAS TUAS.

T

(34) Godwin, ubi supra.

(33) Shakespear's Second Part of King Henry VI. Act. III. Scene vi.

BEAUFORT (JOAN) Queen of Scotland, was the eldest daughter of John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, (son of John of Gaunt) by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holand Earl of Kent (a); and niece to the famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St Eusebius, and Bishop of Winchester. The time and place of her birth are unknown. In February 1423 she was married, with great solemnity, in the church of St Mary Overrey in Southwark, to James the First, King of Scotland (b), who had been prisoner in England ever since the thirtieth of March 1404 [A]. Her portion was forty thousand marks.

(a) Sandford's Genealogie. History, with S. Strebbling's Continuat. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 325.

(b) Ibid. Hollinshed's Chron. edit. 1537, Vol. II. p. 587.

[A] James I, King of Scotland, who had been prisoner in England ever since March 30, 1404.] The manner of his being taken, and the reason of his being

detained prisoner, in England, were very cruel, and extremely dishonourable to the English court. His father, Robert III, King of Scotland, being a weak man,

(c) Buchanan and D. Scott's Hist. of Scotland, ed. Westminster, fol. 1728, p. 226.

(d) Sandford, &c. ubi supra.

(e) Scott, ubi supra.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Idem. p. 227, 228.

(h) Ibid. p. 228.

(i) Ibid. p. 232.

(k) Sandford, ubi supra.

(l) Royal Genealogies, &c. by J. Anderson, Lond. 1732, p. 744.

marks (c). This match was procured by her uncle, the Bishop of Winchester above-mentioned, in order to strengthen and support his family by an alliance with the kingdom of Scotland (d). She set out, with the King her husband, for Scotland, in March 1423, being attended as far as Berwick by her father, and her uncle the Cardinal; and, on the twentieth of that month, arrived at Edinburgh (e). She was crowned with him the twenty-second of May 1424 (f). Through her merciful intercession with the King in 1427, she saved the life of Alexander Lord of the Isles, who had committed some acts of hostility; and in 1431, that of Archibald Earl of Douglas, who was suspected of treason (g). The sixteenth day of October 1430, she was delivered at Stirling of two sons at one birth; which were baptized by the names of Alexander and James. Alexander died young, but James lived to succeed his father (h). In the year 1437, she received an information of a conspiracy forming against the King her husband's life; upon which, she went post to him to Roxburgh, and informed him thereof (i). But, notwithstanding her precaution, the King was most cruelly murdered in the Dominican's abbey at Perth, by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle [B], on the twenty-first of February, 1436-7, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and was buried in the Charter-House at Perth, which he had founded. When the ruffians rushed into the room, the Queen, to her everlasting honour, so long shrowded the King from the assassins with her own body, that she received two wounds before she could be drawn off him. — She married to her second husband James Stewart, called the Black Knight, son to the Lord of Lorne, and dying in the year 1446, was buried at Perth, near the King her first husband (k). By her second husband, she had a son, named John, who was afterwards Earl of Athol (l).

man, and entirely governed by his ambitious and haughty brother, the Duke of Albany, who aspired to the Crown, and had starved to death the eldest Prince, David; the King resolved to put his younger son Prince James, out of that treacherous man's power, by sending him into France to be educated, and accordingly put him on board a vessel. The young Prince falling near the coast of Norfolk, and finding himself sea sick, went on shore for refreshment. But he was no sooner landed, than seized by some mariners of Clay, and brought to the King (*), who was so cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch Prince deliver King Henry a letter from the King his father, in case any accident should oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only answered with a poor jest, telling him, There was no occasion to go to Paris to learn French, for he understood it himself, and would teach it him (1). The King of Scotland dying soon after, the Duke of Albany, and the other Regents of that kingdom, found it too much for their advantage to have the young King kept at a distance from his dominions, to attempt to ransom him; though they sent, for form-sake, Embassadors almost every year under pretence of soliciting his liberty (2). On the third of August 1413, he was removed from the Tower to Windsor castle (3): And in 1416 had leave to go and spend some time in his own kingdom, having given security for his return. Accordingly he came back; and in 1419 accompanied King Henry V into France, in order to send back 7000 Scots, that assisted the French there against the English, but they refused to obey his orders. At length, troubles arising in Scotland about the year 1423, the States of that kingdom agreed to send Embassadors, to treat of their King's ransom: And he was accordingly set at liberty, upon engaging to pay forty thousand pounds, namely, 10,000 marks within six months after

his return to Scotland, and 10,000 marks every year till the whole was paid (4). But, in consideration of his marriage, 10,000 marks of that sum were abated (5). Though King Henry used him extremely ill, in barbarously imprisoning him, against all law and equity; yet it must be owned, that he took care to give him a princely education, and by procuring him the best masters in all sciences, rendered him a very accomplished person (6).

[B] He was most cruelly murdered ——— by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle.] This Walter was King Robert the second's eldest son by his second marriage, and was a most cruel, wicked, and subtle man. Having been told by a wizard, 'That before his death, he should be crowned in a great 'concourse of people,' he formed the project of taking off the King by poison, in order to seize his crown. But the plot being discovered, and the King having left suddenly, upon that account, the siege of Roxburgh, in which he was engaged, and repaired to Perth, where he lodged himself in the Dominicans abbey, near the walls of the town, for the safety of his person; Walter determined to murder him that very night: For that purpose he bribed one of the King's domestic servants, who gave him and his accomplices admittance into the King's chamber, where they executed their villainous design. But Walter was most severely punished, during three days, for his most detestable crime. The first day he had his body all disjointed by an engine fixed on a cart. The second day, he was put upon an high pillory like a throne, and had a red hot iron crown put on his head, with this motto, *The King of all Traitors*. The third day, he was dragged through the streets on a hurdle, bowelled, beheaded, and then quartered (7).

(4) Ibid. p. 307, 322, &c.

(5) Ibid.

(6) D. Scott, ubi supra, p. 222.

(7) Buchanan, and Scott's Hist. of Scotl. p. 232, 233.

(*) King Henry IV.

(1) Walsingham, Hist. Angliæ, edit. Francofurti, 1603, fol. p. 375. Buchanan. Rapin's Hist. of England, fol. edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. 498, 499.

(2) See Rymet's Fœdera, &c. Vol. IX. p. 5, 6, 45, 71, 79, 113, 125, 143, 417, 418, 591, 913.

(3) Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(a) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogie, H. A. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 28.

(b) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 223. Her father died May 27, 1444, and she was then three years old, ibid. Fuller's Hist. of Cambr. p. 94.

B E A U F O R T (MARGARET) the foundress of Christ's and St John's colleges in Cambridge, was the only daughter and heir of John Beaufort [A], Duke of Somerset, (grandson of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster) and of Margaret Beauchamp his wife (a). She was born at Bletshoe in Bedfordshire [B], in the year 1441 (b). About the fifteenth year of her age, she was married to Edmund of Haddam Earl of Richmond, by whom she had a son named Henry, who was afterwards King, by the title of HENRY VII (c). Some time after, she took for her second husband Sir Henry Stafford, second son to Henry Duke of Buckingham, by whom she had no children. He dying about the year 1481 (d). She had for her third husband Thomas Lord Stanley afterwards Earl of Derby,

(c) Dugdale, ubi supra. Her husband died Novemb. 3, 1456, leaving his son but fifteen weeks old, p. 237.

(d) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 248. Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 678.

(1) Page 9, edit. Lond. 1708, 8vo. By T. Baker, B.D.

[A] Daughter and heir of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.] Bishop Fisher, in his funeral sermon upon her, says (1), 'That, what by lynage, what by affinite, she had thirty Kings and Queens, within the four degree of marriage unto her; besides Erles, Markyses, Dukes, and Princes.'

[B] She was born at Bletshoe in Bedfordshire.] Her mother was the daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletshoe, Kt. and sister and heir to John Beauchamp. She had been first married to Sir Oliver St John of Bletshoe, Kt. (2) as she was, after the Duke of Somerset's decease, married a third time to Leonard Lord Wells.

(2) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealog. Hist. p. 327. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 123.

(e) *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 249.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *General Chronicle*, edit. 1631, fol. p. 487.

(h) *The funeral Sermon of Margaret Countess of Richmond, &c.* by Bishop Fisher, reprinted at Lond. 1708, 8vo, p. 5.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(l) *Preface to that Funeral Sermon*, p. vii. and *A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 32.

(m) *Preface*, as above, p. viii.

(n) *Dugdale's Baron.* Vol. II. p. 237.

(o) *Preface to the Sermon*, as above, p. xi. *J. Caii Histor. Cantabr. Acad. L. i. p. 73—77.* *T. Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr.* p. 90—96. *R. Parker's Hist. of Cambridge.*

Derby, who had no issue by her (e): He died in the year 1504 (f). This good and pious lady performed, all her life-time, so many noble acts, and charitable deeds, that, as Stow expresses it (g); they cannot be expressed in a small volume. Avarice she hated (h), and therefore was daily dispensing all suitable relief and assistance to the distressed and the indigent. In particular, she kept constantly in her house twelve poor people, whom she provided with lodging, victuals, and clothes (i). She was also a mother to the Students in both the universities, and a Patroness to all the learned men of England (k). And she manifested her great regard for them, by her munificent foundations for the encouragement of learning. For, on the eighth of September 1502, she instituted two perpetual publick Lectures in Divinity, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge (l); each of which she endowed with twenty marks a year [C]. In 1504, Octob. 30, she founded a perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge, with a salary of ten pounds a year [D], whose duty was, to preach at least six sermons every year, at several churches (specified in the foundation) in the dioceses of London, Ely, and Lincoln (m). She also founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne-minster in Dorsetshire [E], for one Priest to teach Grammar freely, to all that would come, while the world should endure (n), with a stipend of ten pounds a year. But her noblest foundations were, the colleges of Christ, and St John, in Cambridge: The former, founded in the year 1505 (o), for one Master, twelve Fellows, and forty-seven Scholars [F]: The latter in the year 1508, for a master, and fifty Fellows and Scholars [G]. But this being just begun, or rather only designed, before her decease; was completed and finished by her executors, the chief of whom was John Fisher Bishop of Rochester. The charter of foundation bears date April 9, 1511 (p). And the college was opened July 29, 1516 (q). The worthy founders was eminent not only for her charity, but also for her exemplary piety, according to the manner of those superstitious times [H]. And after having lived sixty-eight years, an ornament to her sex, and a publick benefit to mankind, she departed this life at Westminster the twenty-ninth of June 1509, in the first year of her grandson King Henry the VIIth's reign (r); and was buried in the fourth-isle of the beautiful chapel, erected by her son King Henry VII, adjoining to Westminster-Abbey. Her monument, of black marble and touch-stone, is yet extant and entire; whereon lies her effigies of gilt copper, in robes doubled with ermine, and the head encircled with a coronet (s). Round the verge, on a fillet of brass, is an inscription (given in the note [I] below) which, as we are informed (t), was composed by the most renowned Erasmus.

(p) *Preface to Fun. Sermon*, as above, p. xxxiii.

(q) *Ibid.* p. xlix. See also at the end of the book, p. 43.

(r) *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 487.

(s) *Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealog. Hist.* p. 329. 330.

(t) *Preface*, ubi supra, p. xix. We are told there, that Erasmus had 20 shillings, for making that epitaph.

[C] *Each of which she endowed with twenty marks a year.* Which might be augmented to 20 l. a year

(3) *A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 33.

(4) *Catalogue of Professors at Cambr. before Funeral Sermon*, as above.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Wood*, ubi supra, p. 34.

(7) See the end of the *Catalogue of Preachers*; the book is not paged there.

(8) *Ubi supra*. See *Preface to the Sermon*, as above, p. x.

(9) *Page* 327, 328.

(10) *Caii Hist. Cantab. Acad.* p. 73. *Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge Univ.* p. 90, 91.

(11) *Fuller, ibid.* and *Present State of Great Britain*, edit. 1755, Part ii. p. 245.

(3), as that at Cambridge was, July 5, 1566 (4), and to it was annexed by King James I, Aug. 26, 1605, the Rectory of Terrington in Norfolk (5). The Praelectors, or Professors, are chosen, every two years, in full convocation, by the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity (6). See a list of the Professors, both at Cambridge and Oxford, before her funeral sermon; and in A. Wood.

[D] *A perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge, &c.* See a catalogue of all the preachers to the year 1708, before the Lady Margaret's funeral sermon, mentioned above. The institution hath been altered, by royal dispensation, from six sermons in three several dioceses (as mentioned above), to one sermon before the university, at the beginning of Easter-Term (7). The Lady Margaret did not appoint such a preacher at Oxford, as Mr Wood imagines (8).

[E] *She also founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne.* Where her father and mother lay buried. See Sandford's and Stebbing's genealogical History (9).

[F] *Christ's college* — founded in the year 1505, &c.] It was built in the place where stood God's house, a small hostel erected by King Henry VI, wherein he had placed four Fellows, which he intended to augment to the number of sixty (10). The Countess of Richmond endowed her College with — the manors of Malton, Meldred, and Beach, and several other lands and rents, all in Cambridgeshire. — The manor of Ditesworth, with lands and tenements in Ditesworth, Kegworth, Hathern, and Wolton, in Leicestershire. — The abbey of Creke in Norfolk. — The manor of Royden in Essex, exchanged afterwards with King Edward VI for the revenues of Bromwell-Abbey. — And the impropriation of Manibire in Wales. King Edward VI added one Fellowship, upon a complaint made to him, that the master and the twelve fellows contained a superstitious allusion to Christ and his twelve Apostles. He also added three Scholarships, by the benefaction of J. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Sir Walter Mildmay, Richard Banting, and others, it contains at present fifteen Fellows, and fifty-six Scholars (11).

[G] *The latter (St John's college) in the year 1508.* It was built in the place where stood an hospital for

Canons regular, erected by Nigel, second Bishop of Ely, in 1134, and converted afterwards, by his successor Hugh de Balsam, into a Priory, dedicated to St John the Evangelist (12). The founders endowed it, by her will, with the issues, profits, and revenues of her estate and lands, in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Northampton, to the value of 400 l. a year, and upwards (13); besides the revenues of the Priory on which it was built, amounting to 80 l. 1 s. 10 d. ob. per ann. and a licence of mortmain for 50 l. a year more. But the King, as heir at law, suing for, and recovering the founders's estate (14), the original foundation of this college consisted only of part of the Countess of Richmond's estate at Fordham in Cambridgeshire; the revenues of the dissolved Priory on which it was erected; and the hospital of Ospring in Kent, valued at 70 l. a year, and procured by Bishop Fisher (15). The expence of new building the college amounted to betwixt four and five thousand pounds (16). This house, though so very small in it's beginning, is, by the munificence of several benefactors, particularly Archbishop Morton, and Archbishop Williams, become one of the largest and most considerable in the university, and consists at present of fifty-nine Fellows, and one hundred and fifteen Scholars (17).

[H] *She was eminent for her exemplary piety.* She used to rise about five o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till dinner-time, (which was then ten o'clock) she continued, almost without ceasing, in meditation and prayer; which she resumed again after dinner, as the curious reader may see in her funeral sermon (18). She also translated some books of devotion from French into English (19).

[I] *Round the verge, on a fillet of brass, is an inscription.* Which is as follows: *Margaretæ. Ricemondiae. Septimæ. Henrici. Marri OBarvi. Aviae. Quae. Stipendiâ. Constituit. Trib. Hoc. Coenobio. Monachis. Et. Doctori. Grammatices. Apud Wymborn. Perq; Angliam. Totam. Divini. Verbi. Praeconii. Duobus. Item. Inter Praetib: Litterar: Sacrar: Alteri. Oxoniis. Alteri. Cantabrigiae. Vbi. Et. Collegia. Dvo. Christo. Et. Joanni. Discipulo. Ejus. Struxit. Moritur. An. Dom. M. D. IX. III. Kal. Julij. (20); i. e. 'To the memory of Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. grand-mother of Henry VIII. which gave revenues for the maintenance of three Monks in this monastery (21), and*

(12) *Fuller*, ubi supra, p. 94.

(13) *Preface to Funer. Sermon*, as above, p. xxxi, xxxiii.

(14) *Ibid.* p. xxxix, xl.

(15) *Ibid.* p. xli—xliii.

(16) *Ib.* p. xxxv.

(17) *Present State of Gr. Britain*, ubi supra.

(18) *Edit.* 1708, p. 12, 13.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *Sandford, & Stebbing*, ubi supra, p. 329.

(21) *Nameley*, to pray for her soul.

and for a schoolmaster at Wymborn, and a preacher of the word of God throughout England. And also for two interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, where also

she founded two colleges, dedicated to Christ, and to his disciple St John. She died in the year of our Lord 1509, on the 29th of June. C

(a) In Latin *De Bellomonte*.

(b) Robert de Graystones, *Hist. Dunelm. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 760.

(c) *She was daughter of Philip the Fair King of France.*

(d) *Anglia Sacra, ubi supra*, p. 757. *in notis.*

(e) R. de Graystones, *ibid.* p. 758.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *See the article BEK (ANTHONY).*

(h) R. de Graystones, *ibid.* p. 759, 760.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 761.

BEAUMONT (a) (LEWIS), Bishop of Durham in the reign of King Edward II, was descended from the royal blood of the Kings of France and Sicily (b), and thereby related to Queen Isabella (c). He was made Treasurer of Salisbury in the year 1294 (d), and from thence advanced to the See of Durham in 1317 [A]. It was with difficulty Pope John XXII consented to his consecration, for which he paid so large a sum of money to the Holy See, that he was never able entirely to discharge the debt it involved him in (e). As he was on the road to Durham, accompanied by two Cardinals [B], in order to be installed, he was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton [C]; who, having plundered all their baggage, suffered the Cardinals to proceed, but carried the Bishop, and his brother Henry, prisoners to Mitford Castle, and obliged them to pay a large sum of money for their ransom, towards which the Prior of Durham was forced to sell the habits, plate, and jewels of the church. After this, Beaumont was consecrated at Westminster, on the feast of the Annuntiation 1318 (f). This Prelate vigorously defended the rights of his church, and recovered to it several estates, which had been alienated from it in the time of his predecessor Anthony Bek (g); the Judges passing this sentence in his favour, that *the Bishop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war WITHIN the liberties of his church, as the King has WITHOUT [D]*. In 1328, this Bishop had a dispute with the Metropolitan of York, concerning the right of visitation in the jurisdiction of Allerton; and whenever the Archbishop came thither to visit, the Bishop of Durham always opposed him with an armed force. After much litigation and expence, the matter was at last accommodated, the Archbishop appropriating the Church of Lek for the maintenance of the Bishop's table, with the reserve of an annual pension to himself, and another to the Chapter of York (h). Bishop Beaumont built a hall and kitchen at Middleham, and began a chapel, but did not live to finish it. He died at Brentingham in the diocese of York, September the 24th 1333, having sat fifteen years; and lies buried near the high-altar of his church, under a marble stone [E], ornamented with brass plates, which he had ordered to be made in his life-time (i). He was very avaritious, and at the same time very expensive [F]; of a handsome mein, but lame in both

[A] *He was advanced to the See of Durham in 1317.* There were several candidates for the vacant bishopric. The Earl of Lancaster made interest for one John de Kynardley, promising, in case of his election, to defend the See against the Scots. The Earl of Hereford pushed for John Walwayn, a Civilian. The King, who was then at York, would have promoted the election of Thomas Charlton, a Civilian, and keeper of his Privy-Seal: But the Queen interposed so warmly in behalf of her kinsman Lewis Beaumont, that the King was prevailed upon to write letters to the Monks in his favour. Those Religious, having previously obtained the King's leave to proceed to an election, rejected all these applications, and made choice of Henry de Stamford, Prior of Finchley, an elderly man, of a fair character and pleasing aspect, and a good scholar. The King would have consented to the election, had it not been for the Queen, who on her bare knees humbly intreated him, that her kinsman might be Bishop of Durham. Whereupon the King refused to admit Henry de Stamford, and wrote to the Pope in favour of Beaumont. At the same time the Monks sent the Bishop elect to the Pope's court for his Holiness's confirmation: But, before his arrival, the Pope, at the instances of the Kings and Queens of France and England, had conferred the Bishopric on Beaumont (1). And, to make Henry some amends, his Holiness gave him a grant of the Priory of Durham upon the next vacancy; but he did not live to enjoy it (2).

[B] *He went to Durham in company with two Cardinals.* Their names were *Ganselmus* and *Lucas de Flisco*. They were sent by the Pope to bring about a peace between England and Scotland. As their business required their presence in Scotland, Beaumont, who had received his Bulls for consecration, and intended to be introned at Durham on St Cuthbert's day, took the opportunity of their journeying northward, and, for the greater magnificence, set out in company with them (3).

[C] *He was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton.* The Prior of Durham, it seems, had given him notice of his danger upon the road; but he slighted the advice, saying, that the King of Scots dared not attempt any such thing, and that the Prior only wanted to delay his consecration (4).

[D] *The Judges passed sentence, that the Bishop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war within the liberties of his church, as the King had without.* As this sentence of the Judges was a solemn confirmation of the *military rights* of the Bishopric of Durham, it may not be improper just to observe how far those privileges extended. The learned editor of Camden's *Britannia* informs us, that the Bishop of Durham antiently had his Thanes, and afterwards his Barons, who held of him by Knights Service, and that, on occasions of danger, he called them together in the nature of a Parliament, to advise, and assist him with their persons, dependants, and money, for the public service, either at home or abroad. When men and money were to be levied, it was done by writs issued in the Bishop's name out of the Chancery of Durham; and he had power to raise able men from sixteen to sixty years of age, and to arm and equip them for his service. He often headed his troops in person; and the officers acted under his commission, and were accountable to him for their duty. He had a discretionary power of marching out against the Scots, or of making a truce with them. No person of the Palatinate could build a castle, or fortify his manor-house, without the Bishop's licence. And as he had military power by land, so he had likewise by sea. Ships of war were fitted out in the Ports of the County Palatine by virtue of the Bishop's writs. He had his Admiralty-Courts; he appointed, by his Patents, a Vice-Admiral, Register, and Marshal or Water bailiff, and had all the privileges, forfeitures, and profits, incident to that jurisdiction (5). How far these privileges of the Bishopric have been since abridged, is not material to the present article.

[E] *He lies buried — under a marble stone.* The Inscription on it is this:

De Bello Monte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus,
Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumque creatus.

[F] *He was very avaritious, and at the same time very expensive.* The Durham Historian (6) tells us, he was very eager after riches, but not much solicitous about the means of acquiring them; which was occasioned, he says, by a large family, and many superfluous

(5) *Vide Camden's Britannia, published by Bishop Gibson, last edit. Vol. II. col. 937.*

(6) R. de Graystones, *ubi supra*, p. 761, 762.

(1) Robert de Graystones, *Hist. Dunelm. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 757.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 753.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

both his feet (*k*); and (which is the most extraordinary part of his character) so illiterate, (*h*) *Id. ib. p. 706^a* that he could not read the Bull for his own consecration [*G*].

fluous expences. His avarice and prodigality were such, that a certain person told him to his face, he never saw a man so diligent in accumulating, and so imprudent in disposing of wealth. His whole study was to extort money from the Priory and Convent. He obtained a Bull to appropriate to himself a fourth part of the revenues of the house, so long as the Scottish wars should last. Though the Prior made him frequent presents of horses, &c. he considered it as nothing, and usually dismissed his requests with this answer; 'You do nothing for me, nor will I do any thing for you: pray

' for my death; for so long as I live, your petition will not be granted.'

[*G*] He was so illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own consecration.] Meeting with the word *Metropolitica*, he hesitated a long while, and at last, not being able to read it, he cried out in French, *Soit pour dié*; that is, *suppose it read*; and coming to the word *enigmaté*, he was again at a loss, and said to the standers-by, *Par saint Louis, il n'est pas curtois qui lege parolle ici uscrit*; that is, *By St Lewis it was very uncivil in the person who wrote this word here* (*7*). (*7*) *Id. ibid.*

T

B E A U M O N T (Sir JOHN), son of Francis Beaumont, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and brother of the famous dramatick Poet Mr Francis Beaumont (*a*), was born, in the year 1582, at Grace-dieu, the family-seat in Leicestershire, and was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Broadgate's-hall in Oxford, the beginning of Lent-term 1596. After three years he left the university, and entered himself in one of the Inns of Court. But he soon quitted that situation, and retired to the place of his nativity, where he married a wife of the family of Fortescue [*A*]. In 1626, the second of King Charles I, he had the dignity of a Baronet conferred upon him. In his youth, he applied himself to the Muses [*B*] with good success,

(*a*) See the article BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.

[*A*] He married a wife of the family of Fortescue] One of that family, Mr George Fortescue, addressed the following verses to Sir John, in which the thought turns upon the near relation he bore to him.

When lines are drawn greater than nature, art
Commands the object and the eye to part,
Bids them to keep at distance, know their place,
Where to receive, and where to give their grace.
I am too near thee, Beaumont, to define
Which of those lineaments is most divine;
And to stand farther off from thee, I chuse
In silence rather to applaud thy Muse,
And lose my censure; 'tis enough for me
To joy, my pen was taught to move by thee (1).

[*B*] He applied himself to the Muses.] He wrote *The Crown of Thorns*, a poem in eight books (2). I have not met with this piece, but find it celebrated by one Thomas Hawkins in a copy of verses prefixed to Sir John's poems. The lines are these:

Like to the Bee, thou did'st those flow'rs select,
That most the tasteful palate might affect
With pious relishes of things divine,
And discomposed sense with peace combine:
Which in thy *Crown of Thorns* we may discern,
Framed as a model for the best to learn,
That verse may virtue teach, as well as prose,
And minds with native force to good dispose,
Devotion stir, and quicken cold desires,
To entertain the warmth of holy fires.
There may we see thy soul expatiate,
And with true fervor sweetly meditate
Upon our Saviour's sufferings, that, while
Thou seek'st his painful torments to beguile
With well-tuned accents of thy zealous song,
Breath'd from a soul transfix'd, a passion strong,
We better knowledge of his woes attain,
Fall into tears with thee, and then again
Rise with thy verse, to celebrate the flood
Of those eternal torrents of his blood.

There is extant, besides, a Miscellany of Sir John Beaumont's poems, intitled, *Bosworth-Field; with a taste of the variety of other Poems left by Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, deceased: Set forth by his Sonne, Sir John Beaumont, Baronet: And dedicated to the King's most excellent majesty*. London, 1629. The Editor addresses King Charles I in this manner: 'I have endeavoured without art to set this jewel, and render it apt for your Majesty's acceptance; to which boldness I am led by a filial duty in performing the will

V O L. I. No. 52.

' of my father, who, whilst he lived, did ever intend to your Majesty these Poems: Poems, in which no obscene sport can be found (the contrary being too frequent a crime among Poets), while these (if not too bold I speak) will challenge your Majesty for their Patron, since it is most convenient that the purest of Poems should be directed to you, the virtuouslest and most untouched of Princes, the delight of Britain, and the wonder of Europe; at the altar of whose judgment bright erected flames, not troubled fumes, dare approach.' The Poem called *Bosworth-Field* is a description of the famous battle fought there between King Richard III and the Earl of Richmond afterwards Henry VII; and is esteemed by the best judges to be an excellent performance. The following Similies relish strongly of Poetry.

So when the winter to the spring bequeaths
The rule of time, and mild Favonius breathes,
A quire of Swans to that sweet music sings,
The air rebounds the motion of their wings,
When over plains they fly in order'd ranks,
To sport themselves upon Caister's banks (3).

(3) *Bosworth-Field, &c. p. 123*

So painful Bees with forward gladness strive
To join themselves in throngs before the hive,
And with obedience till that hour attend,
When their commander shall his watch-word send;
Then to the winds their tender sails they yield,
Depress the flow'rs, depopulate the fields (4).

(4) *Page 130*

The single combat between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford is described in the true spirit of heroic Poetry.

Here valiant Oxford and fierce Norfolk meet,
And with their spears each other rudely greet;
About the air their shiver'd pieces play;
Then on their swords their noble hands they lay;
And Norfolk first a blow directly guides
To Oxford's head, which from his helmet slides
Upon his arm, and biting thro' the steel
Inflicts a wound, which Vere disdains to feel:
He lifts his faction with a threatening grace,
And hews the beaver off from Howard's face.
This being done, he with compassion charm'd
Retires, asham'd to strike a man disarm'd:
But straight a deadly shaft sent from a bow
(Whose master, tho' far off, the Duke could know)
Untimely brought this combat to an end,
And pierced the brain of Richard's constant friend.
When Oxford saw him sink, his noble soul
Was full of grief, which made him thus condole:
7 S Farewel,

success, as his poems still extant demonstrate. Ben. Johnson, Michael Drayton, and others,

Farewel, true Knight, to whom no costly grave
Can give due honour; wou'd my tears might save
Those streams of blood, deserving to be spilt
In better service: Had not Richard's guilt
Such heavy weight upon his fortune laid,
Thy glorious virtues had his sins outweigh'd (5).

(5) Page 19.

I shall only add the four last lines, in which the death of Richard is very strongly painted.

His hand he then with wreaths of grass infolds,
And bites the earth, which he so strictly holds,
As if he wou'd have born it with him hence,
So loth he was to lose his right's pretence (6).

(6) Page 30.

A moderate Poet would have been contented with the circumstance of the King's *biting the earth*; but it belonged to a sublimer imagination to paint the reluctance with which he quitted his usurped possession even in death.

Sir John has given us the following translations from the Latin Poets, all extremely well done, *viz.* Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*; Horace's *Sixth Satire* of the *Second Book*, his *Twenty-ninth Ode* of the *Third Book*, and his *Second Epode*; Juvenal's *Tenth Satire*, and Persius's *Second Satire*; Ausonius's *Sixteenth Idyll*, and Claudian's Epigram of the *Old Man of Verona*. As a specimen of our author's genius in this branch of Poetry, I shall select Horace's *City and Country Mouse*, which has been translated or imitated by our best Poets.

Long since a Country Mouse
Receiv'd into his low and homely house
A City Mouse, his friend and guest before;
The host was sharp, and sparing of his store,
Yet much to hospitality inclin'd;
For such occasions cou'd dilate his mind.
He chiches gives for winter laid aside,
Nor are the long and slender oats deny'd?
Dry grapes he in his lib'ral mouth doth bear,
And bits of bacon which half-eaten were;
With various meats to please the stranger's pride,
Whose dainty teeth thro' all the dishes slide.
The father of the family in straw
Lyes stretch'd along, disdainful not to gnaw
Bafe corn or darnel, and reserves the best
To make a perfect banquet for his guest.
To him at last the Citizen thus spake;
My friend, I muse what pleasure thou can't take,
Or how thou can't endure to spend thy time
In shady groves, and up steep hills to climb.
In savage forests build no more thy den;
Go to the City, there to dwell with men.
Begin this happy journey, trust to me,
I will thee guide, thou shalt my fellow be.
Since earthly things are tied to mortal lives,
And ev'ry great and little creature strives
In vain the certain stroke of death to fly,
Stay not 'till moments past thy joys deny:
Live in rich plenty and perpetual sport,
Live ever mindful that thine age is short.
The ravish'd Field-Mouse holds these words so sweet,
That from his home he leaps with nimble feet.
They to the city travel with delight,
And underneath the walls they creep by night.
Now darkness had possess'd Heav'n's middle space,
When these two friends their weary steps did place
Within a wealthy palace, where was spread
A scarlet cov'ring on an iv'ry bed:
The baskets, set far off aside, contain'd
The meats, which after plenteous meals remain'd.
The City Mouse with courtly phrase intreats
His country friend to rest in purple seats.
With ready care the master of the feast
Runs up and down, to see the store increas'd.

He all the duties of a fervent shows,
And tastes of ev'ry dish that he bestows.
The poor plain Mouse, exalted thus in state,
Glad of the change, his former life doth hate,
And strives in looks and gesture to declare
With what contentment he receives this fare.
But straight the sudden creaking of a door
Shakes both these mice from beds into the floor:
They run about the room half dead with fear;
Thro' all the house the noise of dogs they hear.
The stranger now counts not the place so good;
He bids farewell, and saith; The silent wood
Shall me hereafter from these dangers save,
Well pleased with simple vetches in my cave (7).

(7) Page 41, &c.

Whoever will compare this with the original, will find it to be a very close and exact translation.

The rest of our author's pieces are either on religious subjects, as those on the *Festivals*, on the *Blessed Trinity*, &c. or of a moral kind, as the *Dialogue between the World, a Pilgrim, and Virtue*, *Of the miserable state of Man*, *Of Sickness*, &c. or political, as the *Panegyric on the Coronation of King Charles*, on *The Prince's Journey and Return*, &c. Among these there is one addressed to King James I, concerning the true form of English Poetry, in which the Rules of Versification are so judiciously laid down, and so well expressed, that I persuade myself the reader will not be displeas'd with the following extract thereof.

He makes sweet music, who in serious lines
Light dancing tunes and heavy prose declines.
When verses like a milky torrent flow,
They equal temper in the Poet show.
He paints true forms, who with a modest heart
Gives lustre to his work, yet covers art.
Uneven swelling is no way to fame,
But solid joining of the perfect frame;
So that no curious finger there can find
The former chinks or nails that fastly bind.
Yet most wou'd have the knots of stitches seen,
And holes where men may thrust their hands between.
On halting feet the rugged Poem goes,
With accents neither fitting verse nor prose.
The stile mine ear with more contentment fills
Of Lawyers pleadings, or Physicians bills:
For tho' in terms of art their skill they close,
And joy in darksome words as well as those;
They yet have perfect sense, more pure and clear
Than envious Muses, which sad garlands wear
Of dusky clouds, their strange conceits to hide
From human eyes; and, lest they should be spy'd
By some sharp OEdipus, the English tongue
For this their poor ambition suffers wrong.
In ev'ry language now in Europe spoke
By nations, which the Roman empire broke,
The relish of the Muse consists in rhyme;
One verse must meet another like a chime.
Our Saxon shortness hath peculiar grace,
And choice of words fit for the ending place,
Which leave impression on the mind as well
As closing sounds of some delightful bell.
These must not be with disproportion lame,
Nor shou'd an echo still repeat the fame.
In many changes these may be express'd,
But those that join most simply are the best:
Their form, surpassing far the fetter'd slaves,
Vain care and needless repetition saves.
These outward ashes keep those inward fires,
Whose heat the Greek and Roman works inspires.
Pure phrase, fit epithets, a sober care
Of metaphors, descriptions clear yet rare;
Similitudes contracted, smooth, and round,
Not vex'd by learning, but with nature crown'd;

Strong

others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius [C]. This gentleman died in the winter of 1628, and was buried in the church of Grace-dieu, leaving behind him three sons; John [D], who died without issue; Francis [E], afterwards a Jesuit; and Thomas, who succeeded to the honour and estate (b). He had likewise a son named Gervase, who died at seven years of age [F]. Mr Jacob has committed a strange blunder (c) in placing our Poet under the reign of King Richard III.

(b) Wood, *Athyr.* Oxon. Vol. I. col. 524.

(c) In his *Poetical Register*, &c. Vol. I. p. 4.

Strong figures drawn from deep invention's springs,
Consisting less in words, and more in things;
A language not affecting antient times,
Nor Latin shreds, by which the pedant climbs;
A noble subject, which the mind may lift
To easy use of that peculiar gift,
Which Poets in their raptures hold most dear,
When actions by the lively found appear.
Give me such helps, I never will despair,
But that our heads, which suck the freezing air,
As well as hotter brains, may verse adorn,
And be their wonder, as we were their scorn (8).

(8) Page 108, &c.

[C] Ben. Johnson, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius.] Some of their commendatory verses are prefixed to, and others follow after, his poems. Ben. Johnson's testimony is highly to our author's advantage.

This book will live; it hath a genius: This
Above his Reader, or his Praiser, is.
Hence then, prophane: Here needs no words expence
In bulwarks, rav'lins, ramparts, for defence;
Such as the creeping common Pioneers use,
When they do sweat to fortify a Muse.
Tho' I confess a Beaumont's book to be
The bound and frontier of our Poetry,
And doth deserve all monuments of praise,
That art, or engine, on the strength can raise;
Yet who dares offer a redoubt a reare,
To cut a dyke, or stick a stake up, here,
Before this work, where envy hath not cast
A trench against it, nor a batt'ry plac'd?
Stay till she make her vain approaches; then,
If maimed she come off, 'tis not of men
This fort of so impregnable access,
But higher pow'r, as spight cou'd not make less,
Nor flatt'ry, but secured by th' author's name,
Defies what's crost to piety or good fame,
And like a hallow'd Temple, free from taint
Of Ethnicism, makes his Muse a Saint (9).

(9) On the honour'd Poems of his honour'd Friend Sir J. B. Bart.

Michael Drayton has dropped an obscure hint at the cause of our author's death, which is not easily to be understood.

Thy care for that, which was not worth thy breath,
Brought on too soon thy much lamented death.
But Heav'n was kind, and would not let thee see
The plagues that must upon this nation be,
By whom the Muses have neglected been,
Which shall add weight and measure to their sin (10).

(10) To the dear Remembrance of his noble Friend Sir J. B. Bart.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER. Two celebrated Dramatic Poets of the last age. These gentlemen were so closely united as authors, and are so jointly concerned in the applauses and censures bestowed on their Plays, that it is thought proper to connect their Lives under one article.

Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT was descended from the antient family of his name, seated at Grace-dieu in Leicestershire (a), and was born about the year 1585 or 1586, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (b). His grandfather *John Beaumont* was Master of the Rolls (c), and his father *Francis Beaumont* one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas (d). His mother was Anne, daughter of George Pierrepont, of Home-Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire (e). Our Poet had his education at Cambridge (f); but in what college, we are not told. He was afterwards admitted a student in the Inner-Temple (g): but it does not appear, that he made any proficiency in the knowledge of the Laws; on the contrary, it is probable, his devotion to the Muses was too great, to suffer his thoughts to be employed on so dry and severe a science. He died before thirty years of

(a) Jacob's *Poetical Register*, or *Lives and Characters of all the English Poets*, Vol. II. p. 103.

(b) This is inferred from the date of his death.

(c) *Works of Mr Francis Beaumont and Mr John Fletcher*, edit. 1711, 8vo, Vol. I. in Pref. p. 5.

[D] — *John*.] This is the son, to whom we are obliged for the edition of his father's Poems, and who was himself no mean Poet, as appears by the following lines.

Here lives his better part, here shines that flame,
Which lights the entrance to eternal fame:
These are his triumphs over death, this spring
From Aganippe's fountains he cou'd bring
Clear from all dross, thro' pure intentions drain'd;
His draughts no sensual waters ever stain'd.
Behold he doth on ev'ry paper strow
The loyal thoughts he did his Sovereign owe:
Here rest affections to each nearest friend,
And pious sighs, which noble thoughts attend (11).

(11) A Congratulation to the Muses, for the immortalizing his dear father by the sacred virtue of Poetry.

[E] — *Francis*.] This son likewise paid the tribute of verse to his father's memory; of which take the following stanzas as a specimen.

For shou'd I strive to deck the virtue high,
Which in these Poems, like fair gems appear,
I might as well add brightness to the sky,
Or with new splendor make the sun more clear.

Since ev'ry line is with such beauties graced,
That nothing farther can their praises found;
And that dear name, which in the front is placed,
Declares what ornaments within are found:

That name, I say, in whom the Muses meet,
And with such heat his noble spirit raise,
That Kings admire his verse, whilst at his feet
Orpheus his harp, and Phœbus casts his bays (12).

(12) Upon the following Poems of my dear father Sir J. B. Bart. deceased.

[F] — *Gervase, who died at seven years of age*.] This we learn from some verses of Sir John's upon the death of that son, whom he laments very pathetically.

Can I, who have for others oft compil'd
The songs of death, forget my sweetest child,
Which like a flow'r crush'd with a blast is dead,
And e're full time hangs down his smiling head.

Let his pure soul, ordain'd seven years to be
In that frail body, which was part of me,
Remain my pledge in Heav'n, as sent to show
How to this port at ev'ry step I go (13).

T (13) Page 165.

(d) Jacob, ubi supra.

(e) *Works*, &c. ibid.

(f) Wood, *Athyr.* Oxon. Vol. I. col. 524.

(g) Jacob, ubi supra.

age,

(b) *Id. ib. & Wood, ubi supra.*

(i) *Works, &c. P. 5, 6.*

(k) *They are printed for L. Blaiklock.*

(l) *Drayden's Essay on Dramatick Poetry, in his Dramatick Works, 12mo, edit. 1725, Vol. 1. p. 59.*

(m) *Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, Ox. 1691, 8vo, p. 200, and Fuller's Worthies of England, Northampton, p. 238.*

age, in March 1615, and was buried, the ninth of the same month, in the entrance of St Benedict's chapel, within St Peter's Westminster (b). I meet with no inscription upon his tomb, but I find two epitaphs on him; one written by his elder brother Sir John Beaumont, and the other by the witty Bishop Corbet [A]. Our Poet left behind him one daughter, Mrs *Frances Beaumont*, who died in Leicestershire since the year 1700. She had been possessed of several Poems of her father's writing; but they were lost at sea in her voyage from Ireland, where she had lived some time in the Duke of Ormond's family (i). Besides the Plays, in which he was jointly concerned with Mr Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intitled, *A Masque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen and the Inner Temple*, a *Poetical Epistle to Ben. Johnson* [B], *Verses to his Friend Master John Fletcher upon his Faithful Shepherdes* [C], and other Poems, printed together in 1653, in octavo (k). Mr Beaumont was esteemed to accurate a judge of Plays, that Ben. Johnson, while he lived, submitted all his writings to his censure, and 'tis thought used his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots (l). What value he had for our Poet, appears by the verses he address'd to him [D].

Mr JOHN FLETCHER was son of Dr *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of London [E], and was born in Northamptonshire in the year 1576 (m). He was educated at Cambridge,

[A] *Two epitaphs on him; one written by ——— Sir John Beaumont, the other by ——— Bishop Corbet.* Sir John's is as follows:

An epitaph on my deare brother
FRANCIS BEAUMONT.

On death thy murderer this revenge I take:
I slight his terror, and just question make,
Which of us two the best precedence have,
Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
Thou shou'd'st have followed me, but death, to blame,
Miscalc'd years, and meafured age by fame.
So dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines;
Their praise grew swiftly, so thy life declines.
Thy Muse, the hearer's Queen, the reader's love,
All ears, all hearts (but death's) could please and
move (1).

Bishop Corbet's is this:

On Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT.
(Then newly dead)

He that hath such acuteness, and such wit,
As wou'd ask ten good heads to husband it;
He that can write so well, that no man dare
Refuse it for the best, let him beware:

BEAUMONT is dead, by whose sole death appears,
Wit's a disease consumes men in few years (2).

[B] ——— *A poetical epistle to Ben. Johnson.* We learn from the title of the epistle, that it was written to that Poet from the country, before the author and Mr Fletcher came to London. In this piece Beaumont expresses the highest esteem and friendship for Johnson, especially in the following lines.

Banish't unto this home, fate once again
Bring me to thee, who canst make smooth and plaine
The way of knowledge for me, and then I,
Who have no good but in thy company,
Protest it will my grateful comfort be
T' acknowledge all I have to flow from thee.

The epistle is subscribed, *The Maid in the Mill*, and seems to have been sent to Ben with two unfinished comedies, written by Beaumont and Fletcher (3).

[C] *Verses to his friend, Master John Fletcher, upon his Faithful Shepherdes.* That Pastoral, which was written by Fletcher alone (4), having met with but an indifferent reception upon the stage, Beaumont address'd a copy of verses to him (5) upon that occasion, in which he ingeniously represents the hazard of writing for the stage, and finely fatirizes the audience's want of judgment, as follows:

Why thou'd the man, whose wit ne'er had a stain,
Upon the public stage present his vein,
And make a thousand men in judgment fit,
To call in question his undoubted wit,
Scarce two of which can understand the laws
Which they should judge by, nor the parties cause?
Among the rout there is not one that hath
In his own censure an explicit faith.
One company, knowing they judgment lack,
Ground their belief on the next man in black;
Others on him that makes signs, and is mute;
Some like as he does in the fairest sute;
He as his mistress doth, and he by chance:
Nor want there those, who, as the boy doth dance
Between the acts, will censure the whole play;
Some, if the wax-lights be not new that day:
But multitudes there are, whose judgment goes
Headlong, according to the actor's cloaths.

Then having approved Fletcher's design of publishing his play, in order to convince the world how excellent a performance they had disliked upon the stage, he concludes with this severe reflection;

Besides, one 'vantage more in this I see;
Your censurers now must have the quality
Of reading, which, I am afraid, is more
Than half your shrewdest judges had before.

[D] *Ben. Johnson's verses address'd to Beaumont.*

How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse,
That unto me do'st such religion use!
How do I fear myself that am not worth
The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!
At once thou mak'st me happy, and unmak'st;
And giving largely to me, more thou tak'st.
What fate is mine, that so itself bereaves?
What art is thine, that so thy friend deceives?
When, even there where most thou praifest me,
For writing better I must envy thee (6).

(6) *Ben. Johnson's Works, London, 1716, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 133.*

(7) *Wood, Fassi Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 107.*

(8) *Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Britol. an. 1539.*

(9) *Wood, ibid.*

(10) *Godwin, ib.*

(11) *Id. inter Episc. Wigorn. an. 1593.*

(12) *Id. inter Episc. London. an. 1594.*

Orders,

(1) *Sir John Beaumont's Epitaphs, &c. London, 1629, 12mo, p. 164.*

(2) *Bishop Corbet's Poems, London, 1672, p. 68.*

(3) *Poems, by Fr. Beaumont, London, 1653, 8vo, The pages of this book are not numbered.*

(4) *See the remark [G].*

(5) *Printed among the Commendatory Verses, prefixed to Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, edit. 1711.*

Cambridge (n), probably in Bennet-college, to which his father was by his last will and testament a benefactor (o). He wrote Plays jointly with Mr Beaumont; and we are told; he assisted Ben. Johnson in writing a Comedy called *The Widow* (p). After Beaumont's death, it is said, he consulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting several of his Plays [F]. Which these were, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to determine. His *Faithful Shepherdes*, which, it is certain, he wrote without the assistance of his colleague, is greatly commended by the Poets [G], though it's reception on the stage fell short of it's merit. Mr Fletcher died of the plague, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the first of King Charles I, an. 1625, and was buried the 29th of August in St Mary-Overy's church in Southwark (q). We have a Latin inscription under his picture by the ingenious Sir John Berkenhead [H].

(n) Wood, ubi supra.
(o) Works, &c. ubi supra.
(p) Wood, ibid. col. 609.
(q) Langbaine, ubi supra. & Wood, ibid. col. 524.

Beaumont and Fletcher (as has been observed) wrote *Plays* in concert: but what share each bore in forming the plots, writing the scenes, &c. is not known. The general opinion

Orders, which the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Bishop of London, desires to be assented unto, and carefully observed by every ecclesiastical officer, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction under him, within the diocese of London.

Dat. March the 8th, 1595. They are transcribed by Mr Collier (13). How far they were executed, is uncertain; for they run in a form of recommendation, rather than of command. Who was Bishop Fletcher's first wife, we are not told; but Anthony Wood informs us (14), that he took to him a second wife (a very handsome widow) called the Lady Baker, sister to George Gifford, the Penfener; at which match, Queen Elizabeth, who highly disapproved the marriage of the Clergy, was much displeas'd. The loss of her Majesty's favour, it seems, occasioned the Bishop's death; for Camden tells us (15), that, 'Endeavouring to smother the cares of an unlucky match in the smok of tobacco, which he took to excess, and falling under the Queen's displeasure (who thought it enough for Bishops to be fathers of the Church) between the experiment and the misfortune, lost his life.' He died at his palace in London, the 15th of June 1596, and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul's (16). He had a brother named *Giles Fletcher*, born likewise in Kent, educated at Eaton school, and elected scholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565 (17); where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and distinguished himself as a learned man and an excellent Poet. Afterwards he was sent Commissioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands; and Ambassador to Russia. At length he was made Secretary to the city of London, and Master of the Requests. He wrote *The History of Russia*, &c. or, *Of the Russian Commonwealth*. Lond. 1591, 8vo. which book was quickly suppress'd; lest it should give offence to a Prince in amity with England. Afterwards it was reprinted in 12mo, An. 1643. Dr Giles Fletcher died in the parish of St Katherine, Coleman-street, in London, in the month of February 1610, leaving behind him a son of both his names, who took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity at Trinity college in Cambridge, and died at Alderton in Suffolk, in 1623, 'equally beloved of the Muses and the Graces.' He left also another son named *Phineas Fletcher*, of King's college in the same university, where he was accounted an excellent Poet. He was afterwards beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and wrote several books; among which one is intituled, *A Father's Testament writtten for the benefit of his particular Relations*. Lond. 1670, 8vo. at which time the author had been dead several years (18).

[F] He consulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting several of his plays.] The editor of *Beaumont and Fletcher's Works* in 1711, thinks it very probable, that Shirley did likewise supply many that were left imperfect, and that the Players gave some remains, or imperfect plays, of Fletcher's to Shirley to make up: And it is from hence (he tells us) that in the first act of *Love's Pilgrimage*, there is a scene of an Ostler, transcribed verbatim out of Ben. Johnson's *New Inn*, Act 3. Sc. 1. which play was written long after Fletcher died, and transplanted into *Love's Pilgrimage*, after the printing the *New Inn*, which was in the year 1630. And two of the plays, printed under the name of Fletcher, viz. *The Coronation* and *The Little Thief*, have been claimed by Shirley to be his; it is probable, they were left imperfect by one, and finished by the other (19).

[G] His *Faithful Shepherdes* ——— is greatly commended by the Poets.] I have already given the reader some verses address'd by Beaumont to Fletcher, on occasion of the ill success of this play (20). Honest

Ben is very angry with the audience for their ill-treatment of it, and expresses himself with great acrimony upon this subject, in the following lines:

The wife and many-headed *bench*, that sits
Upon the life and death of *Plays* and *Wits*,
(Compos'd of *Gamester*, *Captain*, *Knight*, *Knight's Man*,
Lady, or *Puffin*, that wears mask or fan;
Velvet or *Taffata* cap, rank'd in the dark
With the shop's *Foreman*, or some such brave spark;
That may judge for his six-pence) had, before
They saw it half, damn'd the whole play, and more:
Their motives were, since it had not to do
With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.
I, that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And with that all the Muses blood were spilt
In such a *martyrdom*, to vex their eyes,
Do crown thy *murder'd poem*, which shall rise
A *glorified work* to time, when fire,
Or moths, shall eat what all such fools admire (21).

Mr Cartwright had these verses of Ben Johnson in view in the following lines, taken out of a copy of verses written by him *Upon the report of the printing of the Dramatical Poems of Master John Fletcher, &c.*

----- His *Shepherdes*, a piece
Even and smooth, spun from a finer fleece;
Where softness reigns, where passions passions greet;
Gentle and high, as floods of balsam meet:
Where, dress'd in white expressions, fit bright loves,
Drawn; like their fairest *Queen*, by milky doves;
A piece, which Johnson in a rapture bid
Come up a *glorified work*, and so it did (22).

Sir John Berkenhead seems likewise to refer to Ben's testimony, when he sets fo extravagant a value upon this performance.

Thou always best: if ought seem'd to decline,
'Twas the unjudging rout's mistake, not thine.
Thus thy fair *Shepherdes*, which the bold heap
(False to themselves, and thee) did prize so cheap;
Was found (when understood) fit to be crown'd;
At worst 'twas worth two hundred thousand pound (23).

There seems to be some allusion couched in the last line, at which I can give no guess.
[H] An inscription under Mr Fletcher's picture, by Sir John Berkenhead.] It is this (24):

FELICIS ævi, ac Præfulis natus, comês
Beaumontio; sic quippe Parnassus becps,
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramidâ furcas agens:
Struxit chorum plus simplicem Vates duplex,
Plus duplicem solus; nec ullam tranfultit,
Nec transferendus: Dramatum æterni sales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, sibi, superstities.
FLETCHERE, facies absque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel umbram circuit nemo tuam.

(21) Among the Commendatory Verses, prefixed to Beaumont and Fletcher's Works.

(22) Cartwright's Plays and Poems; Lond. 1651 8vo, p. 269.

(23) Among the Commendatory Verses, ubi supra.

(24) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, Oxfo: 1691, 8vo, p. 206.

(13) In his Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. among the Records, No. 95.

(14) Ubi supra.

(15) Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, apud Complete History of England, Vol. II. p. 596.

(16) Godwin, ubi supra.

(17) The Continuator of Tho. Hatcher's Catalogue of Prov. Fell. and Scholl. of King's Coll. Camb. MS. an. 1565.

(18) Wood, ubi supra.

(19) Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, 1711. 8vo. in the Preface, p. 27.

(20) See the Remark [C].

opinion seems to be, that Beaumont's judgment was chiefly employed in correcting and retrenching the superfluities of Fletcher's wit [I]. But if what is reported of them by Mr Winstanley be true, the former had his share likewise in the execution of the Drama. For that author relates, that our Poets being once at a tavern together, in order to form the rude draught of a Tragedy, Fletcher undertook to *kill the King*; which words being over-heard by an officious waiter, had like to have brought on them a troublesome affair, had it not been presently discovered, that the plot was only against a dramatical King (r). The first Play that brought them into esteem was *Philaster, or Love lies a bleeding*: for before that, they had written two or three very unsuccessfully; as the like is reported of Ben. Johnson, before he wrote *Every Man in his Humour* (s). These authors had, with the advantage of Shakespear's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts improved by study. Their plots were generally more regular than Shakespear's, especially those made after Beaumont's death; and they understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better, whose wild debaucheries, and quickness of wit in repartees, no Poet before them ever painted as they did. Humour, it is true, which Ben. Johnson derived from particular characters, they made it not their business to describe: but, in recompence of this defect, they described all the passions in a very lively manner, especially that of Love. Their faults consist chiefly in a certain luxuriance, or seldom knowing when to have done, and this notwithstanding the supposed rigour of Mr Beaumont's castigations; in frequent solecisms of speech, and great incorrectness in general; which last, indeed, is common to our authors with Ben. Johnson, and the immortal Shakespear himself. However, envy cannot deny, that their wit is great, and their expressions often noble; and that the absurdities they committed are rather the age's fault than theirs. Mr Dryden tells us (t), that Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays, in his time, were the most pleasing and frequent entertainments of the stage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakespear's or Johnson's; and the reason he assigns is, because there is a certain gaiety in their Comedies, and a *Pathos* in their most serious Plays, which suits generally with all men's humours: besides, Shakespear's language is a little obsolete, and Ben. Johnson's wit comes short of theirs. But however it might be when Mr Dryden wrote, the case is since altered: for though several of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays still take their turn upon the English stage, and with good success, yet, at present (u), Shakespear seems to have gained the ascendant, more than two of his Plays being acted through the year for one of theirs.

This noble pair of authors have received incense from the pens of our most celebrated Poets [K]; and some of their Plays have had the honour to be selected, and altered for the

(r) Winstanley's *Lives of the most famous English Poets*, Lond. 1637, 8vo, p. 199.

(s) Dryden, *ubi supra*.

(t) In his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, *ubi supra*. This Piece was written in 1666.

(u) *Ann.* 1746, and for some years past.

[I] *Beaumont's judgment was employed in correcting and retrenching the superfluities of Fletcher's wit.* Hence Mr Cartwright, extolling Fletcher's genius (25), and observing

That 'twas his happy fault to do too much;

adds,

Who therefore wisely did submit each birth
To knowing Beaumont, 'ere it did come forth,
Working again until he said 'twas fit,
And made him the sobriety of his wit.

There are numberless passages among the *commendatory verses* to the same purpose.

[K] *They received incense from the pens of the most celebrated Poets.* I shall begin with Sir Aston Cockaine, who has these lines:

While Fletcher lived, who equal to him writ
Such lasting monuments of natural wit?
Others might draw their lines with sweat, like those
That, with much pains, a garrison inclose;
Whilst his sweet fluent vein did gently run,
As uncontroul'd and smoothly as the sun (26).

(26) *Among the Commendatory Verses*, *ubi supra*.

Sir George Lisle, a kinsman of Beaumont's, celebrates both our Poets, addressing himself first to *Beaumont*.

I'll not pronounce how strong and clean thou writ'st,
Nor by what new hard rules thou took'st thy flights;
Nor how much Greek and Latin some refine,
Before they can make up six words of thine:
But this I'll say, thou strik'st our sense so deep,
At once thou mak'st us blush, rejoice, and weep.
Great father Johnson bow'd himself, when he
(Thou writ'st so nobly) vow'd *be envy'd thee* *.

(*) See the remark [D].

A few lines after he says:

Behold! here's Fletcher too! the world ne're knew
Two potent wits co-operate 'till you;
For still your fancies are so wov'n and knit,
'Twas Francis Fletcher and John Beaumont writ (27). (27) *Ibid.*

Sir John Denham's testimony is very advantageous to the memory of *Fletcher*, whom he thus addresses:

----- I need not raise
Trophies to thee from other men's dispraise;
Nor is thy fame on lesser ruins built,
Nor needs thy juster title the foul guilt
Of Eastern Kings, who, to secure their reign,
Must have their brothers, sons, and kindred slain.
Then was wit's empire at the fatal height,
When labouring and sinking with it's weight,
From thence a thousand lesser Poets sprung,
Like petty princes from the fall of Rome.
When Johnson, Shakespear, and thy self did sit,
And sway'd in the Triumvirate of wit - - -
Yet what from Johnson's oil and sweat did flow,
Or what more easy nature did bestow
On Shakespear's gentler Muse, in thee full grown
Their graces both appear; yet so, that none
Can say, here nature ends, and art begins;
But mixt like th' elements, and born like twins,
So interweaved, so like, so much the same,
None this meer nature, that meer art can name.
'Twas this the antients meant; nature and skill
Are the two tops of their Parnassus hill (28).

(28) *Ibid.*

Nor is *Fletcher* less obliged to Mr Waller's excellent pen:

Fletcher, to thee we do not only owe
All these good plays, but those of others too:

Thy

the stage, by our best writers [L]. But they have not escaped the censures of the Critics, especially Mr Rymer the Historiographer, who has laboured to expose the faults, without taking any notice of the beauties, of *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, the *King and no King*, and the *Maid's Tragedy* [M]. Mr Rymer sent one of his books as a present to Mr Dryden, who,

Thy wit repeated does support the stage,
Credits the last, and entertains this age :
No worthies form'd by any Muse but thine
Could purchase robes to make themselves so fine.
What brave commander is not proud to see
Thy brave *Melantius* in his gallantry ?
Our greatest Ladies love to see their scorn
Outdone by thine, in what themselves have worn.
Th' impatient widow e're the year be done
Sees thy *Aspasia* weeping in her gown.
I never yet the tragic strain assay'd,
Deterr'd by that inimitable *Maid* :
And when I venture at the comic file,
The *Scornful Lady* seems to mock my toil.
Thus has thy Muse at once improv'd and marr'd
Our sport in plays, by rendering them too hard.
So when a sort of lusty shepherds throw
The bar by turns, and none the rest outgo
So far, but that the best are measuring casts,
Their emulation and their pastime lasts :
But if some brawny yeoman of the guard
Step in, and tofs the axel-tree a yard
Or more beyond the farthest mark, the rest
Despairing stand, their sport is at the best (29).

(29) Ibid.

Sir John Berkenhead prefers Fletcher to Shakespear :

Brave Shakespear flow'd, yet had his ebbsings too,
Often above himself, sometimes below ;
Thou always best *.

(*) See the lines immediately following these in the remark [G].

Again ;

Shakespear was early up, and went so drest
As for those *dawning* hours he knew was best ;
But when the sun shone forth, *you two* thought fit
To wear just robes, and leave off trunk-hose wit (30).

(30) Ibid.

Mr Cartwright gives the same preference to Fletcher compared with Shakespear ; for which reason I here once more cite him.

Shakespear to thee was dull, whose best jest lies
I' th' Ladies questions, and the Fool's replies ;
Old-fashion'd wit, which walk'd from town to town
In turn'd hose, which our fathers call'd the *Clown* ;
Whose wit our nice times would obfcurer call,
And which made bawdry pass for comical.
Nature was all his art ; thy vein was free
As his, but without his scurrility (31).

(31) Cartwright's Poems, &c. p. 273.

Whoever is conversant in the writings of Shakespear and Fletcher, need not be told, that it is extremely unjust to compliment the latter at the expence of the former ; and that, in truth, after all the fine things said of the two Poets in question, and making the most of Shakespear's faults, the preference lies greatly on his side ; whose sublimer beauties of sentiment and poetry Beaumont and Fletcher never could reach.

[L] Some of their plays have been altered for the stage by our best writers]. Particularly *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Chances*, and *Valentinian* ; by Mr Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Rochester. *The Maid's Tragedy* was very frequently acted, after the Restoration, and with great applause. But the conclusion of the play, in which the King is killed, making it, upon some particular occasion, thought improper to be further represented, it was by private order from the court silenced. This put Mr Waller upon altering the catastrophe, or last act, as it is now printed in the edition of his poems, in 8vo, in 1711, and in all the subsequent editions. Upon which alteration the author of the Preface to the second part of Mr Waller's poems makes the following

remark. 'Tis not to be doubted, who sat for the two brothers characters. 'Twas agreeable to the sweetness of Mr Waller's temper, to soften the rigour of the tragedy, as he expresses it ; but whether it be agreeable to the nature of tragedy itself, to make every thing come off easily, I leave to the Critics.' The Duke of Buckingham, so celebrated for writing the *Rehearsal*, made the two last acts of the *Chances* almost new. His Grace, we are told (32), afterwards bestowed some time in altering another play of our authors, called *Philaster*, or *Love lies a bleeding*. He made very considerable alterations in it, and took it with him, intending to finish it in the last journey he made to Yorkshire in the year 1686. It is not known what is become of the play ; but the Preface-writer here cited tells us, he is very well informed it was, since the Revolution, in the hands of Mr Nevil Payn, who was imprisoned at Edinburgh in the year 1689. The alterations in *Valentinian*, by the Earl of Rochester, amount to about a third part of the whole ; but his Lordship died before he had done all he intended to it: The play was acted in 1684, and the same year published by Mr Robert Wolsey, with a preface, giving some account of my Lord and his writings. It is since printed at the end of his Lordship's poems in octavo. Besides these three, Mr Tate altered the *Island Princess*, and Mr Dryden revived the *Prophets*, with alterations and additions, after the manner of an Opera.

(32) Preface to Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, edit. 1711, p. 9.

[M] Mr Rymer has censured the faults of *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, *the King and no King*, and *The Maid's Tragedy*.] This he has done in a piece, intitled *The Tragedies of the last Age considered and examined, by the practise of the Antients, and by the common sense of all ages: In a letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq;* (33). I shall here present the reader with the substance of this gentleman's criticisms on the three plays just mentioned.

(33) Printed in 1678. The motto is: — Clamant perillisse pudorem.

To begin with *Rollo Duke of Normandy*: His first objection lies against the *fable* or *plot*, as containing nothing either to move *pity* or *terror*, either to delight or instruct. 'It is indeed, says he, a history, and it may well be a history ; for never man of common sense could set himself to invent any thing so gross. Poetry requires the *ben trovato*, something handsomely invented, and leaves the truth to history ; but never were the Muses prophaned with a more foul, unpleasent, and unwholsome truth, than this which makes the argument of *Rollo* (34).' Next to the story, our Critic quarrels with the *moral*, which he makes to be this ; *He that sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed*. 'But, if this be all, says he, where's the wonder? Have we not every day cried in the streets instances of God's revenge against murder more extraordinary, and more poetical, than all this comes to? If this be poetry, *Tyburn* is a better and more ingenious school of virtue than the *Theatre* (35).'

Quæ gravis Afropus, quæ ductus Rolicus egit. Hor.

(34) Page 19.

In the third place, he objects to the *conduct* of the *fable* ; he thinks it very odd to see the first four scenes pass, as if nothing extraordinary were toward, without any preparation, and immediately, without more ado, the two brothers, two Kings, are a fighting. The Antients would have made the earth tremble, and the sun start out of the firmament, at a fight so unnatural. Yet we make no more of them, but turn them out, like two cocks of the game, for the diversion of the rabble (36).'

(35) Page 255

He is extremely shocked to see *Rollo* fighting with his own brother and King, equal to himself, and attempting to poison him, without any remorse ; killing him in their mother's arms, without any provocation ; calling the Queen their mother *Beldam*, and with drawn sword threatening to kill both her and his sister, without any sense of honour or piety ; and he asks, *Must we not imagine a legion of Devils in his belly* (37), which brings him to consider the characters of this play. And here, to say no more of *Rollo's* character, he observes, that 'neither is *Orto* (his brother) a much more taking gentleman ; nothing appears in his *cue* to move pity, or any way to make the audience of his party (38).'

(36) Page 29.

(37) Page 37.

(38) Page 38.

bert,

who, in the blank leaves before the beginning, and after the end of the book, made several

- (39) Page 39. *bert* and *Baldwin*, Chancellor and Tutor, 'they are *devota capita*; only come on the stage, to make Rollo the greater sinner by their murder (39).' *Aubrey*, who is to succeed to the Crown, 'is a good man, but the dullest good man that ever poet advanced to a throne by such extraordinary means; something shining and extravagant ought to have appeared in his character, and every step of his should have been attended with awe and majesty; whereas he appears a humble endeavour, speaks honestly to no purpose, and is braved and abused by rascals (40).'
- (40) Ibid. The characters of *Sophia* and *Matilda*, he thinks, are by no means supported (41); and as to *Edith* and the old *Duchess*, 'when in all reason one might expect that so violent grief and passions would choke them, they run chattering as if the concern were no more than a gossiping; theirs are not of the old cut, *Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent* (42).' He concludes his reflections on this play with giving it as his opinion, that 'the success of it is chiefly due to the scenes for laughter, the merry jigg under the gallows, and where the tragedy tumbles into the kitchen among the scoundrels that never saw buskin in their lives before. There the Pantler and Cook give it that relish, which renders it the most followed entertainment of the town (43).'
- (41) Page 41, 42. The next tragedy censured by Mr Rymer is the *King and no King*. As to the *fable* or *plot* of this play, he owns, there 'appears in it some proportion, shape, and (at the first sight) an outside fair enough (44).' But, upon examination, it is quite otherwise: It is full of *improbabilities*, and those of the worst sort, because they contribute nothing to the wonder. 'What more improbable, he asks, than that the mother, whose business it was to contrive the death of the impostor, should never caution or inform her only daughter, who had the right to the Crown, that Arbaces was none of her brother, but her vassal; and so obstruct her love for him? Nor is it likely that Gobrias should not have reserved some means to let his son know the secret, that his son's conduct, and addresses to gain the Princess, might have been fashioned accordingly (45).'
- (42) Page 44. 'The characters are all *improbable* and *unproper* in the highest degree; besides that both these, their actions, and all the lines of the play run so wide from the plot, that scarce ought could be imagined more contrary. We blunder along without the least streak of light, 'till in the last act we stumble on the plot, lying all in a lump together; neither any tolerable direction to guide us thither; nor ought ingenious, just, or reasonable, that carries us from thence (46).'
- (43) Page 55. Mr Rymer comes next to particular characters. He asks, 'What find we in the *son* of *Gobrias* (Arbaces), that he must have the Princess, and the kingdom, for her portion, but that the knave his father will have it so (47)? He no sooner comes on the stage, but he lays about him with his tongue at so nauseous a rate, Captain *Bessus* is all modesty to him (48).'
- (44) Page 57. Then he behaves with such insulting cruelty to his prisoner the King of Armenia, that our Critic can afford him no better appellation than *monster* of a King (49).
- (45) Page 59. The indecent language this Prince uses to the Queen-mother, whom he calls *witch* and *wobore*, and to his father *Gobrias*, whom he loads with curses; the incestuous love he makes to his supposed sister *Panthea*; his drawing his sword at the Queen-mother, and other outrages, are the sum of our Hero's virtues (50). Besides, his drolling and quibbling with *Bessus* and his buffoons, and their breaking their little jests upon him, is, in Mr Rymer's opinion, a great *indecorum* (51).
- (46) Ibid. Nor is he better pleased with the character of *Panthea*, of whom he says, 'One might swear she had a knock in the cradle; so soft is she at all points, and so silly. No *Linsley-wolsey* Shepherds but must have more soul in her, and more sense of decency, not to say honour (52).'
- (47) Page 60. With respect to the *Queen-mother*, we might expect to find her a woman of great courage and resolution, after we had been told, that she was for removing the Usurper by poison, and bringing things into the right channel again; on the contrary, we find her the veriest *Patient-Griffel* that ever had lain by a Monarch's side. She comes but thrice on the stage; the first time she is rebuked by *Gobrias*
- (48) Page 61. 'with the same language that the vicar of Newgate might dispense to some sinner forlorn; then she is on her *mary-bones* to the impostor without reluctance. Lastly, when provoked with a drawn sword, and words more cutting, the proudest rant she could be raised to, was, *Fire consume me, if ever I was a wobore* (53).'
- (49) Page 70. Lastly, Mr Rymer finds great fault with the conduct of the incestuous love between *Arbaces* and *Panthea*, which he calls a *canker in the heart of this tragedy* (54).
- (50) Page 75. We come lastly to the *Maid's Tragedy*, of which he gives this general character, that 'nothing in *history* was ever so *unnatural*, nothing in *nature* was ever so *improbable*, as we find the whole conduct of this tragedy; so far are we from any thing accurate and philosophical, as poetry requires (55).'
- (51) Page 107. Let us hear what he says of the *King*. 'Our Poet gives to the great comical booby *Callianax*, the honour of a long name with a King * at the end of it, yet lets the King himself go without. But since he must be nameless, we may treat him with the greater freedom; and to tell my mind, certainly God never made a King with so little wit, nor the Devil with so little grace, as is this King *Anonymus* (56).'
- (52) Page 107. As for *Evadne's* part, he asks, 'Did Hell ever give reception to such a *non-ster*, or *Cerberus* ever wag his tail at an *impudence* so sacred (57)?' Mr Rymer instances in her speech to *Amintor* on the wedding-night, which begins with *A maiden-head, Amintor, at my years!* He says farther, with respect to this character; 'Had *Evadne* been the injured body's sister, and had married *Amintor* out of revenge, or had there been any foundation from circumstances for this sort of carriage, the character then might have been contrived plausible enough; but both the King's behaviour and her's, uncircumstanced as we have 'em, are every way so harsh and against nature, that every thing said by them strikes like a dagger to the soul of any reasonable audience (58).'
- (53) Page 112. Mr Rymer declares it as his opinion, that such immodest characters, as that of *Evadne*, 'ought not to stalk in tragedy on high shoes, but should pack down with the carriers into the province of comedy, there to be kicked about and exposed to laughter (59).'
- (54) Page 114. In the next place, our Critic is very severe upon the absurdity and injustice of the *King's murder*, whom, though a monster, 'the Poet (he says) cuts off, ere ripe for punishment, and by such unproper means, that to remove one guilty person he makes an hundred, and commits the *deadly* sins to punish a *venial* (60).'
- (55) Page 114. If the King must be killed, he thinks *Amintor*, as having received the highest provocations, the properest instrument of his punishment; for *Melantius* had no reason to be angry with any but his sister *Evadne*, nor had she any pretence to employ her hands against any life but her own (61).
- (56) Page 116. As for the other characters, he observes, that *Callianax* is an old humorous Lord, neither wife nor valiant, as himself confesses, and yet is intrusted with the strength and keys of the kingdom; whereas, in comedy, he would scarce pass for a good yeoman of the cellar. His daughter *Aspasia*, that gives name to this tragedy, makes also a very simple figure. Never did *Amintors* or *Passor-Fido* know any thing so tender; nor were the *Arcadian hills* ever watered with the tears of a creature so innocent. Pretty lamb! how mournfully it bleats! it needs no articulate voice to move our compassion; it seeks no shades but under dismal yew, and brouzes only on willow-garlands; yet it can speak for a kiss or so. — This *Aspasia* was a Lord's daughter, and bred at court, yet is in the presence and bed-chamber of the Lady that supplants her, and amongst her bride-maids, where she acts her part, and fawns upon the perjured man that forsakes her. And now cannot I be persuaded, that there is ought of nature or probability in all this. Much less would I think this a woman to handle a sword, and kick *Amintor*, as we see her do soon after. Nor can I conceive wherein consists that *blessing*, as she calls it, which she proposed to herself in being killed by his hands. This may be *romance*, but not *nature* (62).'
- (57) Page 123, 124. But of all the characters, that of *Amintor*, he thinks, is the most unreasonable. 'No reason (he says) appears why he was contracted to *Aspasia*, and less why he forsook her for

veral remarks, as if he designed an answer to that gentleman [N].

Several of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays were printed in *quarto* during the lives of the authors; and in the year 1645, twenty years after Fletcher's death, there was published in *folio* a collection of such of their Plays, as had not before been printed, amounting to between thirty and forty. At the beginning of this volume are inserted a great many commendatory verses, written by the most eminent wits of that age. This collection was published by Mr Shirley, after the shutting up of the Theatres, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke by ten of the most famous Actors. In 1679, there was an edition published of all their Plays in *folio*, containing those formerly printed in *quarto*, and those in the first *folio* edition. Several of the commendatory verses are left out in that impression. Lastly, in 1711, an edition of their Plays was published by Mr Tonson, in seven volumes in *octavo*, containing all the verses in praise of the authors, and supplying a large omission of part of the last act of the Tragedy of *Thierry and Theodoret*.

(63) Page 125. 'for Evadne, and least of all for his dissembling and bearing so patiently the greatest provocations that could possibly be given (63).' Mr Rymer finds great fault with the famous scene between Melantius and Amintor in the third act. Amintor having discovered to Melantius the whoredom of his sister Evadne, Melantius draws his sword, and is for fighting Amintor, who upbraids him with extorting the secret from him, and then raging at it. Yet Melantius persists, 'till Amintor is provoked to draw his sword, and then Melantius puts up. 'Harlequin and Scaramoutio (he tells us) might do these things: Tragedy suffers 'em not; here is no place for cowards nor bullies (64). 'Yet far more faulty is what follows: The counterturn has no shadow of sense or sobriety. Melantius has swaggered away his fury, and now Amintor is all agog to be fighting; for what? to get his secret back again (65).' Mr Rymer concludes thus: 'We may remember (however we find this scene of Melantius and Amintor written in the book) that at the theatre we have a good scene acted; there is work cut out, and both our *Aëtopus* and *Rofcius* are upon the stage together. Whatever defect may be in Amintor and Melantius, Mr Hart and Mr Mobun are wanting in nothing. To these we owe for what is pleasing in the scene, and to this scene we may impute the success of the *Maid's Tragedy* (66).'

(64) Page 135. [N] Mr Dryden — made several remarks, as if he designed an answer to Mr Rymer.] These remarks, we are told (67), may be seen, under Mr Dryden's own hand, at the publisher's of the edition in 1711, who has printed them in the preface to that edition. I shall extract from them only what is immediately opposed to the objections in the last note. 'Tis evident, says Mr Dryden, those plays, which he (Mr Rymer) arraigns, have moved both those passions (terror and pity) in a high degree upon the stage. To give the glory of this away from the Poet, and to place it upon the actors, seems unjust. One reason is, because whatever actors they have found, the event has been always the same, the passions have been always moved; which shews, that there is somewhat of force and merit in the plays themselves, conducing to the design of raising those two passions. And suppose them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life upon the stage, but cannot give it wholly where it was not before. But, secondly, I dare appeal to those, who have never seen them acted, if they have not found those two passions moved within them; and if the general voice will carry it, Mr Rymer's prejudice will take off his single testimony. This being matter of

fact is reasonably to be established by this appeal; as if one man say 'tis night, when the rest of the world conclude it to be day, there needs no further argument against him that it is so. — Shakespeare and Fletcher have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for though nature, as he objects, is the same in all places, and reason too the same; yet the climate, the age, the dispositions of the people, to whom a Poet writes, may be so different, that what pleased the Greeks would not satisfy an English audience. — The faults, which he has found in the designs, are rather wittily aggravated in many places, than reasonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks by one who were as witty as himself. Secondly, They destroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabrick, only take away from the beauty of the symmetry. For example; the faults in the character of the King and no King are not, as he makes them, such as render him detestable; but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and for the most part are excused by the violence of his love; so that they destroy not our pity or concernment for him. This answer may be applied to most of his objections of that kind. And Rollo committing many murders, when he is answerable but for one, is too severely arraigned by him; for it adds to our horror and detestation of the criminal; and poetic justice is not neglected neither, for we stab him in our minds for every offence he commits; and the point which the Poet is to gain upon the audience, is not so much in the death of the offender, as the raising an horror of his crimes. That the criminal should neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but so participating of both, as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be observed, for that were to make all tragedies too much alike; which objection he foresaw, but has not fully answered. I shall finish this extract with Mr Dryden's opinion of Mr Rymer's book. 'My judgment (says he) of this piece is, that it is extremely learned, but that the author of it is better read in the Greek than in the English Poets; that all writers ought to study this Critique, as the best account I have ever seen of the Antients; that the model of tragedy he has here given is excellent, and extremely correct; but that it is not the only model of all tragedy, because it is too much circumscribed in the plot, characters, &c. And lastly, that we may be taught here justly to admire and imitate the Antients, without giving them the preference, with this author, in prejudice to our own country.' T

BECKET (St THOMAS) [A], Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry

[A] BECKET (St THOMAS).] He was the great Goliath Saint of those times; and as his shrine out-did those of all the Martyrs that had gone before him, so his life and miracles have had more writers to record them, than the most glorious actions of our best of Kings. The following list of them is picked out of Leland, Bale, and Pits, together with some of our later authors. I. Herbert Bofenham, or Boffham, or de Hofcham (1), who was this Archbishop's secretary, and also present at the slaughter of him. II. Edward, a Monk of Canterbury (2), the Martyr's most intimate friend. III. Johannes Sarisburiensis (3), who accompanied Becket in his exile, but never countenanced his behaviour towards the King, being as sharp a writer VOL. I. No. 53.

against the encroachments of the Papal See, as any man of his time. IV. Bartholomæus Iſcanus, or Exonensis, Bishop of Exeter, where he died in 1184. V. E. a Monk of Evesham, who dedicated his book, or wrote it by way of epistle, to Henry, Abbot of Croyland. VI. William Stephens, or Fitz-Stephen, a Monk of Canterbury, and, for that reason, usually called *Gulielmus Cantuariensis*. He is said to have written three several treatises of the life, martyrdom, and miracles of St Thomas Becket; which, we are told (4), are now in the Cotton library. But that, which there carries his name, seems to have been penned by *Johannes Carnotensis*, who is the same person with *Sarisburiensis* above-mentioned (5), since, in the

(1) Bibl. Cott. Nero, A. 5.
(2) Ibid. V. spafianus, E. 10.
(3) Ibid. Claudius, B. 2.

(4) See W. Petyt's Preface to his *Rights of the Commons*, &c. p. 64.
(5) See Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Exon. an. 1159.

Henry II, and so famous for his martyrdom and miracles, was son of Gilbert, a Merchant, and some time Sheriff of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady (a) [B]; and was born at London in the year 1119 (b). He was educated in grammar learning at Merton-Abbey in Surrey; and, in his riper years, studied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. He soon grew into favour with Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him to study the Civil Law at Bononia in Italy, and, after his return, made him Archdeacon of Canterbury (at that time one of the richest benefices in England) Provost of Beverly, and a Prebendary of Lincoln and St Paul's. Nor was this all; for the Archbishop, looking upon Becket as a proper person to manage the interest of the Church at court, so effectually recommended him to King Henry II, that, in 1158, he was made High-Chancellor to that Prince [C], and Preceptor to his son, the young Prince Henry.

Becket,

the *Quadrupartite History*, what we have from him is often to be found, in the same words, in the life there ascribed to *Fitz-Stephen*. VII. *Benedictus Petroburgensis*, Abbot of Peterborough, who died in the year 1200. VIII. *Alanus Teukeburienfis*, Abbot of Teukebury, who died about the same time. IX. *Roger*, a Monk of Croyland, who lived about the year 1214. 'Tis observed (6), that St Thomas's miracles were become so numerous in this writer's time, that he had matter for seven large volumes, in composing whereof he spent no less than fifteen years. X. *Stephen Langton*, a famous successor of Becket's in the See of Canterbury, whose work on this subject is said to be in the library of Bennet-college. XI. *Alexander de Hales*, so called from the monastery of Hales in Gloucestershire, where he was educated; one of the most eminent schoolmen of his age, and master to Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, &c. XII. *John Grandison*, or *Grainston*, who died in the year 1369. XIII. *Quadrilogus*, or the author of a book, intitled *De Vita et Processu S. Thomæ Cantuariensis et Martyris super Libertate Ecclesiastica*. It is collected out of four Historians, who were contemporary and conversant with Becket, viz. *Herbert de Hofbam*, *Johannes Carnotensis*, *Gulielmus Canterburiensis*, and *Alanus Teukeburienfis*, who are introduced as so many relaters of facts interchangeably. This book was first printed at Paris in 1495, and is often quoted by our Historians, in the reign of Henry II, by the name of *Quadrupartita Historia*. XIV. *Thomas Stapleton*, the translator of Bede, in whose book *De tribus Thomis* (7), or *Of the three Thomas's*, our Saint makes as considerable a figure as either *Thomas the Apostle*, or *Thomas Aquinas*. XV. *Lawrence Wade*, or *Wade*, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who lived and died we know not when, or where; unless perhaps he be the same person with XVI. An anonymous writer of Becket's life, who appears to have been a Monk of that church, and whose book is said to be in the library at Lambeth (8). XVII. *Richard James*, nephew of Dr Thomas James, some time keeper of the Bodleian library; a very industrious and eminent Antiquary, who endeavoured to overthrow the great design of all the above-mentioned authors, in his *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum* (9), which, with other manuscript pieces by the same hand, is in the public library at Oxford. These are the principal writers of our Archbishop's life; besides whom, several other Historians have spoken largely of him; as John Bromton, Matthew Paris, Gervase, &c.

[B] *Son of Gilbert, a merchant, and some time Sheriff, of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady*] John Bromton, the Historian, who informs us (10), that his mother Matilda was a Saracen Lady of considerable quality, gives us likewise a long story of the extraordinary accidents, by which she came to be the wife of Gilbert. Though there is little of probability in the narrative, we shall set it down, for the reader's amusement, as briefly as possible. Gilbert, in his youth, took a journey to Jerusalem, attended only by one of his domestics, named Richard. As they were one day at their devotions in a church, among several other Christians, they were surprized by a party of Infidels, and carried to a prison belonging to a certain great Saracen Lord, where they were treated with great hardships and severities. Gilbert continued a year and half in this captivity, but suffered less than his companions, having the good fortune, by his excellent qualities, to gain the esteem and affection of his master, who often made him eat at his own table, and took a particular pleasure in asking

him concerning the customs and manners of different people. This Lord's daughter was struck with the person and conversation of Gilbert; and, finding an opportunity of talking with him in private, she informed herself particularly of his country and religion, and the circumstances of his past life. Gilbert having satisfied her enquiries in relation to himself, and explained to her the doctrines of the Christian Religion, she told him, to his great surprize, that she was resolved to turn Christian, and to abandon her country and her father's house for the sake of that religion; but, as she had no knowledge of any other Christian but himself, she desired Gilbert that he would promise to marry her, in case they could make their escape. Our Merchant was confounded at this proposition; for, besides the difficulty of escaping, he was fearful lest this might be some snare laid for him; and therefore he answered her only in general terms, speaking always very advantageously of the Christian Religion, and telling her how happy she would be if God should inspire her to embrace it. Some time after, Gilbert and the other Captives found means to break their chains, and escape into the countries conquered by the Christians; and Gilbert returned into England. The Saracen young Lady no sooner heard of Gilbert's flight, than she resolved to follow him. And having disposed all things for that purpose, she left her father's house by night, and escaped into the land of the Christians, from whence she took shipping, in company with some English merchants and pilgrims, and arrived in England. When she came to London, being a stranger to the English tongue, she was quite at a loss how to find out the person she was in quest of; but passing accidentally by Gilbert's house, she was seen and known by his man Richard, who acquainted his master with the news of her arrival. Gilbert was extremely touched with the zeal and affection of the young Lady, and ordered Richard to conduct her to the house of a gentlewoman of his acquaintance, where she was treated with the greatest kindness and civility. In the mean time Gilbert, who was extremely desirous of promoting the fair Infidel's conversion, but unwilling to engage in marriage, having long since resolved to spend his life in the wars of the Christians against the Saracens, applied himself for advice to the Bishop of London, and some other Bishops; who, considering the circumstances of the affair, and perceiving the hand of God visibly concerned in it, were unanimously of opinion, that he should marry her, provided she should first receive baptism, and embrace the Christian Faith. Accordingly, the very next day, she was solemnly baptized in St Paul's church, and, immediately after the ceremony, married to Gilbert. Their nuptials were attended with the blessing of Heaven; for Matilda soon after conceived this son, pre-ordained to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Martyr for the liberties of the Church. And so you have Bromton's story.

[C] *He was made High-Chancellor to King Henry II.*] That Prince, as the Historians of his time remark, was of an haughty disposition, and had about him several persons, who gave him bad advice, and led him to enterprizes against the rights and authority of the Church. Archbishop Theobald, who had already been exposed to great persecutions in the reign of King Stephen, and fearing lest Henry should tread in the steps of his predecessor, resolved, if possible, to oppose the abilities and virtues of Becket, to the evil councils of the King's false friends. As his rank of Archbishop gave him free access to court, he took all opportunities of possessing the King with an high esteem

(a) Chronic. Johan. Bromton, apud X Scriptor. col. 1052. Gervaf. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. ibid. col. 1668.

(b) Chronolog. Augustin. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 2251.

(6) See Fuller's *Worthies*, Lincolnsh. p. 164.

(7) Fol. Duac. 1588.

(8) Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. ii. p. 523.

(9) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 524, 525.

(10) See his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1163, apud X Scriptor. col. 1052—1055.

Becket, upon this promotion, laid aside the ecclesiastical habit and way of living, and affected both the dress and manners of a courtier [D]; discharging, at the same time, the duties of his station to the entire satisfaction both of the King and the people (c). In this character of Chancellor, he made a campaign with King Henry in his expedition into Toulouse, A. D. 1159; having in his own pay twelve hundred horse, besides a retinue of seven hundred knights or gentlemen; always forward in action, and commanding at the sieges of several strong places (d). In 1160, he was sent by the King to Paris, to treat of a marriage between Prince Henry, then but seven years old, and the Princess Margaret, the King of France's daughter, no more than three; in which negotiation Becket succeeded, and returned with the young Princess to England (e). He had not been Chancellor much above four years, when Archbishop Theobald died. The King, who was then in Normandy, presently cast his eyes upon the Chancellor, and, resolving to advance him to the See of Canterbury [E], sent over his agents to England, who managed the matter so with the Monks and Clergy, that Becket was elected [F], almost unanimously, no one opposing his election but Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London. After the election, Becket, being at that time only Deacon, was ordained Priest, on Whitfunday 1162, by Walter, Bishop of Rochester; and, on Trinity Sunday following, he was consecrated, by Henry Bishop of Winchester, in the cathedral church of Canterbury; the young Prince Henry, and a great concourse of the Nobility, being present at the solemnity. He received his pall from Pope Alexander III, then residing in France; and, presently after his consecration, he sent messengers to the King in Normandy, with his resignation of the seal and office of Chancellor. This step not a little surprized and displeas'd the King, who, returning soon after into England, and being met at his landing by the Archbishop, received him with the usual salute, but at the same time with such a countenance, as plainly shewed he had not the same affection for him as formerly (f). This year, Becket, in the presence of the King and court, performed the ceremony of translating the relics of St Edward the Confessor to Westminster (g). Being now confirmed in the See of Canterbury, he betook himself to a quite different manner of life, and exchanged the

(c) Jo. Bromton, ubi supra, col. 1057, 1058. Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Lond. 1640, Tom. I. p. 98. Gervaf. ubi supra. Radulph. de Diceto, Vit. Archiep. Cantuar. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. 5. p. 628.

(d) Guliel. Cantuar. de Vit. Th. B. apud Historia Quadripart. p. 8, 9.

(e) Bromton, ubi supra, col. 1050.

(f) M. Paris, ubi supra. R. de Dia. ubi supra.

(g) M. Paris, ibid. p. 99.

gaiety

esteem for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and insensibly prevailed with him to confer on him the office of Lord High-Chancellor of England (11).

[D] He affected the dress and manners of a courtier. Bromton tells us (12), he conformed himself in every thing to the King's humour, hunted with him, partook of all his diversions, and even observed the same hours of eating and going to bed. He gave into the pleasantries of the court, had numerous and splendid levees, and courted popular applause. When he rode on horseback, he used a silver bridle, and the expences of his table exceeded those of the greatest Nobles. Bishop Godwin (13) tells us the same thing, adding, that it was commonly said, 'the Chancellor had forgot ' he was an Archdeacon and an Ecclesiastic.' *Hanc tantam potentiam ut firmaret, seque Regi (qui adolescentie vix adhuc egressus erat) ac deinde proceribus et aulicis gratiorem redderet, Clericalem Amicum Consuetudinemque paulatim deposuit, et aulicam splendorem ac magnificentiam induit; ac ut regi se in omnibus accommodaret, iisdem se moribus aptavit, eadem epulandi dormiendique tempora sibi statuit; una sive in feriis sive in jocosis rebus semper adsuit; aulicum leporem et concinnitatem in omnibus affectavit; nihilque non fecit, quo vel gratiam principis, vel apud ceteros gloriam auramque popularum captaret. Auscipio itaque, venatione, vestium splendore, cateroque corporis cultu, copioso frequentique samulatu, equis generosis, argenteis auratisque ornamentis, epularum et conviviorum crebra lautitia, omnique aulico nitore tam profuse utebatur, ut multi dicerent, Archidiaconatus sui et ordinis Clericalis sibi in mentem non venire.*

[E] The King—resolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury.] The King no sooner heard the news of Archbishop Theobald's death, than he cast his eyes upon Becket to succeed him. The Chancellor was then with that Prince in Normandy. When the King told him his design, Becket smiled, and, pointing to the secular habit he wore, said; 'Truly, Sir, you have pitched upon a very reformed and holy person to govern the first Church in England!' But, finding the King was in earnest, he is said to have replied, with great freedom and warmth; 'I assuredly know, Sir, that if God permits me to be Archbishop of Canterbury, I shall soon lose your Majesty's good graces, and that the love you now bear me will be converted into extreme hatred. For give me leave to tell your Majesty, that the attempts you have already made against the rights of the Church,

give me cause to fear your Majesty will require some things of me, which I cannot in honour and conscience comply with; and my enemies will take occasion from thence to animate and incense your Majesty against me.' In this manner Becket is said to have predicted the ensuing breach between him and the King. But that Prince was so far from being displeas'd with Becket's freedom, that he immediately ordered some Lords of his court to accompany the Chancellor into England, and to acquaint the Clergy of the realm, and particularly the Chapter of Canterbury, with his Majesty's desire that Becket might be elected their Archbishop. The Chancellor, nevertheless, continued obstinate in his refusal to accept of this dignity, 'till the Cardinal of Pisa, the Pope's Legate in England, who was then with the King, convinced him of the expediency of complying with the King's desire for the good of the Church; after which he set out in a few days for England (14).

[F] He was elected.] The Lords, who accompanied Becket into England, produced their commission in presence of the Chapter of Canterbury; upon which several Bishops assembled in London to deliberate on the affair. But the Chapter, as well as the Bishops, were divided in their opinions. Some thought they could not elect a fitter person to support the rights of the Church against the encroachments of the State; whilst others objected, that the Chancellor being a courtier, his election would rather prejudice the Church, for they believed he would continue Chancellor after he was made Archbishop. They added, that it was an unworthy thing, and contrary to the divine laws, for a secular person, and one fitter to bear arms than the episcopal cross, to become at once a shepherd and bishop of souls. But the others replied, that it was no new thing in the Church for it's first dignities to be conferred on persons who were immediately before vested with secular employments; witness St Ambrose, who, from a Governor of a Province, became that great Archbishop of Milan, who shut the door of his church against an Emperor, and obliged him to do public penance for the crime he had committed. At length, after much dispute, Thomas was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, on the eve of Whitfunday, in the abbey of Westminster; and immediately after, by the authority of Prince Henry, who represented his father's person on this occasion, he was publicly discharged from giving any account of his administration in the office of Chancellor (15).

(14) Historia Quadripartita, seu De Vita et Processu S. Thomae Cantuar. &c. Paris. 1495, cap. 11, &c.

(15) Ibid.

[G] He

(11) Bromton, ubi supra, col. 1057, 1058.

(12) Ibid.

(13) De Præsul. Angl. inter Archiep. Cant. an. 1162.

(b) Gervaf. Chron. apud X Scr. col. 1383.
Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. ib. 1669.

(i) M. Paris, ib. p. 100.
Gervaf. Chron. ib. col. 1384.
R. de Dic. ib.

(k) Gervaf. Act. Pontif. Cant. ib.

(l) Gervaf. ib. col. 1670.
Id. Chron. ubi supra.
M. Paris, ibid. col. 1384.
R. de Dic. ibid.

(m) Gervaf. ibid.

gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and austerities of a Monk (b) [G]. The same year he was present, with some of his Suffragans, at the Council of Tours [H] held under Pope Alexander III (i). Soon after his return into England, he began to exert himself with great vigour in defence of the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury; for, besides prosecuting at law several of the Nobility, and others, for lands and possessions, he pretended they had usurped from that See (k), he laid claim to the custody of the castle and tower of Rochester, then in the hands of the crown; he demanded homage of the Earl of Clare for the manor of Tunbridge; and he excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for disputing with him the right of patronage to that church (l) [I]. In all these instances he proceeded with such warmth and obstinacy, as greatly alienated the minds of the King and the Nobility from him; and, under this disadvantage, his conduct was severely censured, and all his actions represented in their worst light (m) [K]. Nor was it long before the King and Becket came to an open rupture. For Henry, endeavouring to recal such of the privileges of the Clergy, as he thought inconvenient to the State; and particularly, to subject Ecclesiastics guilty of murder, felony, and other high crimes, to the judgment of the Civil Courts [L], met with a violent opposition from our Archbishop, who stood firmly in defence

[G] *He exchanged the gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and austerities of a Monk.* Lautus ille, nitidus, splendidus, qui genio totus indulgens, cutem suam tam bene solitus erat curare, vix paucis interpositis diebus, vultu repente gravis, moribus sedatus, habitu decens, visu frugalis conspicitur; et amandatis procul jocis ac cecibinis, quibus antea plurimum ferebatur deditus, sacris peragendis, ceterisque Pastoralis Officii muneribus totus vacabat; et ne quis famæ oculisque hominum duntaxat servivisse contendat, cilicio quoque indutus, corpus subigisse perhibent, triplici veste triplicem personam gerens (ut illorum quidam loquitur) exteriori Clericum exhibens, interiori monachum occultans, et intima Eremitæ molestias sustinens (16).

(*) Gul. Cantuar.

(16) Godwin, ubi supra.

[H] *He was present — at the council of Tours* There was at that time a schism in the Church. About four years before, Cardinal Roland, Chancellor of the Holy See, had been canonically elected Pope under the name of Alexander III. But at the same time Cardinal Octavian was declared Pope by two Cardinals of his faction, whose example was presently followed by three other Cardinals, some Bishops, and several Senators, who employed all their power to support Octavian in his usurpation. This Anti-pope besieged Alexander several days in St Peter's Church, and obliged him at last to fly from Rome, and take refuge in France, where he was received with extraordinary honours. To put an end to this schism, he convened a council at Tours, where were present seventeen Cardinals, and a great number of Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastics. Among the most eminent Prelates, who assisted at this council, was our Archbishop of Canterbury, who was received, at his entrance into Tours, by the magistrates, and most of the members of the council; and the Pope, who had long desired to see him, shewed him very particular marks of his affection and esteem. In this assembly, Becket complained of the violent oppressions the Church laboured under, through the ambition and avarice of the laity, who daily invaded its rights and possessions, and procured several canons and decrees to be made in favour of Ecclesiastics (17).

(17) Baron. Annal. ad. ann. 1159, 1162, & 1163.
Historia Quadrupartita, &c. l. i. c. 19.

[I] *He excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for disputing with him the right of patronage to that church.* Having a right, as he pretended, to present to the vacant livings, in the towns which held of his See, he collated one Laurence, a Priest, to the rectory above-mentioned. Whereupon William de Ainsford, Lord of the manor of that parish, laying claim to the patronage of that church, drove Laurence out of possession by force of arms, for which violence the Archbishop immediately excommunicated William. The latter, lying under this sentence, applies to the King, who was highly displeased with the Archbishop for not acquainting him with the sentence before it passed; the King alledging, that it was part of the royal prerogative, that none of his officers, or other persons holding in capite of the crown, should be excommunicated without his knowledge and consent. Hereupon the King wrote to the Archbishop, desiring he would absolve William. But the Archbishop replied, that excommunication and absolution were no part of the King's prerogative, but solely under the direction of the Church. However, at

length, he was prevailed upon to take off the censure (18).

[K] *His actions were set in their worst light.* The courtiers represented his austerity of manners as superstition: His zeal for discipline was called rigour and cruelty: His care to preserve the rights and revenues of the Archbishopric was imputed to covetousness: His contempt of popularity was construed a cynical affectation: On the other hand, his living up to the dignity of his station was censured for pride and ambition. In short, they persuaded the King, that, if the Archbishop went on in his encroachments, the prerogative must greatly suffer, and the crown in a manner sink under him. *Hanc itaque mutationem excelsi maligna interpretatione conati sunt impii obfuscare, superstitioni ascribentes quod vitam ducebat arctiorem. Zelum justitiæ crudelitatem mentiebantur; quod Ecclesiæ procurabat utilitates avaritiæ attribuebant; contemptum mundani favoris venerationem gloriæ esse dicebant; curialis magnificentia fingebatur elatio — nihil jam ab eo vel dici vel fieri poterat quod non malitia malorum depravarat; adeo quidem ut regi persuaderunt, quod si archiepiscopi potestas procederet, regia dignitas proculdubio periret (19).*

(18) M. Paris, Hist. Angl. edit. 1740, Tom. 1. p. 100.

[L] *Henry endeavoured to subject Ecclesiastics guilty of murder, &c. to the judgment of the civil courts.* The Clergy at this time seem greatly to have abused the privilege of exemption from the civil courts, of which the King had lately received several complaints. To give an instance or two. A Burgher of Scarborough had complained to the King against a rural Dean for levying twelve shillings upon him, pronouncing his wife an adulteress, and enjoining her penance, without legal proof. The Dean was brought before the King, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, and John, treasurer of York; and not being able to defend himself, the temporal Barons were ordered to sit with the Bishops upon the bench, and join in the sentence upon him. John the treasurer was of opinion, that if he restored the Burgher his money, and it was remitted to the discretion of his Bishop, whether he should be turned out of his office or not, there was no reason to punish him any farther. Upon which, Richard de Lucy, Justiciary of England, asked, *What satisfaction the King should have for the breach of his laws?* John answered, *None, because the offender was a clerk.* Whereupon the Justiciary and the Temporal Barons went out of the court, and refused to be present when Judgment was given (20). Again; the Judges being upon their circuit at Dunstable, one Simon Fitz-Peter informed the court, that Philip de Brock, Canon of Bedford, had spoken dishonourably of the King in public company. The King ordered this Brock to be prosecuted before the Archbishop; and the charge being proved against him, he endeavoured to excuse himself by alledging that the words were spoken in a passion. The King demanding judgment against him, the ecclesiastical court sentenced him to lose one year's profit of his prebend, and to be banished during that time. But this sentence was thought too favourable, and gave the King no satisfaction (21). Farther, a clerk in Worcestershire had debauched a Farmer's daughter, and afterwards murdered her father. The King required, that this man should

(19) Gervaf. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptorum, col. 1670.

(20) Guliel. Cantuar. c. 1. apud Historiam Quadrupartitam, &c.

(21) Ibid.

defence of those immunities, and would not submit to the least infringement of them. The King, however, resolving to carry his point, convened a Synod of the Bishops at Westminster (n) [M]; but this assembly broke up without effect. At length, several of the Bishops being gained over by the Court, and the Pope interposing in the quarrel, Becket was prevailed on to acquiesce, and to submit to the King's pleasure (o). And, to bind the Clergy more strongly, the King summoned a Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon [N], where several laws were enacted, relating to the privileges of the Clergy, called from thence, *The Constitutions of Clarendon* (p). After the breaking up of this assembly, Becket, repenting of his compliance, retired from court; and, by way of penance, suspended himself from officiating in the church, till he should receive absolution from the Pope, then at Sens (q). After this, despairing of the King's favour [O], he endeavoured to make his escape beyond sea; but, before he could reach the coast of France, the wind, turning against him, drove him back to England (r). Some pretend, the ship's crew, repenting their taking him on board, and fearing the King's displeasure, tacked about in the middle of the voyage, and brought him back to the English shore (s). He immediately repaired to Canterbury, where he found the King's officers plundering his palace; but, upon sight of the Archbishop, they desisted. The King, to prevent Becket's farther attempts to convey himself into France, summoned a Parliament at Northampton, which met in October 1165. Here the Archbishop was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King [P]; and, his defence not being allowed, he was

(n) A. D. 1164.
(o) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Paris posterior, apud Scriptores post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 462.
Gervaf. Chron. ubi supra, col. 1384, 1385.
(p) Rog. de Hoveden. ibid. M. Paris, ubi supra.
R. de Dic. p. 689.
(q) R. de Hoveden. ibid. Gervaf. ibid. col. 1388.
M. Paris, ibid. R. de Dic. ibid.
(r) M. Paris, ibid. R. de Dic. ibid.
(s) Gervaf. ibid. col. 1389.
sentenced

should be tried in the civil courts. But Archbishop Becket, refusing to comply, ordered the malefactor to be kept in the prison of the Bishop of the diocese, and not to be put into the hands of the King's Justices (22). To give one instance more: Another clerk stole a silver chalice out of a church in London: The King would have had him prosecuted and punished in his own courts; but the Archbishop brought him before the ecclesiastical court, where he was sentenced to be degraded, and branded in the face with a hot iron (23). The King, provoked by these examples, insisted, that when any of the Clergy were apprehended for robbery, murder, felony, or any other high crimes of that nature, they should be tried in the King's courts, and undergo the same punishment with laymen. On the other hand, the Archbishop insisted, that when any clerk was charged with any of the crimes above-mentioned, he ought to be tried before ecclesiastical Judges in the *Court Christian*. And in case he was convicted, he was to suffer degradation, and be deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments. And if, after he was thus stripped of his character, he happened to relapse into the former crimes, or broke any of the laws of the realm, he might then be delivered up to the King's justice, and receive his trial and punishment from the civil magistrate (24).

[M] *The king convened a Synod of the Bishops at Westminster.* In this assembly the King demanded, that the Clergy, when they were charged with any capital offence, might receive their trial in the courts of justice. But the Archbishop not giving his Highness satisfaction upon this head, the question was put to the Bishops, Whether, in consideration of their duty and allegiance to the King, and of the interest and peace of the kingdom, they were willing to promise a submission to the laws of his grandfather King Henry. To this the Archbishop, speaking for himself and the rest, replied, That they were willing to be bound by the antient laws of the kingdom, as far as the privileges of their order would permit (*). The King was highly displeas'd with this conditional clause, and endeavoured to bring the Bishops to an absolute promise, without any reservation whatsoever. But the Archbishop would by no means submit; and the rest of the Bishops adhered for some time to their Primate, excepting Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, who, through fear of the King's displeasure, told the King he was ready to observe the laws and customs of the kingdom *bona fide*. But the King would admit of no limitation or abatement of his demands; and so the assembly was dismissed (25).

[N] *A Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon.* In this assembly Archbishop Becket declared, he had gone too far in his late engagement to the King, and that he thought himself obliged to retract his submission. The King was exceedingly angry at this receding from his promise, and threatened the Archbishop and his adherents with the utmost severities. To prevent this storm, the Bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, Robert Earl of Leicester, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and two Knights Templars, came to the Archbishop,

and, throwing themselves at his feet, intreated him not to carry things to extremity for fear of the consequences; and pressing him to wait upon the King immediately, and make a public acknowledgment of his submission. The Archbishop, over-ruled by the entreaties of these great men, waited on the King, and declared, in the presence of the Clergy and Laity, that he was ready to conform to the antient laws of the kingdom. He likewise gave his Suffragans liberty to join in the same declaration. Things being thus far adjusted, the King commanded all the Earls and Barons to withdraw, and prepare a draught of the laws of his grandfather King Henry. This being done, the draught was produced and read to the Bishops, who, having sworn implicitly to the observing of the King's laws, without enquiring into their contents, were not a little shocked at hearing them read. Then the King ordered the Archbishops and Bishops to put their seals to the instrument. And the rest being ready to comply, Archbishop Becket swore he would never put his seal, nor give any other marks of his consent to that draught; alledging, that he was made to believe his promise would be construed no farther than ceremony, and the paying the King a public respect before the great men of the kingdom. However it was now too late to offer such excuses, and the Archbishop was obliged to sign and seal the instrument; one copy of which was lodged in Becket's hands, another with the Archbishop of York, and a third among the records of the crown (26).

[O] *He despaired of the King's favour.* Soon after the Convention of Clarendon, Rotro, Archbishop of Roan, was dispatched by the Pope into England, to make up the breach between the King and the Archbishop. But the King would by no means consent to an accommodation, unless the *Constitutions of Clarendon* were confirmed by the Pope's Bull. This condition being refused, the King sent two of his Chaplains to Pope Alexander, to desire that Roger, Archbishop of York, might be made his Holiness's Legate for all England. But the Pope, being sensible this was intended to restrain the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, absolutely refused to comply with the request. Nevertheless, being desirous to gratify the King, and make up the breach, he proposed to make the King his Legate for England; but with this *Proviso*, that his Highness should not distress the Archbishop of Canterbury, or do any thing to his prejudice. The King's Agents returned with the commission, and Henry would gladly have accepted the Legantine power; but when he found it clogged with the above *Proviso*, he was highly exasperated, and sent back the instrument (27).

[P] *He was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King.* It seems John, the King's Marshal, had claimed a manor or farm in the Archbishop's court, as an estate held of the church of Canterbury; and not having justice done him, as he pretended, he disclaimed the Archbishop's court; and, having sworn the failure of justice, according to the custom of those times, designed to remove the cause. The Archbishop alledged, that John had no reason to complain

(26) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaf. ibid. M. Paris, ibid.
(27) Gervaf. ibid. supra, col. 1338.
R. Hoveden. ibid. supra, p. 493.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Paris posterior, p. 492. apud Scriptores post Bedam, Francof. 1601. Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 1384, 1385. Matth. Paris, ubi supra.

(*) *Salvo Ordine suo.*

(25) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaf. Chronic. ibid.

(f) *Gervaf. ibid.* sentenced [Q] to forfeit all his goods and chattels (f). In the next place, a suit was commenced against him, in the King's name, for five hundred pounds lent him, when he was Chancellor; and an account was demanded from him of the profits of the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, of which he had the custody during his Chancellorship (u). Under these difficulties, he consulted with the Bishops, who were divided in their opinions [R]. And now, having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himself opposed, and at last, deserted by his brethren, and all hopes of accommodation at an end [S], he privately

(u) *Gervaf. ibid.*
col. 1390.
R. Hoved. *ibid.*
p. 494.

complain of hard usage; and that, when he disclaimed his court, instead of making oath upon the four Gospels, as the law required, he had sworn upon a Tropaz, or book of Old Church Hymns. However, John procured the King's writ, by which the Archbishop was required to answer his complaint in the King's court. The Archbishop did not make his appearance at the day, but sent four gentlemen to the King, with letters from himself, and the High-Sheriff of Kent, attesting the misinformation of John, and his defect of proof; and alledging sickness in excuse for his non-appearance. But this defence not being allowed, the Archbishop was cast in the court by the Barons, and most of the Bishops, then present, for having failed in his duty and allegiance to the King, in not appearing upon his Highness's writ (28).

[Q] *He was sentenced* — There was a dispute between the Bishops and Barons who should pronounce judgment, each of them endeavouring to excuse themselves, and decline the office. The Barons urged, that they were Laymen; that the Spiritual Lords were of the Archbishop's order, and that therefore the sentence was their business. To which the Bishops replied, that the sentence not being ecclesiastical, but secular, it belonged rather to the Temporal Lords. However, the King, being informed of the dispute, ordered the Bishop of Winchester to pronounce sentence, which he did, though with great reluctance (29).

[R] *The Bishops were divided in their opinions.* Gilbert, Bishop of London, desired the Archbishop to consider, 'how much he had been obliged and promoted by the King; that the juncture was cross and unfavourable; and that if he persisted in opposing the King, he would not only ruin himself, but involve the whole English Church in the misfortune; whereas his submission might very probably restore his affairs, and recover the King's favour.' Then Henry, Bishop of Winchester, delivered his opinion, and declared, 'That the measures, advised by the Bishop of London, tended to disable the Bishops from discharging their functions, and were destructive of the government of the Church: For, *says he*, if our Primate sets us such a precedent of irresolution and compliance, if a Bishop must give up his authority, and desert his charge, at the will and menaces of the Prince, what can we expect but that the government of the Church will be quite unhinged, and every thing managed by the arbitrary direction of the court; and then, as the Scripture says, *It shall be as with the people, so with the priest.*' Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, who valued himself upon his rhetoric, spoke next, and told the Archbishop, 'That, were not the times unfavourable, and the Church embroiled, he should have been of the opinion last delivered: But now, since the Canons had not strength to bear up against the present opposition, he conceived a rigid insisting upon the authority of the Church was very unreasonable, and that receding and giving way was the only proper expedient; that they ought to be governed by the juncture, and yield to the King's demands, lest, by persisting in their non-compliance, they might be forced at last to an involuntary and dishonourable submission.' Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, spoke much to the same purpose; and so did Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, who added, 'That, since the seas ran high, they ought to furl their sails, rather than perish in the storm; and that since the persecution was not general, but levelled at a single person, it was better that person, though their Primate, should suffer in some measure, than that the whole Church of England should be exposed to inevitable ruin.' Roger, Bishop of Worcester, being asked his opinion, told them, 'he should not venture to give his advice in the case: For, *says he*, if I should assert, that a Prelate ought to desert his charge for fear of the King's displeasure, and be frightened from doing his duty, I should speak

(28) Gulielm.
Cantuar. ubi supra,
p. 21.
Gervaf. ibid. col.
1389.

(29) Gul. Cant.
ibid. p. 23.

against my conscience, and my own mouth would condemn me. But if I should propose any methods of resisting the King's will, I should expose myself to be informed against, to be thrown out of the King's protection, and treated as an Out-law; therefore I shall suspend my opinion, and declare on neither side.' Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was sick of a Palsy, and could not appear. And William, Bishop of Norwich, sent to excuse his absence; saying privately, 'That God had sent the Bishop of Ely a very happy excuse, and that he could have wished himself screened under the same misfortune (30).'

[S] *Having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himself opposed, and at last deserted, by the Bishops, and all hopes of accommodation at an end, &c.* The day before he was to give in his answer to the charges brought against him, the greatest part of the Bishops came to him, and intreated him for the sake of the Church, and his own security, to moderate his terms, and resign to the King's pleasure, otherwise he must expect to be sentenced as a Traitor, for failing in his allegiance to his Sovereign, and breaking the ancient customs of the kingdom which he had sworn to keep. To this the Archbishop answered, 'That he owned himself inexcusable before God Almighty for taking so unlawful an oath; but since it was better to retract a promise, though never so solemnly made, than to perish by keeping it, he was resolved to disengage himself, and not incur a fresh guilt by his performance. I enjoin you therefore, *says he*, to follow me in my refusal, and not to encourage those proceedings which are inconsistent with the good government of the Church. To speak freely, it is scandalous in you, not only to desert me under these difficulties, but to join with the court, as you have lately done, and sit in judgment upon your spiritual father and Archbishop. I charge you, upon your Canonical Obedience, to desist from these practices; and, as for myself, I appeal for justice to the See of Rome (31).'

The Bishops, finding Becket inflexible, left him, and went to the King. The Archbishop likewise, after he had officiated at divine service, came to court, with his cross in his hand, and sat by himself in an anti-chamber, all the Bishops and Temporal Barons being called in to the King. The Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Hereford, came to him, and advised him to deliver the cross. They told him, his carrying it himself would be construed an act of defiance; and that, unless he desisted, he would find the King's weapons much sharper than his own. Becket answered, 'That the King's instruments of punishment could only destroy the body; but the spiritual sword, if not avoided, would give a more fatal stroke, and send a man's soul to Hell (32).'

The Bishops reported this answer to the King, who was highly displeased with Becket's appealing to the Pope, and sent the Earls and Barons to him, to put him in mind of his oath at Clarendon, by which he had engaged to observe the customs of the realm, and submit to the Royal prerogative. But the Archbishop persisting in his appeal to the Pope, the King pressed the Bishops to join with the Barons, and proceed to sentence against him. The Prelates excused themselves, alledging the prohibition they had lately received from their Primate, who would not fail to excommunicate them for their disobedience. The King urged their allegiance to the Crown, and their oath at Clarendon, which Becket's prohibition ought not to overrule. Upon this they repaired again to the Archbishop, and represented to him the obligations they lay under by the Constitutions of Clarendon, one of which was, that the Bishops should be present at all trials of the great men, till the court came to pronounce sentence for the taking away life or limb. The Archbishop replied, 'That nothing which was promised at Clarendon ought to be wrested to the prejudice of the Church; and that if the contents of their oath were repugnant

(30) *Gervaf. ibid.*
col. 1390, 1391.

(31) *Id. ibid.*

(32) Gulielm. Cant.
ubi supra, p. 26.
R. Hoved. ubi
supra, p. 495.

vately withdrew from Northampton, and travelled to Lincoln, disguised, and attended only by two servants; and, after a great deal of fatigue [T], he reached the coast, and, getting on board a vessel, arrived a Graveline in Holland; and from thence retired to the monastery of St Bertin in Flanders (w). The King immediately confiscated the revenues of the archbishopric (x), and, at the same time, sent embassies to the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to prevail with those Princes not to afford Becket shelter in their dominions. But, not succeeding at the French court [U], Henry sent a splendid embassy to the Pope [W], desiring his Holiness would send Legates into England, to accommodate matters

(w) Gervaf. ib. & col. 1393.
R. Hoved. ib. p. 495.
M. Paris, ib. p. 102.
R. de Dic. ib.

(x) Baron. An-
nal. Tom. XII.
§. 33. an. 1164.

repugnant to the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of God, it ought not to be kept. He told them, a Christian King, who had sworn to maintain the liberties of the English Church, could have no prerogative inconsistent with that engagement. And, as to themselves, if they had gone too far in their compliance at Clarendon, they ought not to persist in their mistake, and plead one fault in excuse of another; but should rather recollect themselves, and courageously endeavour to recover the ground they had lost (33). Upon this the Bishops came to a resolution not to sit in judgment upon the Archbishop. Nevertheless, to give the King some satisfaction, they promised to prosecute him in the court of Rome, and to get him deposed. And going in a body to the Archbishop, they told him, they had hitherto acknowledged and obeyed him as their Primate, but that, since he had so grossly failed in his duty to the King, and broke the laws he had sworn to observe, they could no longer consider him under that character; that they disclaimed his authority, and put themselves and their churches under the protection of the Pope, before whom they cited him to appear, to answer the charge they intended to bring against him (34). When the Bishops had made this remonstrance they withdrew, and sat by themselves, and the King ordered the Temporal Lords to proceed to sentence against the Archbishop. The Earl of Leicester having enlarged upon the Constitutions of Clarendon, and charged the Archbishop with high-treason in breaking them, was preparing, in the name of the rest, to pronounce sentence, when Becket rose up, and told them they were Laymen, and had no authority to sit in judgment upon their Archbishop. He charged the Earl of Leicester therefore not to be so hardy as to pronounce sentence against his spiritual father. He declared he had appealed to a higher court, which was enough to bar their proceedings, supposing he had been otherwise within their jurisdiction. Upon this, without staying for their sentence, he walked out of the court, and being pursued with reproaches of perjury and treason, he turned back, and with a stern look replied, That, were it not for the restraints of his character, and the regards of Religion, he should be ready to disprove the calumny, and defend his honour with his sword. The King, being informed of his going away, ordered proclamation to be made, that no man should outrage him or his retinue with ill language, or give him any disturbance (35).

[T] After a great deal of fatigue, &c.] He travelled all the way to Lincoln on foot, and from thence by water to a little solitary island, where he rested three days. From thence he bent his course eastward, in order to gain some port, where he might take shipping. After travelling eight days, he arrived at a small town dependent on the church of Canterbury, where his extreme weariness obliged him to stop for some time, lying concealed in a chamber belonging to an Ecclesiastic, to whom he discovered himself. Upon his arrival in Flanders, not being willing to make himself known, he travelled on foot through very rough ways, and in a very rainy season, 'till his strength being quite spent, he fell to the ground, and could walk no farther. His few attendants, with some difficulty, procured him a very bad horse, without bridle or saddle, upon which they laid their cloaks. In this equipage he was met by some soldiers, who, having heard of his flight, asked him, If he was not the Archbishop of Canterbury? He replied, with great presence of mind, This is not the equipage of an Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon which they let him pass. At Graveline, the inn-keeper where he lodged, having likewise heard that the Archbishop of Canterbury was fled from Northampton, and considering the manners and behaviour of his guest, fancied this must be he, and with this persuasion threw himself at his feet, and

entreated his blessing. Becket, being satisfied of this man's sincerity, discovered himself to him without reserve, and was entertained with great respect and civility by him. From Graveline he continued his journey to St Omer, and there retired to the Monastery of St Bertin, where Godefcal the Abbot and the Monks received him very affectionately (36).

[U] Henry, not succeeding at the French court, &c.] The King's Embassadors were, Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, and William, Earl of Arundel. When they opened their commission, the French King, hearing Becket stiled the late Archbishop of Canterbury, seemed to be shocked, and asked, Who had deprived him? 'I am a King, says he, no less than your master, and yet I have no authority to deprive the least clerk in my dominions.' In short, the more earnest the English were to get the Archbishop driven out of France, the more Lewis seemed to espouse his cause. To this purpose he sent his Almoner to Pope Alexander, then at Sens, to request his Holiness, that if he had any regard for the honour of the Roman Church, or the friendship and assistance of France, he would give all the countenance possible to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and protect him against the tyrant of England (37). The King of France seems to have had a political view in protecting Thomas Becket. He was in hopes this quarrel between the King and the Archbishop would embarrass the publick affairs of England, that France might reap some considerable advantage thereby.

[W] The King sent a splendid embassy to the Pope.] The Embassadors were, Roger Archbishop of York, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Gilbert Bishop of London, Hilary Bishop of Chichester, and Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter; Guido Rufus, Richard Ivecestre, and John of Oxford, Clerks; William Earl of Arundel, Hugo de Gundevil, Bernard de St Valerie, and Henry Fitz-Gerald, with some others. They found the Pope and Cardinals at Sens in Champaigne. Being admitted to an audience, the Bishops of London and Chichester opened the charge against Archbishop Becket with great vehemence and aggravation. They represented to his Holiness, that Becket had quarrelled with the King, his master, upon the most trifling occasion: That he was a person of too much heat, obstinacy, and singularity, and would make no allowances for the disadvantage of the times: That his proceedings were so indefensible and dangerous, they were forced to break with him: That, in order to blemish the reputation of the King, and of his brethren the Bishops, he had pretended danger when there was none, and withdrawn unnecessarily out of the kingdom. This speech was seconded by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Exeter. The Earl of Arundel, though he was not scholar enough to understand what the Bishops had said in Latin, yet perceiving, by the countenances of the Pope and Cardinals, that their rugged manner was not relished, delivered himself in English with more smoothness and address. He acknowledged his Holiness's supremacy in the fullest manner; he put him in mind of the favours he had received from his master, and how firm he continued to his interest. As to Becket, he owned him to be a person of great abilities, and highly qualified for his station; but that he was, in the opinion of many, thought to insist a little too much upon niceties. He intreated his Holiness therefore to take this matter into his consideration, and pitch upon some expedient to put an end to this unhappy misunderstanding. The moderation of the Earl's harangue was very much applauded; and the Pope told him, that since they desired his Legates might decide the matter, he would take care to send them. The Bishop of London demanded of his Holiness with what powers the Legates were to be furnished? The Pope replied, He would

(36) Hist. Quid-
dripart. l. ii. c. 10.

(37) R. Hoved.
ubi supra, p. 495,
496.
Gervaf. ubi supra,
col. 1594.

(33) Gul. Cant.
ib. p. 27—31.

(34) Gervaf. ubi
supra, col. 1321.

(35) Id. ib. col.
1393.
Gul. Cant. ibid.
p. 32.

give

(y) Gervaf. *ib.*
col. 1394. &
Act Pontif. *col.*
1671.
R. Hoved. *ib.* p.
496.
M. Paris, *ib.* p.
p. 403.
R. de Dic. *ibid.*
p. 690.

(z) Gervaf. Act.
Pontif. *ibid.* &
Chron. *ib.* col.
1397, 1398.
M. Paris, *ib.*
R. Hoved. *ib.*

matters between his Highness and the Archbishop (y). In the mean time, Becket came from St Bertin to Soissons, where the King of France paid him a visit, and offered him protection, and a maintenance suitable to his dignity. But the Archbishop declined the latter part of the offer, and soon after repaired to Sens, where he was honourably received by the Pope; into whose hands, at a private audience, he resigned the archbishopric of Canterbury [X]; but was presently restored to his character by the Pope, who promised to take care of him and his interest. From Sens the Archbishop removed to Pontigny, an abbey in Normandy; where he resided almost two years, spending his time in religious exercises (z). From hence he wrote an expostulatory letter to King Henry [Y], then at Chinon in Touraine; and another to his Suffragans, the Bishops of England [Z], acquainting them, that the Pope had annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon,

give them a sufficient latitude in their instructions. But, said the Bishop of London, we desire they may be empowered to decide the matter without farther appeal. The Pope answered, *That privilege is my glory, which I will not give to another.* His Holiness likewise told the Ambassadors he expected the Archbishop in a few days, and desired they would wait his arrival. But the time set them by the King being expired, they took their leave, and returned to England (38).

[X] *He resigned the Archbishopric of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope.* He pretended his election was not canonical, and that his strength was not proportioned to the difficulty of the charge; upon which he took off his ring, and gave it to the Pope. Then the Archbishop withdrew, and left the Pope and Cardinals to consult upon the point. Some of the Cardinals were pleased with the resignation, and said they had now a fair opportunity of giving the King of England satisfaction, by putting a more acceptable person into the Church of Canterbury; and as for Becket, it would be no difficult matter to make provision for him another way. But the majority were of a quite different sentiment. They argued, that Becket had ventured his life and fortunes in defence of the spiritual authority, and that, if the Archbishop sunk in the contest, the rest of the Bishops of the Catholic Church would sink with him, and the Pope's power dwindle and be lost; it was therefore necessary to restore this Prelate to his post, and to stand by him, who had entered the lists in behalf of the whole Church (39).

[Y] *He wrote a letter to King Henry.* In the beginning of this letter he puts the King in mind, 'How faithfully he had served him in his Chancellorship; that he looked upon his Highness in a double capacity, both as his Sovereign and his spiritual Son; that, as his Sovereign, he was obliged to pay him a profound regard, and offer him his best advice; and as he was his spiritual Son, that relation obliged him to the exercise of discipline, when occasion required.' Afterwards he proceeds to suggest, 'That the Church of God consists of two orders, the Clergy and the Laity; that the government of the Church is intrusted with the first, and the management of secular affairs with the latter. Now since 'tis certain, says the Archbishop, that Kings receive their authority from the Church, and not the Church her's from them, but from our Saviour; for this reason your Highness ought not to direct the censures of the Church, to subject the Clergy to the secular courts, or to take cognizance of any ecclesiastical matters whatever.' After citing some texts of Scripture against *unrighteous laws, and oppressing the poor in judgment*, he goes on, and desires the King 'to hearken to the advice of his liege subject, the admonition of his Bishop, and the correction of his spiritual father. It is well known, says he, with what regard you have treated the Pope, and what suitable returns his Holiness has made your Highness. I entreat you therefore, as you tender the interest of your own soul, not to lessen the privileges of the Church of Rome, but permit her the same liberty in your kingdoms which she enjoys in other parts of Christendom; and that your Highness would remember the solemn promise you made, and the oath you took at your coronation to protect the Church of God in all her rights and privileges. I farther intreat your Highness to restore the Church of Canterbury to the condition it was in under your predecessors and mine; that you would return the towns, castles, and lordships, belonging to the Church, which you have seized and disposed of, and all other effects and estates, taken either from my Clerks, or the Laity, my tenants; and that you

would permit me to return with safety and freedom to my See; which if you please to grant, you shall find me ready to serve you with all imaginable regard, fidelity, and affection, saving the duty I owe to God Almighty, the respect due to the Church of Rome, and the privileges of my order: But if your Highness shall think fit to refuse this my request, you will certainly feel the sad consequences of such a resolution, and draw down the divine vengeance upon your head (40).'

[Z] *He wrote a letter to his Suffragans the Bishops of England.* He begins his complaint against them in the language of the Scripture: 'Why do you not, says he, my beloved brethren, rise up with me against the wicked, and take my part against the evil doers? Do ye not know, that God will destroy those who seek to please men, and make flattery and interest their business? They shall be confounded, because God hath despised them. Your wisdoms must needs be sensible, that not to oppose error is to approve it; and that truth, by not being defended, is betrayed. This being considered, we are no longer justifiable in our forbearance towards the King, neither is this passive temper of any service to the Church of God. I look upon it therefore as a dangerous thing to let discipline sleep any longer, and to suffer the Church of God and the Clergy to be so exceedingly harassed by the King without censure and animadversion, especially since I have frequently endeavoured by letters, messages, and all other methods imaginable, to bring his Highness to a better disposition. And since all my advice and remonstrances have proved ineffectual, I have been forced upon a farther remedy, and, after imploring the divine assistance, have publicly condemned and annulled those unrighteous customs, which have so miserably embroiled and wasted the Church. We have likewise communicated all those who observe or defend them. And as to you Bishops, who have so unfortunately entered into engagements prejudicial to the Church, we have, by the divine authority committed to us, absolved you from the obligation. Who can make the least doubt, that Bishops, commissioned by our Saviour, ought to be looked upon as the instructors and fathers of Kings and Princes, no less than of the rest of the faithful? Is it not strange then, that the son should attempt to invert this relation, and to force his father under unreasonable engagements; notwithstanding he believes, at the same time, that this spiritual parent has an authority which will reach him both in this world and the other? That we may not therefore involve ourselves in the guilt of these practices, we have declared against the authority of those unreasonable Constitutions, and annulled the articles, especially these following: *That there shall be no appeals made to the Apostolic See without leave from the King: That it shall not be lawful for any Archbishop or Bishop to depart the Kingdom, and attend the Pope upon his summons without the King's licence: That it shall not be lawful for any Bishop to excommunicate any person who holds of the King in capite, or put any of his ministers under an interdict, without leave from the King: That no Bishop shall call any person to account for perjury, or breach of promise: That Clerks shall be obliged to make their appearance in secular courts on prosecution: That the Laity shall have cognizance concerning pleas of tythes, and other ecclesiastical matters.*' The Archbishop proceeds to acquaint the Prelates, that he had communicated John of Oxford for usurping the Deanry of Salisbury, contrary to his and the Pope's Mandate; also Richard de Ivesestre for adhering to the Anti-pope, against

(38) Gervaf. *ibid.*

(40) R. Hoved. *ib.*

(39) Gervaf. *ibid.*
col. 1397, 1398.

(a) R. Hoved. *ib.*
p. 498, 499.
M. Paris, *ib.* p.
105.
R. de Dic. *ib.*

(b) See the remark
[Z].

(c) Gervaf. *ubi*
supra.
M. Paris, *ibid.*
R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(d) Gervaf. *Ac.*
Pontif. *ibid.* &
Chron. *ib.* col.
1400.
R. Hoved. *ib.*
M. Paris, *ib.* p.
105.

(e) R. Hoved. *ib.*
p. 500.
M. Paris, *ibid.*
p. 106.

Clarendon, and released them from their obligation to observe them (a). From hence likewise he issued out excommunications against various persons, who had opposed, or violated, the rights of the Church (b). These letters and excommunications proved of no service to his interest, but rather tended to exasperate men's minds against him. The King especially was so provoked at Becket's excommunicating several of his great officers and immediate attendants, that he proceeded to far, as to banish, with circumstances of cruelty, all the Archbishop's relations (c) [AA]. He wrote likewise to the General Chapter of the Cistercians, expressing his displeasure at their entertaining Becket, and threatening to seize all their estates in his dominions, unless they drove him from the abbey of Pontigny. Whereupon the Archbishop retired to Sens, and from thence, upon the King of France's recommendation, to the abbey of St Columba, where he was entertained four years (d). In the mean time, the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, justly dreading the ill consequences of this dispute to the peace and welfare of the Church, wrote a letter to the Archbishop [BB], acquainting him with their sentiments concerning his conduct; to which Becket returned an answer (e) [CC]. Matters standing thus, Pope Alexander sent two

Cardinals,

against Alexander III; likewise Richard de Lucy, and Jocelin de Baliol, for being concerned in drawing up the *Constitutions of Clarendon*; and Ralph de Broock, Hugo de St Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, for making seizure of the revenues of the Church of Canterbury. After which he concludes thus: 'As to the person of our Sovereign Lord the King, we have hitherto forbore to exert any censure, hoping that time and the Grace of God might bring him to recollection; though unless he quickly retrieves this wrong step, we shall be forced to make use of our authority against him (41).'

[AA] *The King banished* — all the Archbishop's relations. He spared neither age nor sex; for children in the cradle, and women in childbed, were involved in the sentence, and driven beyond sea. And, to aggravate the rigour of the punishment, these unfortunate exiles were compelled to take an oath, that they would travel directly to Pontigny, and shew themselves to the Archbishop. An order likewise was published in England, forbidding all persons to correspond with him by letters, sending him any money, or so much as praying for him in the churches (42).

[BB] *The Bishops of the province of Canterbury wrote a letter to the Archbishop.* They acquainted him, they were in hopes he would have abated somewhat of his obstinacy. 'We were much pleased, say they, with the manner of your living beyond sea: 'Twas reported, there was no appearance of ambition about you; that you had embraced a voluntary poverty, spending your time in reading and prayer, and other spiritual exercises. This conduct, we hoped, might open a way to a reconciliation between the King and you. But now we understand, that you have threatened his Highness with the censures of the Church; which is the ready way to widen the breach, and render an accommodation impracticable. We therefore intreat you to alter your conduct, and not multiply provocations; to give over menaces, and try the effects of patience and humility; to commit your cause to God, and throw yourself upon the King's clemency. This is the most likely means to revive charity and good humour, and bring those you have disobliged to a more placable temper; whereas your present behaviour tends only to inflame and exasperate, and lays you under the imputation of ingratitude. For it is well known, how bountiful a patron the King has been to you, and from how slender a beginning he has raised you to the highest dignity. So great a favourite you was during your being Chancellor, that you was courted by the King's subjects from one end of his dominions to the other, and it was thought preferment but to please you. And least a secular employment should too much endanger your virtue, the King was willing to put you in a safer post: But this was only a transplanting from one rich soil to another, and removing you from an eminence in the State, to the highest station in the Church. To this post the King preferred you, notwithstanding the Empress his mother, the Nobility, and Clergy, endeavoured to dissuade him from it. But his Highness promised himself great things from your promotion, and that you would prove a considerable support to his government; if therefore you disappoint the King's expectations, and prove ungrateful to his bounty, how must your reputation suffer in the opi-

tion of the world?' From hence they proceed to suggest, that his obstinacy might endanger Pope Alexander's authority, and withdraw the King from his communion: That the King, in referring the difference to the English Church, had made a fair overture; and that to proceed to interdicts and excommunications, after such an offer, was against all equity, and all law ecclesiastical and civil. 'Now to prevent, say they, exerting your authority against the King and kingdom, to the disturbance of our dioceses, and the prejudice and disgrace of the Holy Roman Church; and to make your own confusion the greater; we appeal once more to the Pope; and we give you notice to be ready on Ascension-day next ensuing (43).'

[CC] *The Archbishop's answer.* He tells the Bishops, 'How much he was surprized at the contents of their letter, which, considering the unfriendly and satirical style in which it was written, he could scarce believe was dictated by general consent.' He was amazed; 'They should treat him with such roughness and disaffection, since he had exposed himself to so many hardships upon their account.' He advises them, 'To fear God rather than man, and to sacrifice their lives, if need be, for the interest of the Church; telling them, that, 'In the cause of God, they ought not to be afraid of persecution or displeasure from the court.' He cautions them, 'Not to confound the notions of Church and State, but to consider, that the powers of these two societies were distinct from each other.' He insists upon the vindication of 'his conduct in England,' and challenges them to prove 'the least instance of oppression at his hands.' He sets forth with great vehemency, 'the severity of the sentence passed on him at Northampton; how he was stripped of all his revenues, and persecuted in his friends and relations.' He treats their 'reproaching him with ingratitude,' and, 'that he was promoted to the See of Canterbury purely by the Royal favour, and against the inclination of the whole kingdom,' as a direct calumny, and challenges them 'to name but so much as one person that declared his dislike at his election.' As to their 'upbraiding him with the meanness of his birth and original station;' he replies, 'it was true, he was not descended from a long line of Princes; but that of the two, he had rather work out his own distinction, and derive his quality from virtue and merit, than be the degenerate issue of an illustrious family.' As to the charge of ingratitude, he tells them, 'the freedom he had taken with the King, in remonstrating against his late proceedings, was no failure of respect, but rather a service to his Prince,' and, 'that he must have answered for the King's mis-carriages, if he had been silent.' He adds, that 'in case he should be forced to make use of his authority farther, and come to the last extremity, the King could have no reason to complain, having already had sufficient admonition and warning of his errors.' As to the danger they suggest of 'the King's withdrawing himself and his subjects from the communion of the See of Rome,' he hopes, 'his Highness will never apply to so unhappy an expedient.' He tells them, 'the bare mention of such a thought carries infection with it, and may do dis-service to the people.' As to what they urged, that, 'the King was willing to remit the difference on

(41) *Id.* *ib.* p.
498, 499.

(42) Gervaf. *ubi*
supra.

(43) R. Hoved.
ubi supra. p. 509.

(f) Gervaf. *ibid.*
R. Hoved. *ibid.*
p. 516.
M. Paris, *ibid.*
p. 111.
R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(g) Gervaf. *Act.*
Pontif. *ibid.* &
Chron. *ibid.* col.
1402, 1406.

(i) R. Hoved. *ib.*
p. 525.
M. Paris, *ibid.*

(k) Rymer's *Fœd.*
&c. Tom. 1. p.
21.
M. Paris, *ibid.*

Cardinals, William and Otho, into France, to adjust the dispute between the King and the Archbishop [DD]; but these Legates, finding both parties inflexible, gave over the attempt, and returned to Rome (f). The beginning of the year 1157, Becket was prevailed upon, by the Pope's agents, and several persons of distinction, to make a submission to the King of England, at an interview between that Monarch and the King of France, at Mount Miral in Champagne; but, at the same time, his obstinacy, in refusing to do it without any reserve, rendered it ineffectual, and the breach continued as wide as ever (g) [EE]. By this behaviour the Archbishop ruined all his interest both with the English and French Nobility; and the King of France immediately made him sensible of his displeasure, by withdrawing from him his pension. But he soon recovered that Monarch's favour (h) [FF]. And now Becket proceeding in his censures, the Pope, at the instance of King Henry, dispatched two other Legates to the English court, with letters to the King [GG] full of complaisance and respect (i). But this expedient failed likewise of success [HH], thro' the jealousy of the Legates (k). Things continued in this posture till the

'foot to the arbitration of the English Church,' he replies, 'in the first place, the Bishops had declared too much partiality against him, to be fit judges; and besides, he never read, that inferiors had any authority over their superiors, or Suffragans any right to be judges of their Metropolitans.' Towards the close of the letter, he makes a kind of application to the King, 'intreating him not think reformation any disadvantage to, or repentance any diminution of, the Royal dignity.' Lastly, he desires his Suffragans to pray for him, 'that his constancy may not sink under his afflictions, but that he may say, with the Apostle, that neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate him from the love of God (44).'

[DD] The Pope sent two Cardinals — to adjust the dispute between the King and the Archbishop.] They had a conference with the Archbishop near Gisors; from whence they repaired to the King of England, whom they found resolved not to make any farther proposals. King Henry complained to the Legates, that all the miseries and confusions of the war were occasioned by Becket, who, he said, had stirred up the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to attack him. But, when the Legates came to the King of France, that Prince cleared Becket of this imputation, and declared, he had always advised peace (45). Becket himself has given us an account of what passed at the conference between him and the Pope's Legates, in a letter addressed to his Holiness upon that occasion (46); to which the reader is referred.

[EE] He made his submission to the King of England — nevertheless the breach continued as wide as ever.] A rumour had been spread, that the King intended to undertake the Crusade, provided the affairs of the Church were settled to his satisfaction. The prospect of this expedition made the Pope press an accommodation, and the Archbishop not unwilling to comply. When he came, therefore, into the presence, he threw himself at the King's feet, and was immediately raised by his Highness. He behaved himself in his address with great submission, intreated the King's favour to the Church of England, and attributed the past disturbances to his own misconduct. In the conclusion he made the King the umpire of the difference between them, *saving the honour of God.* The King of England was enraged at this clause of reservation, and said to the King of France, that whatever Becket did not relish, he would be sure to pronounce contrary to the honour of God. 'How- ever, added the King, to shew my inclination to accommodate matters, I will make him this proposition: I have had many predecessors, Kings of England, some greater, and some inferior to myself; there have been likewise many great and holy men in the See of Canterbury. Let Becket, therefore, but pay me the same regard, and own my authority so far, as the greatest of his predecessors owned that of the least of mine, and I am satisfied. And, as I never forced him out of England, I give him leave to return at his pleasure; and am willing he should enjoy his archbishopric, with as ample privileges as any of his predecessors.' Upon this, the whole audience declared aloud, that the King had gone far enough in his condescensions. And the King of France, being somewhat surprized at the Archbishop's silence, asked him, why he hesitated to accept such honourable conditions of peace? The Archbishop replied, he was willing to receive his See upon the terms his pre-

decessors held it: But as for those customs, which broke in upon the canons, he could not admit them. When those who endeavoured to compose the difference, perceived things tending to a rupture, they pulled the Archbishop out of the presence, and pressed him to submit to the King's terms. But he, looking upon this as a betraying the cause of religion, rejected their advice. And thus the meeting broke up without effect (47).

[FF] He soon recovered the King of France's favour.] When Becket found himself destitute of the means of supporting himself and his family, he resolved to dismiss his retinue, and go a begging. But, before he could put this fancy in practice, the King of France unexpectedly sent for him. The Archbishop thought, the business was to banish him the kingdom; in which opinion he was farther confirmed by the manner of his reception. For the King appeared disturbed, and he did not rise to him, according to custom. But, after a considerable silence, the King of France rose up hastily, burst into tears, and throwing himself at the Archbishop's feet, accosted him with these words: 'My Lord, you are the only discerning person; no body's eyes have been open upon this occasion, but your's. As for us, who advised you to waive the mention of God's honour, to humour a mortal man, we were all no better than stark blind. Father, I am sorry for what I have done: I treat your pardon, and that you would absolve me for my misbehaviour: And as for my person and kingdom they are both at your service (48).' Whether the King of France repented of his behaviour towards Becket from a religious motive, or pretended to do so thro' policy, and for reasons of state, is not easily determined. However, the Archbishop was handsomely accommodated at Sens, and fared the better for the different interests of the French and English courts (49).

[GG] The Pope's letter to King Henry.] Amongst other things, he acquaints the King, that he had furnished the Legates with full power to settle the matters in dispute between his highness and the Archbishop, and to determine any other difference, which should happen to arise. He informs the King farther, that he had restrained the Archbishop from exercising his authority to the disadvantage either of his Highness, or any of his ministers. And in case the Archbishop should pronounce any censure against the King or kingdom, his Holiness declares the sentence null and void. And, if necessity required, the King had the liberty of publishing the Pope's letter; otherwise he was earnestly desired to keep it secret. And, to give farther satisfaction, he orders the Legates to absolve those of the King's council and court, who lay under excommunication (50). Pope Alexander seems to have been apprehensive, least the King should break off from the communion of the Roman Church, or at least declare for the Anti-Pope, supported by the Emperor.

[HH] This expedient failed of success.] The Legates were, Gratian, the late Pope's nephew; and Vivian, an Advocate in the Court of Rome. These men quickly agreed, as it was thought, the difference between the King and the Archbishop; the King consenting that Becket might return into England, and enjoy the revenues and jurisdiction of his See, *saving the honour of the crown.* The English court being now in France, Vivian had orders to go into England, to absolve those who were excommunicated; and Gratian was to use his interest with Archbishop Becket, to finish the agreement. But the King having occasion to re-

(47) Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 1405, 1406.

(44) Histor. Quadripart. l. v.

(45) Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 1402.

(46) Baron. Annal. an. 1168. p. 39.

(48) Id. *ibid.*

(49) *ibid.*

(50) R. Hoved. ubi supra, p. 525.

the year 1169, when endeavours were again used to accommodate matters, at a second interview between the Kings of England and France; but to no purpose, the Archbishop refusing to comply, because Henry persisted in denying him the *kiss of peace* [II]. After this, Henry, fearing lest Becket should procure an interdict to be laid upon his dominions, ordered all his English subjects, above fifteen years of age, to take an oath, by which they renounced the authority of Archbishop Becket and Pope Alexander; but, tho' most of the Laity complied with this test of their loyalty, few or none of the Clergy could be induced to subscribe it (l). The next year, King Henry being returned into England, and having caused his son Prince Henry to be crowned at Westminster, (where the ceremony was performed by Roger, Archbishop of York, without any protestation made to save the privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose See that office of right belonged;) Becket complained of this injury done him to the Pope, who suspended the Archbishop of York, and excommunicated the Bishops that assisted him, and lodged the instruments of these censures in Becket's hands (m). This year (1170), an accommodation was, at last, brought about between King Henry and Archbishop Becket [KK], upon the confines of Maine in Normandy; where the Archbishop (whether thro' pride or inadvertency) suffered the King to hold his horse's bridle, while he mounted and dismounted twice. After which, having taken leave of the French court, he prepared to return into England, accompanied by John, Dean of Salisbury (n). But the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the suspended and excommunicated Bishops, endeavoured to prevent his landing [LL]. He was received with great acclamations at Canterbury; where almost as soon as he arrived, he received an order from the young King, commanding him to absolve the suspended and excommunicated Bishops. But Becket refusing to comply [MM], the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, immediately carried their complaint to the old King in Normandy; who was so highly exasperated at this fresh instance of obstinacy and disloyalty in Becket, that he could not forbear exclaiming, with great warmth, that, 'He was an unhappy Prince, who maintained a great number of lazy, insignificant persons about him, none of whom had gratitude or spirit enough to revenge him on a single, insolent Prelate, who gave him so much disturbance.' These words were heard by four gentlemen of the court, who immediately formed a design against the Archbishop's life; which they executed with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury (o) [NN]. This eminent Prelate was murdered (or martyred) on the twenty-ninth

(l) Gervaf. Chron. col. 1468. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(m) M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 121, 122. Gervaf. A. R. Pontif. col. 1672.

(n) Gervaf. Chron. col. 1412. R. Floed. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(o) Gervaf. *ibid.* 1414, 1415. & A. R. Pontif. col. 1672, 1673. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 123, 124. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 691.

move the next morning, the Legates began to suspect there might be a sinister meaning in the *saving clause*, and therefore refused to stand to the articles. Upon this, the King sent an expostulatory letter to the Pope; in which, having related the above-mentioned circumstances, he tells his Holiness, that, if he continued his partialities to Archbishop Becket, and did not restrain him from disturbing the kingdom with his excommunications, he should despair of justice from the See of Rome, and be forced to take other measures for the security and peace of his crown and dominions (51).

[II] *The Archbishop refused to comply, for being denied the kiss of peace.*] The King had descended so far, as to consent, without any clause of reservation, that the Archbishop should enjoy his See, with the privileges of his predecessors, and offered a thousand marks to defray the expence of his voyage into England. The Archbishop, who was present, replied, that he had been damaged to the value of thirty thousand marks, and that, without restitution, the guilt of injustice would remain. However, at the instance of the King of France, and the nobility of both kingdoms, he dropped his claim to the money, and submitted to the King's offer. And now, the terms being adjusted, Becket, in pursuance of the Pope's instructions, desired security for the articles. And when both the French and English court told him, such a demand was not to be insisted upon to a Sovereign; he said, he desired no more than that the King would do him the honour of the customary *salute* (*osculum pacis*) as a mark of his favour and friendship. King Henry replied, he should willingly have gratified this request, had he not once sworn, in a passion, never to salute the Archbishop on the cheek; nor should he bear him any ill will for the omission of this ceremony. The King of France, and the rest of the mediators, suspecting, probably, there might be some unfriendly reserve in the King of England's reply, left the Archbishop at his liberty, who refused not to accept the *Articles*, without the *kiss of peace* (52).

[KK] *An agreement was, at last, brought about between King Henry and Archbishop Becket.*] The Pope being informed, that the King was in England, sent a commission to the Archbishop of Roan, and the Bishop of Nevers, to go into England, to endeavour at an accommodation. Upon their acquainting the

King with their instructions, he sent them word, they might spare themselves that trouble; for he designed quickly to be in France, and put a period to the dispute with the Archbishop, as they should direct. The King undertook the voyage accordingly, and the Archbishop waited upon him at the confines of Maine. Where the difference was finally adjusted, the King granting the Archbishop the enjoyment of his See, with all the privileges of his predecessors. He likewise gave him leave to animadvert upon the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the Prelates concerned in the late coronation (53).

[LL] *The Archbishop of York, and the rest of the suspended and excommunicated Prelates, endeavoured to prevent his landing.*] They were afraid, lest the Archbishop, upon his arrival, should publish the Pope's sentence against them. The ports, therefore, where they suspected he might land, were guarded; and they had persuaded Ralph de Broock, Reginald de Warene, and Gervase, High-Sheriff of Kent, to appear upon the coast in a military manner. These men were some of the Archbishop's greatest enemies, and were so hardy as to give out, that, if he set his foot upon the English shore, they would cut off his head. The Archbishop, being informed of their design, sent the Pope's letters of censure over the day before he embarked, and got them delivered to the Prelates concerned. The next day the Archbishop went aboard, and, arriving at the English coast, found a body of men armed upon the beach, and ready to attack him. The Dean of Salisbury, fearing some mischief, went ashore first, and charged them, in the King's name, and under pain of high-treason, not to offer any violence to the Archbishop, for that now all disputes between him and the King were at an end. Upon this, they laid down their arms, and suffered the Archbishop to pass (54).

[MM] *He refused to absolve the suspended and excommunicated Bishops.*] He told the officers, who brought the order, that it was not within the authority of an inferior jurisdiction to set aside the sentence of a superior court, and that the Pope's censures could not be reversed but by the Pope himself (55).

[NN] *The assassins executed their design with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] Their names were, Reginald Fitz-Urfe, William Tracy, Richard Briton, and Hugh Morvill (*). These men, having

(53) *Id.* *ib.* c. 1412.

(54) Baron. *Annal.* Tom. XII. an. 1170. Sc. 48—52.

(55) *Id.* *ibid.*

(*) They are comprehended in this *distich*:
 Willielmus Tracy,
 Reginaldus filius Urfe,
 Ricardus Brito,
 nec non Morvillus Hugo.

(51) Rymer's *Fœdera, &c.* Tom. I. p. 238.

(52) Gervaf. *ubi supra*, col. 1468.

(p) Dies Obital.
Archiep. Cant.
apud Wharton.
Anetha Sacra, p. i.
p. 56.

(q) M. Paris, *ib.*
p. 125.
R. Hoved. *ibid.*
p. 523, 524.
Gervaf. *ib.* col.
1419.

(r) R. de Dic. *ib.*

ninth of December 1171 (p) [OO]. The assassins deliberated, whether they should throw his body into the sea, or cut it in small pieces; but before they could resolve, the Prior and Monks withdrew it, and buried it in a vault in the cathedral. King Henry was extremely troubled at the news of Becket's death, and immediately dispatched an embassy to Rome, to purge himself from the imputation of being the cause of it [PP]. At the same time, several complaints came to the Pope upon this accident (q) [QQ]. Upon the death of the Archbishop, all divine offices ceased in the church of Canterbury for one year, wanting nine days; at the end of which, by order of the Pope, it was re-consecrated (r). Two years after, Becket was canonized, by virtue of Pope Alexander's bull, dated March 13, 1173 (s). The same year, a particular *colleēt* was appointed to be used in all the churches of the province of Canterbury, for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder (t) [RR]. The next year, King Henry returning into England, went to Can-

(s) Baron. Annal.
Tom. XII. an.
1173.
1d. Martyrol. Ro-
man. in De-
cemb. 29.

(t) M. Paris, *ib.*
p. 127.

terbury,

concerted the assassination, went immediately on board, and landed at Dover. The next day, being the 29th of December, they came to Canterbury, and forced their way into the Archbishop's apartment. They told him, they came from the King, to command him to absolve the Bishops under censure. Becket replied in the same manner as he had done to the King's officers (56). This answer not satisfying them, they charged the Monks of Canterbury, in the King's name, to keep the Archbishop safe, that he might be forth coming; and then went away with a menacing air. The Archbishop told them, at parting, that he came not into England to abscond, neither would their threats make any impression upon him. The same day in the evening they returned to the palace, and, leaving a body of soldiers in the court-yard, rushed into the cloister with their swords drawn, and from thence into the church, where the Archbishop was at Vespers. And here calling out, *where is the traitor?* And nobody answering, they asked for the Archbishop. Upon which he moved towards them, and told them he was the person. He is said not to have shewn the least sign of fear upon this occasion. And when one of the assassins menaced him with death, he answered, 'He was prepared to die for the cause of God, and in defence of the rights of the Church. But, *says he*, if you must have my life, I charge you, in the name of Almighty God, not to hurt any other person here, either Clergy or Laity; for none of these have any concern in the late transactions.' Upon this they laid hands on him, and offered to drag him out of the church; but finding they could not do it without difficulty, they murdered him there. When he perceived their resolution, he stooped his head to their swords; and tho' he received several wounds before he was dispatched, he never gave a groan, nor offered to avoid a stroke. But one Edward Grimfere, a Clergyman belonging to the cathedral, perceiving one of the assassins aim a blow at the Archbishop's head, interposed his arm, and had it almost cut off (57). The assassins, after the murder, were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the King's court in Normandy; but rather chose to retire to Knaresburgh in Yorkshire, a town belonging to Hugh Morvill. Here they continued till they found themselves the aversion and contempt of the country: For every body avoided their conversation, and would neither eat nor drink with them. At last, being tired with solitude and disregard, and struck with remorse of conscience, they took a voyage to Rome; and being admitted to penance by Pope Alexander III, they went to Jerusalem, and, according to the Pope's order, spent their lives in penitential austerities, and died in the *Black Mountain*. They were buried at Jerusalem, without the church-door, belonging to the Templars, and over them was put this inscription (58):

Hic jacent miseri, qui martyrizaverunt beatum Thomam, Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.

'Here lie the wretches who assassinated St Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.'

If it be asked, how it came to pass, that these murderers were not brought to justice for their crime, as they might easily have been; the answer is, there was no law to punish with death any persons that had killed a clergyman, because the Clergy, by exempting themselves from the King's jurisdiction, had put themselves out of the protection of the law; and so Becket him-

self, who so violently opposed the secular power over the Clergy, and was by that means the cause that the blood of so many persons was unrevenged, prevented the deserved punishment of his own blood by the sword of Justice.

[OO] *He was murdered (or martyred) on the 29th of December, 1171.* His death, and the circumstances of the time and place, are recorded in the following distichs, preserved by John Bromton (59).

Henricus natus Matildis regna tenebat,
Sub quo sacratu's Thomas mucrone cadebat.

Annus millenus centenus septuagenus
Primus erat, Primas cum ruit ense Thomas.

Anno milleno centeno septuageno,
Anglorum Primas corrui't ense Thomas.

Quis moritur? Præful. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter?
ense.

Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

Pro Christi Sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
In Templo, Christi verus Amator obit.

[PP] *King Henry sent an embassy to Rome, to purge himself from the imputation of being the cause of Becket's death.* The King's ambassadors, at their first entrance into Rome, were roughly treated, and refused an audience. But they found means at last to procure one, by a proper application of five hundred marks. When they came into the Consistory, they swore, in the King's name, that their master was ready to stand to the judgment of the Church concerning the death of the Archbishop. By taking of which oath, they prevailed with the Pope not to send out any interdict or excommunication against the King or his dominions (60).

[QQ] *Several complaints came to the Pope upon this accident.* The King of France wrote to his Holiness 'to draw St Peter's sword against King Henry, and to study some new and exemplary justice;' telling him 'the Universal Church was concerned in the discipline,' and putting him in mind of 'some miracles already said to be done at Becket's tomb.' This letter was seconded by one from Stephen Earl of Blois, who declares with great vehemence upon the barbarity of the murder, and uses all his elocution to press the Pope to revenge it. He likewise states the case in relation to the coronation of the young King by the Archbishop of York, telling his Holiness, 'he was present when the Archbishop complained of that matter to the old King, who, in his hearing, left the Archbishop of York, and his assistants, to Becket's mercy, to be punished as the Pope and he should think fit.' The Archbishop of Sens likewise wrote to the Pope upon the same subject, charging King Henry with the Archbishop's death, and moving for an interdict upon his dominions (61).

[RR] *A Colleēt — for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder.* It was this: *Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut qui ex iniquitate nostra reos nos esse cognoscimus, beati Thomæ martyris tui atque pontificis intercessione liberemur* (62); i. e. 'Be favourable, O Lord, to our prayers, that we, who acknowledge ourselves guilty of iniquity, may be delivered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed Martyr and Bishop.'

(59) Apud X
Scripitor, col.
1064.

(60) Gervaf. ubi
supra, col. 1419.

(61) R. Hoved.
ubi supra, p. 523,
524.

(62) M. Paris,
ubi supra, p. 121.

terbury, where he did penance, and underwent a voluntary discipline [SS], as a testimony of his regret for the murder of Becket (u). In 1221 Becket's body was taken up, in the presence of King Henry III, and a great concourse of the nobility and others, and deposited in a rich shrine, erected at the expence of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the east side of the church (w). Forty-eight years after his decease, the Doctors of the University of Paris had a warm dispute, whether he was saved or damned. The miracles, said to be wrought at his tomb, were so numerous, that Gervase of Canterbury tells us (x), there were two large volumes of them kept in that church. His shrine was visited from all parts, and enriched with the most costly gifts and offerings. As to the character of Archbishop Becket, it is variously represented by various authors. Most of those who wrote in his time, or near it, justify his conduct throughout, and make him a glorious martyr; while others, especially later writers, set his character in a very disadvantageous light. To assist the reader in forming his judgment, we shall throw together a few observations [TT], by which it will appear, that he was neither so great a Saint, as the former, nor so great a Sinner, as the latter make him.

(u) Gervaf. ib. col. 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.
(w) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 310.
(x) Chron. ubi supra, col. 1417.

[SS] King Henry did penance, and underwent a voluntary discipline. When he came within sight of the church, where the Archbishop was buried, he alighted off his horse, and walked barefoot, in the habit of a Pilgrim, till he came to Becket's tomb, where, after he had prostrated himself, and prayed for a considerable time, he submitted to be scourged by the Monks, and passed all that day and night without any refreshment, and kneeling upon the bare stones. Which done, he bestowed great benefactions upon the church of Canterbury (63).

[TT] Some observations. The contest between King Henry II and Archbishop Becket (we have seen) arose from hence: The King required, that Ecclesiastics, guilty of felony, murder, or other high crimes, should be punished immediately by the secular magistrate: This Becket opposed as a breach of the Canons, and an oppression of the liberties of the Church (64). Now, if we inspect the Codes, and examine the question by the Imperial Laws, we shall find that the Emperors left the Clergy to the jurisdiction of their Bishop, in matters relating to the Church; yet, when the State was concerned in the prosecution, no privilege of Orders could exempt them from the cognizance of the Civil courts (65). But, on the other hand, the English Constitution afforded several precedents in favour of the Archbishop's opinion: Particularly, King Alfred executed a Judge for trying and condemning a Clerk (66). And, in the contest between Archbishop Anselm, and the Kings William Ru-

fus and Henry I, it was taken for granted, that none but the Pope had a right to try the Archbishop (67). And that these precedents were supported by the Constitution, appears evidently from the old law books, especially *Bracton* (68) and *Fleta* (69). To which may be added, that the trial of Clerks in the King's courts was expressly condemned by Pope Alexander III (70). But, allowing all this, the exemption of Clerks from the civil courts was no right inseparable from their Order, but only a privilege granted by the Crown, and therefore revokable by the same authority. From all which it follows, that however inexcusable the Archbishop's opposition might be in the beginning, after the Parliament of Clarendon had enacted, that Clerks should be tried in the King's courts, the Archbishop ought not to have insisted upon the former exemption. As to the other parts of his conduct, his first signing, and then renouncing, the Articles of Clarendon; his quitting the kingdom without the King's leave; his refusing to return to his See upon the best terms enjoyed by any of his predecessors; his breaking off the accommodation only for being denied the *kiss of peace*; and the like instances of rigour and inflexibility, are not to be defended. But then, as to any practices against the Crown, in abetting a foreign interest (with which he was charged), the King of France solemnly cleared him from any such imputation (71). And with these few remarks his character must be left to the mercy, or severity, of the reader.

(67) *Vid.* Eadm. Hist. Nov. *Et* *sim.*
(68) De Coron. l. iii. c. 9.
(69) De Uteleg. r. i. c. 28.
(70) Concil. Tom. X. p. 1431.

(63) Gervaf. ubi supra, col. 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(64) See the remark [L].

(65) *Vide* xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. xxiii. *Ibid.* Tit. ii. l. i. de relig. Cod. Just. Tit. ii. Nov. lxxiii. *ib.* Tit. vi. Nov. cxxiii.

(66) *Miroir des Justices*, c. 20.

(71) See the remark [DD].

T

BECKINGTON (THOMAS) [A], was born in the parish of Beckington [B] in Somersetshire (a), towards the end of the fourteenth century. He was probably educated in grammar-learning, at Wykeham's school near Winchester; and admitted Fellow of New-College in Oxford in 1408 (b); though some say he had also part of his education in Merton-college (c). However, he continued Fellow of New-College about twelve years, and took his Doctor of Law's degree (d). Within this period, most probably, he was presented to the rectory of St Leonard's, near Hastings in Suffex, and to the vicarage of Sutton-Courtney in Berkshire (e). He was also Prebendary of Bedwin, York, and Litchfield; Archdeacon of Buckingham (f); and master of St Catherine's hospital near the Tower in London. About the year 1429 he was Dean of the Court of Arches; and a Synod being then held in St Paul's church, London, which continued above six months, Beckington was employed, jointly with William Linwood, Official of the Court of Arches, and Thomas Brown, Vicar-General to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to draw up a form of law, according to which the Wicliffites or Lollards were to be proceeded against (g). Before our author was made Dean of the Arches, he was Advocate in Doctors-Commons (h). But these preferments were inconsiderable in comparison of the honours he was afterwards raised to.

(a) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 447. A. Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 234. Pits. de Script. an. 1450.

(b) A. Wood, *ibid.*

(c) Godwin, de Præfulibus, &c. Lond. 1616. p. 434. Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. p. 573.

(d) A. Wood, ubi supra, p. 134.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Godwin, p. 434. Br. Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. I. p. 119, 451. and Vol. II. p. 122.

(g) Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(d) A. Wood, ubi supra, p. 130, 134.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Godwin, p. 434. Br. Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. I. p. 119, 451. and Vol. II. p. 122.

(g) Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(h) Wood, ubi supra, p. 134.

TO.

[A] BECKINGTON (THOMAS). This name is variously written; in Leland (1) it is *Beccendunus*. In Pits (2), *Beccintonus*. In Godwin (3) *de Bekintonna*. And in A. Wood (4) *Beckyntonus*.

[B] In the parish of Beckington. Some say Beckhampton; but it does not appear there is a parish so named in Somersetshire, but only Beckington. Beckhampton is in Wiltshire (5). Bishop Godwin thinks (6), that T. Beckington was not born in that parish, because he left the poor of it only five pounds in his will; and it is probable, he would have left them more, had it been his native place. *Quis enim crediderit beneficentiam erga solum natale tam angustiis terminis coë-*

cedam? For, who could think that his charity towards the place of his nativity, should be confined within so narrow bounds? But this argument is not very conclusive. On the contrary it appears from the following verse cited by Leland (7), that he was really born there:

*Beckingtona mihi dedit ortum; balnea, fontes
Fastes.*

i. e. Beckington gave me birth, and Bath dignity.

(7) Ubi supra.

(i) A. Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon, p. 230.
 (k) Leland, ubi supra.
 Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. VIII. n. 10.
 Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(l) Ibid. & Godwin, ubi supra, p. 433.

(m) Godwin, ibid.

(n) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi supra.
 Wood Hist. & Antiq. p. 134.

(o) Godwin, ubi supra.

(p) Wood, ubi supra, p. 130.

to. For having been tutor to King Henry VI (i), and written a book, wherein, in opposition to the Salique Law, he strenuously asserted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France (k), he arrived to a great degree of esteem and favour with that Prince [C]. And, in consequence of that, was made Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and at last Bishop of Bath and Wells (l). He was consecrated, October 13, 1443, in the new chapel of Eton-college, which was not yet finished; and was the first that officiated in that chapel (m). His character is thus represented, he was well skilled in polite learning and history, and very conversant in the holy Scriptures; a good preacher, and so generous a patron and favourer of all learned and ingenious men, that he was called the Mæcenas of his age (n). As for his works of munificence and charity, they were numerous. He finished Lincoln-college (o), which had been left imperfect by its founder, Richard Flemming, Bishop of Lincoln [D], and got the manor of Newton-Longville settled upon New-College Oxon, in 1440 (p). Moreover, he laid out six thousand marks upon the houses belonging to his See; built an edifice, called new-buildings, and the west side of the cloysters at Wells; and erected a conduit in the market-place of that city (q). By his will, which he made November 3, 1464, and procured to be confirmed under the Great-Seal [E], he left several legacies [F]. This generous person died at Wells, January 14, 1464-5, and was buried in his cathedral, where his monument is still to be seen (r). His panegyric was written by Thomas Chandler [G], Warden of New-College, who had been preferred by him to the Chancellorship of Wells (s). He doth not appear to have ever been Chancellor of the University of Oxford (t).

(g) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 433.

(r) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 435.
 Wood, ubi supra, p. 134.

(s) Wood, ibid.

(t) Anglia Sacra, p. 573.

[C] Having written a book, wherein — he strenuously asserted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France] This book is preserved in MS. in the Cottonian library, Tiberius B. xii. Some other pieces of his are in the same library; Tiber. B. vi. And a large collection of his letters is in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth. There are also ascribed to him, a book of Sermons; and a few other things (8).

[D] He finished Lincoln-College, &c.] Bishop Godwin observes (g), that the memory of that is preserved, by the Rebus carved upon the walls of the college, namely, a becon and a ton.

[E] Procured to be confirmed under the Great Seal.] This he did, least, as he had been a great stickler for the Lancastrian interest, King Edward IV, who was

thenreigning, should seize his effects after his decease, upon some pretence or other (10).

[F] He left several legacies.] Particularly twenty pounds for repairing the cathedral of Wells, and four hundred pounds for buying plate and vestments for the use of the same. A great quantity of plate to Wykeham's school near Winchester, and to New College, Oxon. To St Catherine's hospital, fifty shillings. To the parishes of Beckington, Sutton Courtney, and Bedwin, five pounds a piece, to be distributed amongst the poor (11), &c.

[G] His panegyric* was written by Thomas Chandler.] A. Wood observes (12), that Leland, Bale, Pits, and Godwin, are mistaken in calling him John; for his true name was Thomas.

(10) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 433.

(11) Ibid. p. 434.

(12) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134.

* It is published in Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 357.

(8) Anglia Sacra, Leland, Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi supra.

(9) Ubi supra, p. 433.

(a) Leland, de Script. Britan. cap. lxxxvii. p. 115.
 Bale, Script. Illustr. Major. Brit. Cent. II. p. 94.
 Mabillon, Acta Benedict. Saecul. III. P. i. p. 539.

BEDA, an English Monk in the VIIIth century, well known to the world by the name of *Venerable Bede*, and one of the best writers of his time (a). He was born in the year 672, or, as some will have it, in 673, on the estates afterwards belonging to the two famous abbies of St Peter and St Paul in the bishoprick of Durham, at Wermouth and Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne (b) [A]. Of this we have as good proof as the nature of the fact requires, though there want not some who would rob us of this great man, in order to make him a native of Italy, or some other part of Europe (c), though

(b) Bed. ad Fin. Epitom. Hist. Eccles. Hist.

(c) Hector Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. ix. p. 191.

[A] At Wermouth and Jarrow near the mouth of the river Tyne] The accounts we have of the birth-place of this great man, though very authentick, are nevertheless somewhat dark and obscure (1). The first of these two abbies was that of St Peter, built at the mouth of the river Wyre by King Ecgfrid, in the fourth year of his reign, at the instigation of Abbot Benedict. The other, dedicated to St Paul, was built some years after, that is to say, in the fifteenth year of the same King, at a place called Gyrwy in antient times, but it is now said to be called Jarrow or Yarrow, which Leland tells us stood four miles from Newcastle (2). The Danes in succeeding times landed often in the mouth of the river Tyne, and destroyed both of these monasteries over and over. It was in the latter of them that Bede was educated; and though after they were thus ruined they became cells to Durham, and only two or three black Monks resided in them, yet they carefully preserved the cell in which Bede dwelt, and were wont to shew strangers his oratory, and therein a little altar, which appeared to have been once covered with a kind of serpentine or green marble (3). At the time of the suppression of religious houses they were thus valued, viz. St Peter at 25 l. 8 s. 4 d. per annum. St Paul 38 l. 14 s. 4 d. per ann. Dugd. 40 l. 7 s. 8 d. Speed (4). This is the best account can be drawn from old authors concerning these religious houses; but by comparing several circumstances together, and by considering the face of the country as it lies at present, we shall be able to set this matter in a pretty clear light. In the first place we must observe, that the distance between Wermouth and Jarrow (for so these places are now called) is six miles or thereabouts, the country between them being bounded by the river Were on one side, and the river Tyne on the other (5). The former of these rivers falls into the sea at Sunderland, from which the monastery of St Peter stood but at a very small distance, and it was upon the lands afterwards given to this monastery that our author Bede was born, as appears from the Saxon paraphrase of his Ecclesiastical History (6). I say on the lands afterwards given to this monastery, because it appears from Bede's own writings, that it was not founded 'till the year 674, and consequently not till after he was born; and he particularly tells us, that this religious house stood on the north side of the river (7). But though he was born in the neighbourhood of Wermouth, yet it is certain that he resided in a monastery of St Paul's at Jarrow, which was situated near the river Tyne. Both monasteries, as they were erected by the advice of Abbot Benedict, so they were governed by him, and Abbots under him, during the course of his life, as appears from Bede's own account (8). These particulars may to some readers appear trivial; but as I do not find all of them taken notice of before, and as the accounts hitherto given of his birth and residence seem very perplexed for want of them, I thought my pains well bestowed in setting them in the clearest light I could, the rather, because some foreign authors have reproached us with want of care in writing the history of this learned man, who is justly esteemed to great an honour to our country.

(1) See what is said on this subject in our General and Ecclesiastical Historians.

(2) Leland, Col. lectan. Vol. II. p. 302, 303.

(3) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 39.

(4) Tanner's Notit. Monast. Saec. P. 56.

(5) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon version of Bede's History.

(6) See the Appendix to the History in Whelock's edition.

(7) Historia Abbatum Wirumthensium & Girwienensium, p. 224.

(8) Ibid. p. 225.

the truth is, he never stirred out of England, and scarce out of the North; but notwithstanding our title to him is incontestible, yet the very controversy concerning him does his memory honour [B]. At the age of seven years, or about *A. D.* 679, he was brought to the monastery of St Peter, and committed to the care of Abbot Benedict; under whom, and his successor Ceolfrid, he was most carefully educated for twelve years, and he amply repaid the pains taken by them in that space, by writing their Lives, which have been preserved to our times (*d*). At the age of nineteen he was ordained Deacon, and thence forward taught and studied with incredible diligence, going from his books to his prayers, and from his prayers to his books; being admired by all who knew him, and considered by the Monks as their pattern (*e*). Yet the great praises he received no way abated his modesty, which was no less conspicuous than his learning. In the year 702, being then thirty, he was, by the express command of Ceolfrid his Abbot, ordained Priest (as he had been Deacon) by John of Beverly, then Bishop of Hagulfstad or Hexham, who had been formerly his preceptor (*f*) [C]. His amazing diligence and application, his comprehensive genius, his extensive and various learning, rendered him so remarkable, that his fame quickly passed the limits of this island, and diffused itself through the Continent, and more particularly at Rome, from whence Pope Sergius wrote in very pressing terms to his Abbot Ceolfrid, that Beda might be sent to Rome, where he wanted to consult him upon many important subjects (*g*). But notwithstanding this honourable invitation, Bede remained in his own cell, and there pursued his studies without interruption, and never took a journey to Rome, though that was in those days very far from being uncommon, and one cannot help wondering how he could avoid it [D]. But his great

(*d*) These were first published by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, in 8vo.

(*e*) Lebn. de Scriptor. p. 115.

(*f*) Gulielm. Malmiburiens. de Gestis Anselm. lib. i. c. iii. fol. 10.

(*g*) Cave; Hist. Lit. p. 612.

[B] *The very controversy concerning him does his memory honour.*] The famous Hector Boëthius tells us, that there has been a great struggle between Italy and England for the honour of Beda's birth, and that the Historians of the first mentioned country contend that he was not only born at, but died, and was interred at Genoa, where his tomb was shewn in justification and support of this fact. But, says he, wherever he lived or died, it appears clearly from his own writings, and those of others, that he spent part of his youth in Italy, and his old age in Northumberland, residing frequently in the famous abbey of Mailros (*9*). Leland is very angry with Boëthius for this assertion, and takes a great deal of pains to prove that all the facts mentioned by Hector are absolutely false (*10*). But notwithstanding this, Dempster has thought fit to place him amongst the learned men of Scotland (*11*), where he says he lived for some time, though he confesses that he died in England. He cites what is said of him by Boëthius, and adds a great many authorities, to prove that there was a Beda who flourished at Genoa, and gives it as his own opinion, that there were two of this name who flourished about the same time, were of the same order, and wrote several treatises upon the same subjects, which he thinks gave occasion to this confusion; and that the only way to extricate ourselves from it is, to admit that there were two Beda's, one a native of England, and the other of Liguria. I do not find, however, that Dempster's opinion in this matter has been much followed, or even thought of, and yet it is much more worthy of notice than his and Boëthius's notion of his living in Scotland, for which I cannot find so much as the shadow of any authority. It is true, Beda says a great deal of the Scots in his Ecclesiastical History, and seems to be very well acquainted with their affairs; but instead of making for, this is directly against Dempster's opinion, in as much as the Scots mentioned by Beda were the Irish, not the British Scots, whom Beda looked upon as Schismatics

to the things of this world; a strict obedience to the will of his Abbot, and a constant prosecution of his studies in such a way, as might most conduce to the benefit of his brethren, and the general advantage of the Christian world. Beda closely and constantly followed these instructions, for with respect to devotion and study, Alcuinus, his contemporary, in a letter to the Monks of Wyremuth and Jarrow, congratulates them on this very subject, and treats the life that Beda led, as a kind of model for other monks (*15*). His modesty and humility stand confessed not only in his writings, but from his actions; since he never desired to change his condition, or even affected the honours to which he might have attained in that condition. In regard to obedience it appears, that in taking Deacons and Priests orders, he submitted to the commands of his superiors, and did what they esteemed fittest for the service of the community to which he belonged. Yet he was very well known to, and much esteemed, by this great man when Bishop of York, and to Princes and persons of the highest quality; but he turned this acquaintance to their advantage, not his, by addressing to them many of his learned works; and, in fine, was just as modest and pains-taking a Monk as John of Beverly was a Bishop, and their memories may be truly said to have survived in consequence of their virtues.

(*15*) Alcuin. Epistol. apud Leland. as oct. p. 119.

[D] *One cannot help wondering how he could avoid it.*] We have this on the authority of William of Malmesbury, a very careful and diligent author (*16*), one who was not apt to take things upon trust, and who, with regard to this very fact, gives us part of this Pope's letter to the Abbot Ceolfrid, directing him to send, as he was in duty bound, to Rome, Beda, a Monk and Priest of his monastery, who should, God willing, safely return to him again; the Holy Father being desirous to make use of his advice in affairs relating to the government of the universal Church. Our author speaks very cautiously of this; he says he cannot affirm that Beda ever went to Rome, but, continues he, that he was invited, and his presence much desired there, sufficiently appears by this epistle. That Sergius I and this Abbot Ceolfrid were contemporaries is certain, and that the Abbot held a close correspondence with that Pontiff, appears from our author's life of Ceolfrid, so that there is nothing absurd in this account at all (*17*). Yet it must be owned that a very great Critick seems to be of opinion, that this epistle is not genuine, and consequently that Beda was never invited to Rome (*18*). I must confess there is nothing said of any such letter (though many things of less importance are mentioned) in Beda's Life of Ceolfrid, or in his Ecclesiastical History, or at the close of his Epitome, where he gives a succinct account of himself and his writings. But this is no argument against the fact, considering his exemplary modesty, which hinders him from mentioning himself on almost any occasion. But that in obedience to this letter he was not sent to Rome, seems indeed a proof more difficult to be got over, since in those days the Monks were remarkably submis-

(*16*) De Gest. Rec. Anglorum; lib. i. c. iii.

(*17*) Paul. Diacon. Hist. lib. vi. Anastas. in Sergio.

(*18*) Pagi Gest. Rom. in Sergio; §. 21.

(*9*) Hist. Scotor. lib. ix. p. 191.

(*10*) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 113, 119.

(*11*) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 69.

(*12*) See this point clearly made out by Bp Stillingfleet, in his learned preface to the *Origines Britannicæ*, or Antiquities of the British Churches.

(*13*) Bale, Script. Cent. I. p. 91.

(*14*) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon version of Beda's History.

[C] *Who had been formerly his preceptor*] This John of Beverly was a person every way of great character, and exemplary piety and learning. He became Bishop of Hexham in the reign of Alfrid, King of Northumberland, and afterwards was promoted to be Bishop of York (*13*). He had always a great affection for his disciple Beda, and kept a very close correspondence with him. It was probably from him that our author took his opinions in reference to the monastic state, and the duties of such as embraced it (*14*). The Bishop thought, that in all professions men ought to labour for their own maintenance, and for the benefit of the society. He was consequently against the great errors of this institution, which seems rather to promote ease and indolence than religious fervour, and assiduous application to study. He persuaded Beda, that the duties of that kind of life consisted in a fervent and edifying devotion, a strict adherence to the rule of the house, an absolute self-denial with respect

great love for retirement and privacy, his assiduous application to his studies, and his warm affection for his country, most probably were his motives, and the great use his labours were of to his brethren, and to all the clergy in the Northumbrian kingdom, probably procured him an interest sufficient to excuse him from taking this journey, which would be the more credible, if it was certain that he never quitted his monastery, or went to reside at Cambridge, as some authors report he did (b) [E]. By remaining thus in his own country, and contenting himself with the pleasures of a monastick life, he gained time to make himself master of almost every branch of literature, that in those times it was possible for a man to acquire, and this he did, not with any view either to fame or preferment, but for the sake of becoming useful to society, and promoting the progress of the Gospel. It was from these noble and generous principles, joined to a zeal for the honour of his country, that he undertook to compile his Ecclesiastical History, in making collections for which he spent several years. It was in some sense a new work, for though there were Histories, as he himself informs us (i), from which he borrowed many things, yet with respect to a Church History, they had no notion of it; so that Beda was obliged to draw together the matters of which he composed it, from the Lives of particular persons, the Annals in their convents, and such Chronicles as were written before his time (k). He had also much assistance from the Prelates with whom he was acquainted, who shewed him very great respect, and who, without all doubt, were very ready to make such enquiries, and to obtain for him such accounts, as he judged requisite and necessary. For they might easily foresee, that a History like this, addressed to the then King of Northumberland, and (l) patronized by most of the Prelates in England, would have the greatest regard paid to it's authority, and become a kind of record in ecclesiastical affairs. We need not wonder therefore at the great communications, which, for the improvement of this work, he from all parts received, or at the manner in which it is written, since both were calculated for the service of the Church, and we have reason to believe, answered their purposes very effectually. It was from the same motives, that we find his History so highly commended in succeeding times (m); and even in ours, in which there is so great a difference of manners and customs, it continues to be of great use and great authority, even in the opinion of such, as justly condemn the superstitious legends that are inserted in it (n). So that taking all things together, there are few books have obtained a greater credit, or supported it longer, than this work of Beda's, by which he became generally known to the learned world in his own time, and by which his fame is like to be transmitted to latest posterity [F]. He published this History in 731, when,

(b) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon version of Beda.

(i) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. i.

(k) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 1.

(l) Præfat. Gloriosissimo Regi Ceolwulpho.

(m) Gul. Malmib. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. iii.

(n) See the note [F].

five to the Holy See; yet (besides what is said in the text) there appears one very clear and easy answer. Ceolfrid might have resolved to send him, and might have caused him to receive Priests orders for that purpose, and yet the design might be laid aside on that Pope's decease, which happened in September, 701 (19). To decide on this subject would be a very great presumption in me; I only state the question, and the reasons on both sides, which in some former accounts of this learned man have not been taken notice of at all.

[E] Went to reside at Cambridge, as some authors says he did.] This also is a point not very well cleared up by the Criticks, and therefore scarce mentioned by such as have written the Life of Beda heretofore. Fuller indeed hints at it in a line (20), but there is not a letter concerning it in later authors; Yet it is not so unfounded or unsupported a fact as not to deserve the least notice. Bale in his first edition, which the reader will find often quoted in this work, and which differs widely from what he published afterwards, positively affirms it (21). Dr John Allcock, Bishop of Ely, in a Constitution of his, printed by Richard Pynson, directed the prayers of the Church for the soul of Beda, as having been of the university of Cambridge. It is farther certain, that there was formerly between St John's college and St Sepulchre's church a little, low, round house, which went by the name of Beda's lodgings. These and many other arguments (few of greater weight) I find used by my author to establish this fact, and thereby the antiquity of the university of Grantchester or Cambridge (22); but the advocates for Oxford treat them with very great contempt, but assemble, on the other hand, as trivial arguments to prove the contrary, and more especially in regard to our author Beda, who, they affirm, neither did nor could study there, which, as they throw some light upon his history, deserve therefore to be remembered. It is evident, that to destroy the notion of his having either studied or taught at Cambridge, too great weight has been laid upon what himself says of his not going out of his monastery (23), which is certainly to be understood with great restriction: For we are to consider, that though his cell was at Jarrow, and consequently when he speaks of his monastery, we must generally

understand that, yet even this is not to be done always; for this and the monastery at Weremouth having but one founder, Benedic't, who governed them both (tho' he had an Abbot in each of them under him) are frequently taken for one monastery, and no doubt though Beda resided at Jarrow, yet he sometimes went to Weremouth. Besides, he must certainly have been bred there in his youth, before his own monastery at Jarrow was finished. Add to all this, that it plainly appears from his own writings, that he spent part of the year 633, or 634, at York with Bishop Egbert (24), so that we must not allow the writers on either side in this controversy to mislead us. But his going out of his monastery is no proof that he went to Cambridge, though it must be allowed that he might possibly have gone there, had there been a university established there in his time. But upon the whole there is no conclusive proof at all, either way, which is the only thing that in reference to this point, after a review of so many authors, can be established.

[F] Is like to be transmitted to latest posterity.] The title of this work, in the edition of Heidelbergh, in 1587, the oldest I have seen, is *Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum Libri quinque, Beda Anglofaxone auctore*; i. e. 'Five Books of the Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, by Beda, an Anglo-Saxon.' There was indeed an edition of this work printed at Antwerp in 1550, and the Heidelbergh edition before-mentioned was followed by another at Cologne in 1601. It was printed again in folio with the Saxon Version, attributed to King Alfred, together with learned notes by Abraham Wheloc, at Cambridge in 1644. Francis Chiffet printed it in quarto at Paris in 1681, with his own notes, which are very curious, though in some particulars he is certainly mistaken, as will be hereafter shewn. Besides these, there was another edition undertaken by Dr Smith, Prebendary of Durham, which was published at Cambridge in 1722, in folio, by his son George Smith, Esq; with notes and dissertations. But before Printing was in use, all our old Historians had recourse to it, and copied from it, so that we often read the works of Beda in those of other men, which is the less wonderful, since, with regard to the period his History relates to, they could not find many other authorities,

(19) Baron. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 701.

(20) Worthies, under the title of *Durbam*.

(21) Centur. I. fol. 56. a.

(22) De Antiquitate Catabrigiensis Academiae, p. 133 — 143.

(23) Thom. Caii Animadversiones aliquot in Londinensibus de Antiquitate. Cantab. Acad. p. 369, & seq.

(24) Epistola venerabilis Bedæ ad Egbertum Antistitem, apud Opuacula Bedæ, p. 252.

when, as himself informs us, he was fifty-nine years of age; but before he published this, he had written a multitude of other books, upon a vast variety of subjects, a catalogue of which he subjoined to this History, by which he had obtained so great and so established a reputation, that we find he was consulted by the greatest Prelates of that age; in their most momentous affairs, and particularly by Egbert Bishop of York, who was himself a very knowing and learned man, considering the times in which he lived (o). The strict friendship which subsisted between him and our author Beda, furnished the latter with an opportunity of writing him an epistle, which is very far from being the least considerable of his works, because it shews us at once the temper and character of both those great men, and affords us such a picture of the then state of the Church, as

(9) Leland, Bale, Pits. in Vit. Egberti.

is

authorities, and amongst them none better than his. John Leland, one of the most considerable, and certainly one of the most capable, of our Antiquaries, has made great collections out of the manuscript copies of our author, which very plainly prove the authenticity of our present copies; and in his History of British writers, he has given a large commendation of this and other treatises of Beda's. We might cite many other authorities to the same purpose; but that we may not detain the reader too long, we will content ourselves with giving him Bishop Nicholson's critical account of this performance, which runs thus (25).

(25) English Historical Library, P. 35.

What we are at present concerned in, is, his Ecclesiastical History of this Island, in five books, which have had many impressions in Latin, the language wherein he penned them. It is plain he had seen and perused several chronicles of the English Kings before his own time, witness that expression, *Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus*, &c (26). But he first attempted an account of their Church affairs, and kept correspondence in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the better to enable him to give a true state of Christianity throughout the whole nation. He treats indeed most largely of the conversion of Northumberland, and the progress of religion in that kingdom; but always intermixes what other relations he could borrow from books, or learn from such living testimonies as he believed to be credible. Some have censured his History as composed with too great partiality, favouring on all occasions the Saxons, and depressing the Britons. Such a charge is not wholly groundless. He must be pardoned for stuffing it here and there with thumping miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age, especially since so little truth was to be had of the Saints of those days, that there was a sort of necessity of filling up books of this kind with such pleasant legends, as the chat of the country, or a good invention, would afford a man. It is worth our observation, that none of the writers of his own life has mentioned one single miracle wrought by him, because they had enough of truth to relate; not but that we may boldly reckon him (as a foreign Minister is said once to have done) a much better Saint than any of those Thaumaturgi that we read of in his History. There was a paraphrase made of it in the English Saxon tongue, which has been printed, together with the original Latin text; but whether it was done by the famous King Alfred, or some other hand, we are not very certain (27). Mr Wheloc dares not be positive, yet thinks it very probable, that it was the work of that great monarch, to whom (in his title-page) he has confidently ascribed it. Sir John Spelman proves him the author from a distich in the front of that very manuscript, out of which Mr Wheloc afterwards published it, which runs thus.

Historicus quondam fecit me Bæda Latinum
Ælfred Rex Saxo transtulit ille prius.

*This story learned BEDE in Latin wrought
A Saxon Garb King ÆLFRED to it brought.*

Our Prelate then cites the authority of the famous Dean Hickeys upon this subject, but in such a manner, that it is not easy to guess what weight it had with him. He mentions also the animadversions of Francis Junius (28), and some manuscripts of Beda's History in the Oxford libraries (where indeed there are many), and insists upon one in Corpus-Christi-college, which he asserts Wheloc never saw. He then closes his account of this Ecclesiastical History thus.

(28) Int. Cod. MSS. Junians, Oxon.

The book itself was translated into English by Thomas Stapleton, Doctor of Divinity in the university of Louvain (29). But (as on other occasions he has shewn himself too partially inclined to serve the interests of his own Church) we have here some times just cause to complain, that he does not deal fairly and honestly with us. Richard Lavingham (Prior of the Carmelite monastery at Bristol, and a mighty writer in Divinity about the latter end of the fourteenth century) is reported to have epitomized Beda's History, beginning with his work *Britannia cæ quondam Albion*, &c (30). There's such an abstrait added in Wheloc's edition, with a continuation to the year 766, which perhaps may be the same; for though it does not begin with these words, Beda himself begins with such as are very like them; and to confound two writers, if they appear under the same cover, is no great transgression in my author. There's another anonymous continuer of this History who defends below the Conquest, and whose book (now in manuscript in the publick library at Oxford) is quoted by some of our most learned writers (31).

(29) Antwerp, 1505, 8vo.

(30) Pitts. de Script. Britan. P. 534.

(31) Gul. Somner, Antiquitat. Cantuar. p. 157. Hist. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 49.

There are some things of importance that may be added to these remarks. It is highly probable, though the Bishop seems to insinuate the contrary, that the Latin verses speak nothing but the truth, in ascribing the Saxon version of Beda's History to King Alfred, and the great objection to it is easily answered; for though at first sight it may seem strange, and indeed absurd, to believe that so great a King should be the author of so many books and translations as pass under his name; yet when we consider that he had many learned men about him, of whose assistance he made use, or perhaps only revised and corrected their writings, the thing does not appear quite so improbable: To which we may add another observation, that the Saxon tongue arrived at the highest pitch of elegancy in his time; that the translations ascribed to him are all penned in a very fine, and as near as can be in the same style, which seems to be an evidence of their having passed the hands of the same skilful corrector (32). As to the continuations of Beda's History, there are several; one of which, in three books, is added to Beda's History in the Heidelberg edition. It is also requisite to observe, that at the end of Beda's History there is an Epitome or Breviary; to which also there is an addition made by an unknown author, who continues the chronology from 731 to 761 (33). The translation made by Dr Stapleton is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; and the design of that translation was to support the Popish religion, as appears plainly by a short treatise placed before it, bearing this title: 'Differences between the Primitive Faith of England, continued almost this thousand years, and the late pretended Faith of Protestants, gathered out of the History of the Church of England; compiled by Venerable Bede, an Englishman, about eight hundred years past (34).' It is no great wonder therefore, that an author who undertook his work with such a view, should prove no very faithful translator: But, however, the History of Beda, even as he has given it in English, might in many passages be shewn to be far enough from favouring the modern doctrines of the Church of Rome, of which we shall take occasion to say somewhat in another place. Indeed I think it would be a work of great use and honour to our country, if we had a new and correct translation of this History compared with the Saxon version, and enriched with notes; since it would afford a much better body of Civil as well as Church History, than is extant in our language, and would afford very fair opportunities of explaining and illustrating our Saxon laws, customs, and antiquities.

(32) See the article ÆLFRED the Great.

(33) Rerum Britan. Script. Vetusior. p. 278, 279.

(34) This Discourse is prefixed to Dr Stapleton's translation, immediately after the Dedication, in the Antwerp edition, which is not, as Bishop Nicholson says, in 8vo, but 4to.

(p) See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 124.

(q) See the substance of this Epistle in note [G].

is no where else to be met with (p). This epistle was one of the last, and indeed probably the very last, of our author's writings, and in it he expresses himself with much clearness and freedom, as well in regard to the advice, which, at his request, he gave to that Prelate, as in reference to the many inconveniences, which he wisely foresaw must proceed from the humour that then prevailed, of multiplying religious houses, to the prejudice both of Church and State (q). It is, to say the truth, in every respect, a very well written and exact treatise, and therefore deserves to be as well known to the world as his History, to which, in some respects, it may serve as an appendix, both with regard to the matter it contains, and the manner in which it is penned, being in part historical, and in part an exhortation [G]. It appears from this epistle, that he was very much indisposed when he wrote it, neither is it at all improbable, that he began now to fall into

(35) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 97.

(36) Ibid. p. 98.

(37) Godwin de Præsul. p. 11. p. 97.

(38) Epistola ad Egbertum Antistitem, p. 261.

(39) Leland, Bale, Pits, &c.

(40) Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxix.

(41) Epistola ad Egbertum Antistitem, p. 259.

[G] *Being in part historical, and in part an exhortation.* We find in Leland, that this epistle of Beda was in some copies addressed to Egbert, Bishop of Holy Island; but that judicious writer suspected that it was a mistake (35). Yet John Bale transcribes the error without taking the least notice of the correction; but to make it agree better in point of time than it did before, he adds, that this Egbert flourished in 730; and tells us also, without any authority, that he wrote a letter of thanks in answer to Beda's epistle (36). Bishop Godwin copies these errors, the last only excepted; for he places the death of Egbert, Bishop of Holy Island, in 721, where it ought to be (37). It is however evident from the epistle itself, in which Bede says, that it was then about thirty years since the death of King Alfrid (38); that at the soonest it was written in 734, that is, thirteen years after the death of the Prelate to whom Bale will have it addressed, or four years after his death, as he himself has placed it, purely to avoid this difficulty. This Egbert, agreeable to what our author Bede advised him, assumed the title of Archbishop of York, though his predecessors had been content with that of Bishop. He succeeded Wilfred II in the year 732, and was equally distinguished by his birth, station, and learning. With respect to the first, he was of the blood royal; as to the second, he enjoyed the office of Archbishop and Metropolitan; and in reference to the third, his writings bear sufficient evidence, as well as the character bestowed upon him by William of Malmbury, and other ancient writers (39). Neither ought it to be at all considered as a diminution of his credit, that he was so desirous of having our author Bede's advice about the government of his church; since it is certain, that at this time he was looked upon as the honour of his country. But it is now time to come to the work itself. In this, amongst other heads of advice, he recommends the finishing St Gregory's model, to this Prelate, by virtue of which York was to have been a metropolis with twelve Suffragans (40). He insists upon coming up to this plan, the rather, because in some woody, and almost impassable, parts of the country, there were seldom any Bishops came either to confirm, or any Priests to instruct the people, and therefore he is of opinion the erecting new Sees would be of great service to the Church. For this purpose he suggests, the expedient of a Synod to form the project, and adjust the measures; and that an order of court should be procured to pitch upon some monastery, and turn it into a Bishop's See: And to prevent opposition from the religious of that house, they should be softened with some concessions, and allowed to chuse the Bishop out of their own society, and that the joint government of the monastery and diocese should be put into his hands. And if the altering the property of the house should make the increasing the revenues necessary, he tells him there are monasteries enough that ought to spare part of their estates for such uses; and therefore he thinks it reasonable that some of their lands should be taken from them and laid to the Bishoprick, especially since many of them fall short of the rules of their institution (41). And since 'tis commonly said, that several of these places are neither serviceable to God nor the commonwealth, because neither the exercises of piety and discipline are practised, nor the estates possessed by men in a condition to defend the country; therefore if the houses were some of them turned into Bishopricks, it would be a seasonable provision for the Church, and prove a very commendable alteration. And a little after he intreats Egbert to use his interest with King Ceolwulf, to re-

verse the charters of former Kings for the purposes above-mentioned: For it has sometimes happened, says he, that the piety of Princes has been over lavish, and directed amiss. He complains farther, that the monasteries were frequently filled with people of unfuitable practices; that the country seemed over-stocked with those foundations; that there were scarce estates now left for the Laity of condition; and that, if this humour increased, the country would grow disurnished of troops to defend their frontiers (42). He mentions another abuse crept in of a higher nature: That some persons of quality of the Laity, who had neither fancy nor experience for this way of living, used to purchase some of the Crown-lands, under pretence of founding a monastery, and then get a charter of privileges signed by the King, the Bishops, and other great men in Church and State; and by these expedients they worked up a great estate, and made themselves Lords of several villages. And thus getting discharged from the service of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, took the range of their fancy, seized the character of Abbots, and governed the Monks without any title to such authority; and, which is still more irregular, they sometimes don't stock these places with Religious, properly so called, but rake together a company of strolling Monks, expelled for their misbehaviour; and sometimes they persuade their own retinue to take the tonfure, and promise a monastick obedience: And having furnished their religious houses with such ill-chosen company, they live a life perfectly secular under a monastick character, bring their wives into the monasteries, and are husbands and abbots at the same time (43). Thus for about thirty years, ever since the death of King Alfrid, the country has run riot in this manner; in so much, that there are very few of the Lord-Lieutenants, or Governors of towns, who have not seized the religious jurisdiction of a monastery, and put their Ladies in the same post of guilt, by making them Abbeesses without passing through those stages of discipline and retirement that should qualify them for it; and as ill customs are apt to spread, the King's menial servants have taken up the same fashion: And thus we find a great many inconsistent offices and titles incorporated, the same persons are Abbots and Ministers of state, and the court and cloyster are unsuitably tacked together; and men are trusted with the government of religious houses, before they have practised any part of obedience to them. To stop the growth of this disorder, Bede advises the convening of a Synod; that a visitation might be set on foot, and all such unqualified persons thrown out of their usurpation. In short, he puts the Bishop in mind, that 'tis part of the episcopal office to inspect the monasteries of his diocese, to reform what is amiss both in head and members, and not to suffer a breach of the rules of the institution. 'Tis your province, says he, to take care that the Devil does not get the ascendant in places consecrated to God Almighty; that we mayn't have discord instead of quietness, and libertinism instead of sobriety. There is one thing more to be observed before we part with this epistle, which is, that it furnishes us with a very clear and direct proof, that our author was never at Rome; for, speaking of a custom there of marking the year from our Lord's death upon the candles (44) in their churches, he neither affirms it of his own knowledge, nor suffers it to pass without giving his authority, but clearly relies upon the testimony of the Monks with whom he had conversed, and who had been eye-witnesses of it, than which there cannot be a more full or convincing proof of his never having made any such journey.

(42) Ibid. p. 260.

(43) Ibid. p. 261.

(44) Ibid. p. 259.

into that declining state of health, from which he never recovered; since, if we may depend upon the large accounts that are still extant of his sickness and death, he was taken off by that kind of gradual consumption (*r*), which is frequently fatal to men of sedentary lives, who sacrifice in some measure their health, by their too strict attention to their studies, which those writers also agree, to have been truly the case of the learned and indefatigable Bede. William of Malmesbury (*s*) has preserved in his History, a very large account of the manner in which he died, which it plainly appears he took from a treatise that was written expressly upon that subject, by Cuthbert, one of Bede's disciples who attended him to the last; to Cuthwin, another of his disciples, who happened to be at a distance (*t*). It is from hence we learn, that in the last stage of his distemper he fell into an asthma, which he supported with great firmness of mind, though in much weakness and pain for six weeks together. In all this time, he did not in the least abate of his usual employments in the monastery, but continued to pray, to instruct the young Monks, and to prosecute the works that were still in his hands, that, if possible, they might be finished before he died (*u*). In all the nights of his sickness, in which, from the nature of his disease, he could get but little sleep, he sung hymns and praises to Almighty God; and though he expressed the utmost confidence in his mercy, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare seriously, that he had so lived as not to be ashamed to die, yet he did not deny his apprehensions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his dissolution (*w*). However, as he knew not the day and hour of his end, he was continually active to the last; and particularly careful about two works, the first was, the translation of the Gospel of St John into the Saxon language, for the benefit of the Church, and some passages he was extracting from the works of St Isidore, and therefore at these he wrought with great application. The day before his death he grew much worse, and his feet began to swell, yet he spent the night as usual, and continued dictating to the person who wrote for him; who observing his weakness, said, *There remains now no more but one chapter, but it seems very irksome for you to speak*; to which he answered, *It is easy, take another pen, dip it in the ink, and write as fast as you can* (*x*). About nine o'clock he sent for some of his brethren, to divide among them some incense, and other things of little value, which were in his chest. While he was speaking to them, the young man who wrote for him, and whose name was Wilberch, said; *There is now, Master, but one sentence wanting, upon which he bid him write quick, and soon after the same young man said, It is now done, to which he replied, Well! Thou hast said the truth, it is now done. Take up my head between your hands, and lift me, because it pleases me much, to sit over-against the place where I was wont to pray, and where now sitting, I may yet invoke my Father.* Being thus seated according to his desire, upon the floor of his cell, he said *Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, and as he pronounced the last word, he immediately expired. The Monk who wrote this account says positively, that this happened on Thursday the twenty-sixth of May, being the feast of Christ's Ascension, which clearly determines it to the year 735 (*y*). There have been, however, different opinions about the time of his death, and very warm controversies about it, as the reader may see in the notes, where we have given a more particular account of this matter [*H*].

(r) Leland. Collectan. Vol. III. p. 84.

(s) De Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 22.

(t) Leland Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84; where the genuine account by Cuthbert is still preserved.

(u) Simeon. Danelm. apud Decem Scriptor. p. 8.

(w) Leland, ubi supra.

(x) W. Maltr. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 22.

(y) Simeon. Danelm. Histor. Eccles. Danelm. lib. iii. c. vii. T. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. ap. Decem Scriptor. p. 1696. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84.

His

[*H*] Where we have given a more particular account of this matter.] It is not at all wonderful, that with respect to facts of this nature at so great a distance in point of time, and for the settling of which so many antient, and many of them far enough from being accurate writers, are to be consulted, there should be some little difference or disagreement even amongst the most diligent and careful persons. But in reference to the matter now before us, there is the strangest and most unaccountable confusion, that for any thing I know ever happened about any matter of this nature, since there is a difference amongst writers of no less than thirty-seven years. The very learned Dr Cave mentions some who have placed the death of Venerable Bede in 729 (45), that is, two years before he published his History, which is very clearly brought down to the year 731; and it is impossible for any one to read it without perceiving this. Hermannus Contractus, Heptidanus, Segebertus Gemblacensis, and many others, fix his death in the year 731 (46), probably because his History ends there; but in the summary or chronology thereto annexed, he proceeds as low as the year 734, and we have shewn that his letter to Egbert, Archbishop of York, was certainly written in that year; so that this too is plainly an error. The Saxon chronicle, a book otherwise of great authority, and some other writers, and amongst the rest Griffith the Jesuit, who published his Annals under the name of Alford, fix his death to the year 734 (47), which is indeed somewhat nearer the truth; but it is very strange that most of these writers allow that he died upon Ascension-day. Cardinal Baronius thinks he lived to be one hundred and five, and several writers place his death in the years

762 and 766 (48), for reasons with which there seems to be no kind of necessity we should trouble the reader here. In regard to the date which we have fixed upon, viz. the 7th of the Calends of June, or the 26th of May, 735; it has not only the best authorities to support it, but may be also demonstrated to be the true date, from circumstances that will not admit of any mistake. But first, with respect to our authorities, we have the author of the Supplemental Chronology to Bede's history (49), Simeon of Durham (50), Roger Höveden (51), Thomas Stubbs (52), and many others, who are all clear in this point. As to the epistle of Cuthbert, which is transcribed or abridged by William of Malmesbury, the Historian of Durham, and many other authors, it does not indeed expressly fix the year, but it assigns the day clearly, viz. that it was the 26th of May, and the feast of Christ's Ascension, which agrees with the year 735, and with none other. The very learned John Leland observes, that Trithemius had extended the age of Bede to seventy-two, which he thought a mistake; and that he might avoid any error of the same kind, he very cautiously delivers his sentiment, which was, that he died at somewhat more than sixty (53). Yet John Bale, with this authority before his eyes, and with this farther circumstance, that Bede was fifty-nine when he published his History, which Leland also observes, falls into two very gross errors, affirming that he died in 734 at the age of seventy-two (54); which shews how cautious we ought to be in trusting to the dates of that author, who borrowed most of his facts in these antient lives from Leland; but, in transcribing them, forgets his modesty and exactness. In the preface, which Sir James Ware

(48) Gundlingii, ubi supra.

(49) Rer. Briton. Scriptor. vetust. p. 229.

(50) Apud Decem Scriptor. p. 8.

(51) Annal. inter Hist. post Bedam, p. 402.

(52) Act. Pontif. Eborac. col. 1696.

(53) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 121.

(54) Scriptor. Illustr. Major. Britan. Cent. II. p. 97.

(45) Histor. Litterar. Vol. I. p. 613.

(46) Gundlingii, Observation. ad Rem. literar. spectant. Tom. XII. p. 192.

(47) Chron. Saxon. edit. Gibson, p. 54. Alford. Annal. Vol. II. p. 536.

placed

His body was interred in the church of his own monastery at Jarrow, and the isle where he was buried, was much revered on that account, and numbers of people resorted thither to pray, more especially on the anniversary of his death (z). But in process of time his body was removed to Durham, and placed in the same coffin or chest with that of St Cuthbert, as we are informed by many of our antient Historians, and as is clear from a very antient Saxon poem, on the relics preserved in the cathedral of Durham (a). It is justly observed, that the Monks never forged any miracles of Bede, or pretended that he wrought any in his life-time, but to give some colour for removing his bones to Durham, they pretended that one Gamelus, a very prudent and pious Monk, was admonished by St Cuthbert in a dream, to travel through the North of England, and collect the relics of holy men, in order to their being interred with his in the church of Durham, that so they might be better preserved from the insults of sacrilegious hands, to stir up the piety of the faithful (b), which, without all doubt, was a device made use of for the service of the Monks at Durham, and answered their purpose very effectually, by rendering their church the most respected of any in the North of England. He had also many epitaphs written upon him, but none that were at all equal to his merit, or capable of doing justice to his memory, as has been rightly remarked by the learned Dr Hakewill (c), and was long before observed by William of Malmesbury (d). But how ill written soever these epitaphs may be, they at least serve to shew the good intention of their authors, and in how great repute the memory of Bede has been for learning and sanctity, from the times nearest his decease, down to our own [I]. It is very certain, that his great learning and unaffected piety, gained him, even amongst his contemporaries, a very high and general esteem, inasmuch, that if we may believe some authors, his Homilies were read publicly in the churches in his life-time, which being a new and singular honour, there arose some difficulty, about the title that should be given him in the preface to those lectures, and as it was thought too much to stile him *Saint* while yet alive, the title of *Venerable* was fixed upon as more proper, or, at least, as less liable to objection (e). There are besides this, some very fabulous accounts given us of his acquiring this surname, so that on the whole it is become a disputable point, why he has been, both by antient and modern writers, constantly called *Venerable Bede*, into which we shall give the reader as much light as is in our power (f) [K]. The advantage he had, of being brought up by

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. ap. Decem Script. p. 8.

(a) The reader may find this Poem both in Latin and in Saxon, at the end of the Decem Scriptores.

(b) S. D. de Eccl. Dunelm. lib. iii. cap. vii.

(c) Apology for Providence, l. iii. chap. viii. p. 254, edit. Lond. 1630, folio.

(d) De Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(e) Gabriel. Bucellin. Menolog. p. 101. VI. kal. Junii.

(f) Hi. ron. Gudling. Observat. fests. ad Rem. lib. r. f. 11. Tom. XII. Otfer. vii.

placed before those treatises of Bede, which he published, there are some other authorities and arguments offered in support of the date, to which we adhere: But as we apprehend the reasons already given are sufficient to satisfy the reader, we shall decline any thing farther on this head.

[I] From the times nearest his decease, down to our own.] It must be acknowledged, that poetry was in a very low condition at the time our author flourished, and even at his decease. We find in the collections made by the learned and laborious Leland, abundance of instances of this, which he had collected from various manuscripts of that age; and amongst these there are some of Bede's. There we find also the epitaph, which Malmesbury justly censures as highly unworthy of being placed on the tomb of so excellent a person, and which does no honour to the Monks of those times, since it plainly shews they could produce nothing better. In Latin it runs thus (55).

Epitaph. Bedæ.

- ‘ Presbyter hic Beda requiescit, carne sepultus.
- ‘ Dona, Christe, animam in cœlis guadere per ævum,
- ‘ Daque illi Sophiæ debris fonte cui tam
- ‘ Suspiravit ovans intento semper amore.

In English thus.

- ‘ BEDA the Priest's remains, lie buried here.
- ‘ Grant him, O CHRIST, to drink from fountain
- ‘ clear,
- ‘ Of heavenly WISDOM, in thy presence plac'd,
- ‘ Which here on earth he thirsted so to taste.

Dr Hakewill, a very ingenious and learned man, who had undertaken to refute a common opinion, that the earth and all things thereon decayed, and that every thing declined daily, so that the dissolution of the world might be justly expected from its old age, produces this epitaph to prove this doctrine false with regard to Latin poetry; since this would not be borne with now, which then probably might be esteemed excellent. I will not say that he intended it, but certainly so it is, that his English translation affords as

strong, or rather (in my judgment) a stronger proof in support of his argument, than the Latin before cited; and I can scarce make a question that the reader will be of this opinion when he has perused it.

Dr Hakewill's Translation (56).

- ‘ Presbyter Beda's coarse rests buried in this grave,
- ‘ Grant, Christ, his soul in Heaven eternal joys may
- ‘ have.
- ‘ Give him to be drunk the woll of wisdom, to
- ‘ Which with such joy and love he striv'd and breathed
- ‘ so.'

But as remarkable as this may be, I shall mention another epitaph on Bede which is more so. There is nothing amiss in the former but the harshness of the verse, from which, perhaps, the latter is not absolutely free; but then it abounds with more essential errors; it places the death of Bede at a wrong time; it makes him upwards of ninety when he died, and has been (so far as I can trace them) the source of most of the mistakes mentioned in the former note. This epitaph, the author and antiquity of which ought to add no great authority, is as follows (57).

Beda Epitaphium.

Beda Dei famulus, Monachorum nobile sidus,
 Finibus è terræ profuit Ecclesiæ;
 Solers iste Patrum scrutando per omnia sensum,
 Eloquio viguit, plurima composuit.
 Annos hac vitâ, ter duxit ritè triginta
 Presbyter officio, utilis ingenio.
 Jani septenis viduatus carne Kalendis
 Angligena Angelicam commeruit Patriam.

[K] We shall give the reader as much light as is in our power.] The reason mentioned in the text concerning the reading his homilies in his life-time, serves very well to satisfy superficial and hasty writers; and therefore one need not wonder, that Fuller searched no farther. *Saint*, says he, they thought too much, plain Bede too little, and therefore *Venerable* was a middle term, very luckily hit upon in his judgment and theirs.

(56) Apology for the Providence of God in the Government of the world, p. 254.

(57) Wion. in ligno vitæ, lib. v. cap. ci.

(c) Leland. Collectan. Vol. II, p. 118.

Abbot Benedict, John of Beverly, and other great men, enabled him to make a quick progress in science, and his amazing diligence and application during the space of forty-three years, might very well afford him time to write a great number of books, upon very different subjects. He has himself given us a short and plain list of all the treatises he had composed before he published his Ecclesiastical History, of which we have already given an account, as well as of his epistle to Egbert Archbishop of York, which he certainly wrote after the publishing of that History; as he likewise did some other treatises, tho' not near so many as have been ascribed to him, which renders it a very difficult thing to give a clear account of his writings, as all who have meddled with this subject acknowledge, and as the reader will plainly perceive, by what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes (g) [L]. These his labours were so well received in his

(g) Mabillon, Act. Benedicte. Sec. iii. P. i. p. 539. Calmire, Oudin, Comment. de Scriptor. & Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. I. Sec. viii. col. 1681. Cave, Hist. Literar. Vol. I. p. 126.

(58) Church History of Britain, Cent. VIII. B. II. p. 99.

theirs (58). I do not intend to dispute any part of his argument with him, but barely the matter of fact; for in regard to this I am not satisfied, the authority he quotes being insufficient to prove he was so called in his life-time. But the contrary may be very easily and effectually made out. Albinus Flaccus, or Alcuinus, his contemporary and scholar, does not stile him *Venerabilis*, but *Sacerdos*, or *Doctör eximius*. Amalarius calls him *Dominus*, and Ufuardus plain *Beda* (59). But Marianus Scotus, and several authors, do not all scruple calling him *Santus* (60). Besides, the old epitaph quoted in the preceding note, plainly destroys this opinion, and shews that he enjoyed during his life no higher, indeed no other title, than that of Presbyter Bede. But besides this account of the matter, which is rational enough if it was true, we have two others equally fabulous and false, yet still worth relating. The first refers to his life-time, and lays the scene thus. When Bede was grown old, and through age blind, one of his young disciples carried him abroad to a place where there lay a great heap of stones, and told him he was surrounded by a great crowd of people, who waited with much silence and attention to receive his spiritual consolation. The good old man accordingly made a long discourse, which he concluded with a prayer, and the stones very punctually made their response, *Amen, Venerable Bede* (61). This very silly story is not only false in itself, but is founded also on two false notions concerning him. 1. That he had the title of Venerable in his life-time. 2. That he survived to extreme age, and was blind. The second fabulous tale refers this title to his death (62), when a young man, or, as this story reports, a Monk, studying for an epitaph got thus far,

Hæc sunt in fossa BEDÆ ossa.

His head not being well turned for Poetry, he could find no words to fill up this hiatus in his leonine, and, after tormenting himself to no purpose, fell asleep; but the next morning returning to his task, he, with infinite astonishment, found the line already completed, thus:

Hæc sunt in fossa Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.

In English,

Here, in the silent grave, are laid
The bones of Venerable BEDE.

Some authors vary this story a little, by telling us the young Monk wrote first, as an inscription for our author's tomb, this verse (63),

Hæc jacet in fossa Bedæ Presbyteri ossa.

But in his sleep, being severely rebuked for injuring the fame of so good a man by so miserable a line, he was instructed to amend it thus:

Hæc jacet in fossa Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.

It is evident enough even from these idle and ridiculous stories, that those who contrived them were desirous of giving some reason or other for Bede's being stiled *Venerable*; and rather than put themselves to the trouble of searching for what might be satisfactory, they invented such fables as these, which surely injure his memory, much more than if they had left the subject wholly untouched. But the truth seems to be, that

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though he had not this title given him in this life, or immediately after his decease, yet the custom of calling him so is very antient, and was brought in by those who quoted his writings, who at first making use of this phrase, 'we find such and such things in the writings of the *Venerable Priest* Beda;' they began by degrees to let drop the word *Priest*, and so called him the *Venerable Bede*: An appellation; which, as a learned Popish writer says, he justly deserved, as well for his singular piety, as for his remarkable modesty (64). And a Protestant writer, of as great character, says, that he was one of the best and holiest of men, and thereby truly merited the title of *Venerable* (65).

[L] *By what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes.* The first catalogue of Bede's works, as we have before observed (66), we have from himself at the end of his Ecclesiastical History, which contains all he had wrote before the year 731. This we find copied by Leland (67), who also mentions some other pieces he had met with of Bede's, and points out likewise several that passed under his name, though in his judgment spurious. John Bale, in the first edition (68) of his book, which he finished in 1548, mentions ninety-six treatises written by Bede; and in his last edition (69) he swells these to one hundred and forty-five tracts; and declares at the close of both his catalogues, that there were numberless pieces of our author's besides, which he had not seen. Pits, according to his usual custom (70), has much enlarged even this catalogue; though, to do him justice, he appears to have taken great pains in drawing up this article, and mentions the libraries in which many of these treatises were to be found. I say nothing of the catalogues given by Trithemius, Dempster, and others; because much inferior to these. Several of Bede's books were printed very early, and, for the most part, very incorrectly; but the first general collection of his works appeared at Paris in 1544, in three volumes in folio. They were printed again, in 1554, at the same place, in eight volumes. They were published in the same size and number of volumes, at Basil, in 1563, reprinted at Cologne in 1612, and lastly at the same place in 1688. A very clear and distinct account of the contents of these volumes, the reader may find in the very learned and useful collection of Casimir Oudin (71). But the most exact and satisfactory detail of Bede's life and writings, we owe to that accurate, judicious, and candid Benedictine John Mabillon (72), to whom we are much indebted for what we have given the reader in relation to this great writer, in the text; with respect to his actions and course of life, his piety, zeal, learning, publick spirit, and indefatigable application. Neither has any critick exerted his skill more effectually than he, though largely, and with copious extracts interspersed. But the easiest, plainest, and most concise representation of Bede's writings, in reference to our design, occurs in the learned Dr Cave's justly esteemed performance (73); and therefore in his method, though with many additional remarks and elucidations, we shall proceed.

The works of Venerable Beda that are published.

I. *De Rerum natura libri*; i. e. 'Of the nature of Things.'

This occurs in his own Index, in the other catalogues of his writings, and is the first treatise in the second volume of his works, in the Cologne edition of 1612.

II. *De Temporum ratione*; i. e. 'Of the Reason of times.'

This treatise occurs likewise in his own, and in all the other catalogues. It is a treatise of Chronology in-

(64) Platina, in Vita Pont. p. 369.

(65) Causabon, Exercit. 11. ad Baron. No. 4.

(66) See note [F].

(67) Leland, de Scriptor. p. 116, 117, 118.

(68) Scriptor. Illust. Britan. fol. 50.

(69) Script. Brit. Cent. I. p. 90, 91, 92.

(70) De Illust. Angl. Script. p. 132.

(71) De Scriptor. & Scriptor. Eccl. Tom. I. Sec. VIII. col. 1681, & seq.

(72) Act. Benedict. Sec. iii. Vol. I. p. 534.

(73) Histor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 613.

his own time, and for many ages after, that we find a great character bestowed upon him by

ferred in the second volume of his works, page 43. There is, however, a later and more correct edition of this treatise printed in Germany (74), which deserves to be consulted whenever his works are reprinted.

III. *De sex ætatibus Mundi liber*; i. e. 'Of the Six Ages of the World.'

It appears plainly to have been written in 726, and is mentioned, though with some variation in the title, in his own catalogue. It is printed in the second volume of his works, page 103, and separately at Paris in 1507, in 4to. It was also printed at Cologne with notes, and a continuation by John Bronchorst.

IV. *De Temporibus ad intelligendam Supputationem temporum S. Scriptura*; i. e. 'Of the Account of Time, in order to the understanding Scripture Computations.'

This appears to be a shorter treatise on the same subject with the foregoing (II), and was apparently written before it, so that it is wrong placed in his works, vol. II. page 118; but being so placed, it seemed but requisite we should so place it here, that the amendment suggested might be the better understood. In short, instead of being a supplement to the larger treatise, that is rather a supplement to this.

V. *Sententiæ ex Cicero et Aristotele*; i. e. 'Sentences out of Cicero and Aristotle.'

This is not in his own, but occurs in some other catalogues, and has therefore found a place in his works, vol. II. page 166; but in the judgment of Oudin (75) it is very doubtful whether it ought to be ascribed to Beda: Yet if we consider that such a collection might be useful to his scholars, it will answer all objections.

VI. *De Proverbiis*; i. e. 'Of Proverbs.'

Of the same kind with the other; but as it stands in his works, vol. II. page 185, is strangely interpolated, and in that respect may well be denied to be the composition of Beda.

VII. *De Substantia Elementorum*; i. e. 'Of the Substance of the Elements.'

We do not find this in his account of his own works, and indeed it seems to be altogether unworthy of him, though printed amongst the rest of his writings, vol. I. page 323.

VIII. *Philosophiæ libri 4*; i. e. 'Four Books of Philosophy.'

This likewise occurs in the same volume of Beda's works, but beyond doubt is none of his, as appears by the preparatory introductions to each of the four books. The learned Casimir Oudin (76) inclines to think this treatise belongs to William de Conchis, who flourished about 1140.

IX. *De Paschate seu Equinoctio*; i. e. 'Of the keeping of Easter, or of the (vernal) Equinox.'

The learned have been more at a loss about this than about any other of the works of Beda. Baronius from an example given therein relating to 776, concluded from thence that Beda must have lived longer than that year. But the judicious Primate Usher being sensible this notion could not be maintained, thought this treatise was spurious, and ought to be rejected. But the assiduous Mabillon (77) discovered from an antient manuscript, that this example was interpolated by a transcriber, to accommodate it to the year in which he made his copy. It is to be found in the first volume of his works.

X. *De divinatione Vitæ et Mortis*; i. e. 'Of the foretelling Life and Death.'

XI. *De Arca Noe*; i. e. 'Of Noah's Ark.'

XII. *De Linguis Gentium*; i. e. 'Of the Languages of Nations.'

XIII. *Oraclia Sibyllina*; i. e. 'Sibylline Oracles.'

All of them very low and deprecable performances, and of which it may be at first sight very confidently pronounced, they are injuriously attributed to our author.

XIV. *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ gentis Anglorum, libri 5*;

i. e. 'The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.' Of which a large account has been given.

XV. *Vita S. Cuthberti*; i. e. 'The Life of St Cuthbert.'

There is scarce any of our author's writings so well attested as this. We find by his own catalogue, that he twice wrote this holy Prelate's life in verse and in prose. He mentions this again in his History (78), where he adds many particulars concerning him, which

had before escaped his inquiries. It is to be found in the third volume of his works.

XVI. *Vitæ SS. Felicis, Vedasti, Columbani, Attalæ, Patricii, Eustasii, Bertolfi, Arnolphi, Burgondoforæ*; i. e. 'Lives of the Saints, Felix, &c.'

We have reason to believe the first of these, viz. The Life of St Felix, might fall from the pen of Beda, but for the rest they certainly do not belong to him, but to others; as for instance, the Life of St Patrick to Probus, and that of Burgondofora, an Abbeſs, to an Italian Monk.

XVII. *Carmen de Justino Martyrio*; i. e. 'A Poem on the Martyrdom of Justin.'

We find this with those lives before-mentioned, in the third volume of our author's works; but there is no reason to believe this, any more than those, to be his, but quite the contrary.

XVIII. *Martyrologium*; i. e. 'A Martyrology.'

That such a work our author actually wrote, we have his own authority to prove (79); and that he took care to set down therein, not only the days of their births and sufferings, but the kinds of deaths also, and the judges by whom these cruel sentences were passed. But these very circumstances plainly shew the *Martyrologium*, published at Antwerp under the name of Beda, to be either spurious or interpolated. This indeed has been confessed by some Popish writers of unquestioned fidelity, who likewise own that most of the old Martyrologies are so treated. Yet we are assured that the genuine, uncorrupted work of Beda, is still in being, and even published (80). But as to the *Martyrologium* in the third volume of Beda's works, we may safely affirm that it ought not to be ascribed, as it stands, to our author. But besides these, there is another *Martyrology*, which is by the judicious Mabillon ascribed to Beda, and published under this title, *Martyrologium quod Beda heroico carmine composuit* (81). It is the same which the manuscript bears from which it was printed, and which appears to have been copied within one hundred years after the author's decease. We see plainly from the work itself, that it must have been composed in the life-time of Beda, by a Monk of the monastery of Jarrow, and that it agrees exactly with his Ecclesiastical History (82). It is indeed true, that it does not occur, either in his own or in any other catalogue of his works, for which however some good reasons may be given, viz. as to the first, it appears by St Wilfrid's being inserted therein, that it was composed later than 731, and so could not be in Beda's catalogue, published with his History; as to the second, all the accounts of Beda's writings, leave an *et cetera* large enough for other pieces, capable of as authentic proofs as those are, already ascribed to this author.

XIX. *De situ Hierusalem & locorum sanctorum*; i. e. 'Of the Situation of Jerusalem and the Holy Places.'

This is confessedly taken out of a book written on the same subject by Adamnanus, is full of superfluous and fable, so as to have furnished such as have censured our author with most of their quotations, and discredit his writings; how equitably, the candid and judicious reader will judge.

XX. *Interpretatio Nominum Hebræorum & Græcorum in Sacris Scripturis occurrentium*; i. e. 'An Interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Names which occur in the Holy Scriptures.'

Some ascribe this to other authors, particularly to one Remigius, a Monk, who lived in the Xth century (83). It is digested alphabetically, and must have been very useful in those times, when there were very few who could read the Scriptures in their original tongues.

XXI. *Excerpta & Collectanea*; i. e. 'Memorable Passages and Collections.'

Unworthy of Beda in all respects, says the great Dr Cave (84), but it may be his for all that. Young men make common places out of books they despise when they grow old.

XXII. *In Hexameron, seu de Creatione sex Dierum Liber*; i. e. 'A Treatise on the Hexameron, or Creation in six Days.'

XXIII. *Explanatio in Pentateuchum & Libros Regum*; i. e. 'An Explanation on the Pentateuch and Books of Kings.'

XXIV. *In*

(74) Inter Comment. Jo. Georg. Eccardi. Wirceburg. 1729, Tom. I. p. 825.

(75) De Scriptor. & Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. I. col. 3711.

(76) De Scriptor. & Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. I. col. 1689.

(77) Analecta. Tom. I. p. 11. in not.

(79) Scriptor. vett. tustior. p. 230.

(80) Vide Bolland. Prolog. ad Mensur. Martii, Tom. II. §. 5. & seq.

(81) Dacher Spicteleg. Patr. Tom. X. p. 126, & seq.

(82) A. B. Benedictin. Sac. iii. Vol. I. p. 560.

(83) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. I. Sac. viii. col. 1693.

(84) Historia Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

(78) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. xxx.

by the most eminent authors, as well as the most competent judges, who thought it a tribute

XXIV. *In Samuelem Explanationum allegoricarum Libri quatuor*; i. e. 'Four Books of allegorical Explanations upon Samuel.'

XXV. *Explanationes in Esdras, Tobiam, Job, Proverbia, & Cántica*; i. e. 'Explanations on Esdras, Tobias, Job, Proverbs, and Canticles.'

These are all contained in the fourth volume of Beda's works, and are allowed to be his, except only three books of Explanations upon Job, which have been fully proved, and that even from the authority of Beda himself, to belong to one Philip, a disciple of St Jerome's (85), who flourished much earlier than our author, and under his name they have been also published (86).

XXVI. *De Tabernaculo ac Vasis & Vestibus ejus, Libri duo*; i. e. 'Of the Tabernacle and Things appertaining thereto.'

We find this also in the fourth volume of Beda's Works, in all the catalogues, and no scruples have been raised against it; so that I think we may justly conclude it his.

XXVII. *Commentaria in quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apostolorum*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.'

XXVIII. *De Nominibus Locorum, qui in Actis Apostolorum leguntur*; i. e. 'Of the Names of Places which are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.'

These all occur in the fifth volume of his Works, and though some suspicions have been raised against the Commentaries upon Matthew and John, yet there appears to be good reason for believing them all his, except the last, which seems to be very justly attributed to Remigius (87), who is before mentioned in No. XX, and may be considered as ascribed to Beda by ignorant persons, who might find them amongst his manuscripts.

XXIX. *Expositio in septem Epistolas canonicas*; i. e. 'An Exposition upon the seven canonical Epistles.'

We find this work also in Beda's fifth volume, and there are no scruples at all moved about it's being genuine, and yet there is a circumstance in relation to this work, which deserves much consideration. We are informed by the accurate and learned Dr Cave, who seems to have been himself acquainted with this particular by the ingenious and industrious Mr Wharton, that this exposition has been hitherto constantly printed without it's Preface or Prologue, which still appears before an old MS. copy, in the library of Gonvil and Cajus College in Cambridge. This Prologue being transcribed by Mr Wharton, and transmitted to Dr Cave, is published by the latter (88), and shews very plainly from it's contents, the reason why it never came from the press in foreign countries, viz because it plainly proves Beda was a stranger to the supremacy of St Peter, and instead of discovering it in the Scriptures, collected from thence just the contrary.

XXX. *Retractationes & Quaestiones in Acta Apostolorum*; i. e. 'Retractions and Questions on the Acts of the Apostles.'

These are without doubt justly attributed to our author.

XXXI. *Commentaria in omnes Epistolas S. Pauli*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon all the Epistles of St Paul.'

We have this, as well as the former, in the sixth volume of Beda's Works. But it is necessary to say somewhat in explanation of these Commentaries. They are collections only out of the writings of St Augustin, who ought rather to be styled the author of these Commentaries than Beda, or whoever else drew them out of his writings and put them together. That Beda composed a work of this kind, or rather collected it, is very certain; but whether this be that work, is the true state of the question. Baronius inclines to ascribe it to one Abbot Peter, but the inquisitive Mabillon has very clearly shewn, that it belongs not either to this Abbot or our Beda, but to one Florus (89), so that when we have a correct edition of the Writings of Venerable Bede, these must be thrown out.

XXXII. *Homiliae de Temporibus*; i. e. 'Homilies for the Seasons.'

These make the whole seventh volume of his Works. XXXIII. *Liber de Muliere forti*; i. e. 'A Discourse of the strong Woman.'

An allegory not at all unworthy of, though perhaps not justly attributed to, Beda.

XXXIV. *De Officiis Liber*; i. e. 'Of Morals one Book.'

This is a very poor collection and plainly none of his.

XXXV. *Scintillae sive Loci Communes*; i. e. 'Sparks; or Common Places.'

These are to be met with elsewhere (90), as well as in the Works of Beda, where they occur in the seventh volume; but however they are very poor performances, and no proof of it's belonging to him.

XXXVI. *Fragmenta in Libros Sapientiales & Psalmi versus*; i. e. 'Fragments on the Books of Wisdom and the Psalms.'

XXXVII. *De Templo Salomonis*; i. e. 'Of Solomon's Temple.'

XXXVIII. *Quaestiones in Octateuchum & quatuor Libros Regum*; i. e. 'Questions on the Octateuch, and four Books of Kings.'

XXXIX. *Commentarii in Boetii Libros de Trinitate*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon Boethius's Books upon the Trinity.'

XL. *Meditationis Passionis Christi per septem Dies Horas*; i. e. 'Meditations on the Passion of Christ, for the seven (canonical) Hours of the Day.'

This, from the very title, appears to have been penned much later than the age of Beda, and can by no means be reconciled, either in matter or manner, to his writings.

There are besides an infinite number of small tracts, which are chiefly in the first volume of his Works, on Arithmetic, Grammar, Rhetoric, Astronomy, Chronology, Musick, the Means of measuring Time, of Meteors, &c. to discourse of all which would require; not a note, but a large volume. I shall therefore content myself with observing, that the writings of Beda were addressed to very different readers, for some were penned for the use of the young Monks who had scarce received the first tincture of letters, and others for the learned of that age; and in composing these, consequently a diversity of styles was necessary. It is therefore too hasty in some critics to conclude, from some pieces of our author's, that he had only a little, and that too, superficial, knowledge; they ought to consider the subjects on which, and persons for whom, he wrote, what disadvantages he laboured under, in acquiring such a variety of Science in this corner of the world, where he could have so very little assistance, and the generous use he made of it, in composing so many treatises for the instruction and improvement of youth, that his pains taken, and progress made, in literature, might become useful to succeeding generations.

But exclusive of all the treatises written by our author, and which have been published in the great Collections of his Works, there have been some, and those too not the least valuable, that have been sent abroad, either in other Collections of the writings of ancient authors, or by themselves, and of these it is necessary that we should give some account, which however shall be done with all the brevity possible.

The Works of Beda separately printed.

Acta S. Cuthberti; i. e. 'The Acts of St Cuthbert, in heroic verse.'

These were published by Henry Canisius (91), but there have been some doubts raised whether they are genuine, and not without reason.

Aristotelis Axiomata exposita; i. e. 'The Axioms of Aristotle explained.'

These have been twice published under the name of our author (92), and while this Philosophy was in great credit might be a useful book.

The *Hymns of Beda* have been published with notes by Cassander, but many of them are of doubtful authority, though some of them are found in the most ancient MSS. of our authors that are preserved in our publick libraries here or abroad, and they are all very near his time.

Epistola Apologetica ad Plegwinam Monachum; i. e. 'An Apologetic Epistle to Plegwin a Monk.'

This is a very learned and very judicious performance, as it both explains and defends the opinion of Beda, with respect to the Hebrew Chronology, which he maintained against the common opinion of the learned in his time; notwithstanding it was looked upon as a kind of Heresy, and therefore he desires that it might be shewn to one David, a Monk of York, who had expressed

(85) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccles. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1694.

(86) Basil. 1527.

(87) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccles. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1696.

(88) Hist. Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

(89) Analect. Tom. I. p. 12.

(90) Spelman. Concil. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 28.

(91) Lection. Antiq. Tom. V. p. 692.

(92) Paris, 1604, 8vo. Lond. 1649, 12mo.

(b) Simeon. Du-
nelm. lib. i. cap.
viii.
Baron. Annal.
A. D. 701.
Cent. Magde-
burgh. cent. viii.
cap. x. col. 847.
Melancthon. de
corrigen. studiis,
p. 35.

tribute due to his memory, in paying which they likewise did honour to themselves, as will appear from some instances, out of a much greater number that might have been given, which the reader will find we have collected upon that head, and which, if authorities are capable of securing and preserving, fame will certainly transmit the memory of this great man with honour, to ages at the remotest distance (b) [M]. But it must however be

expressed a dissatisfaction at the reports he had heard of Beda's sentiments upon this subject.

Epistola ad Egbertum Eboracensem Antistitem de Christiani Persulis Officio, i. e. 'Of the Office of a Christian Bishop to Egbert Bishop of York.'

We have already given a large account of this work (93), and therefore need say nothing farther of it here.

Vita quinque Abbatum priorum Weremuthensium et Geruicensesum; i. e. 'The Lives of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow.'

This history is comprised in two books, and was published with the two treatises before-mentioned by the very learned and judicious Antiquary of Ireland Sir James Ware, with a preface, containing various particulars relating to the life and writings of Beda, and illustrated with short and useful notes throughout (94), and again by Mr Wharton.

Epistola ad Albinum; i. e. 'An Epistle to Albinus.'

This was published by the famous Mabillon (95); but it is to be observed, that this Albinus, to whom Beda addresses himself, is not the celebrated Albinus Flaccus Alcuinus, but, as Ittigius (96) rightly observes, another of the same name, who was Abbot of the monastery of St Peter at Canterbury.

In principium Genesim usque ad nativitatem Isaac et Ismaelis reprobationem libri tres; i. e. 'Three Books (of Annotations) on the beginning of Genesis to the birth of Isaac, and the expulsion of Ishmael.'

In Canticum Habacuc liber; i. e. 'On the Song of Habacuc.'

These treatises of Beda, which are mentioned in his own catalogue of his works, were published by the learned and industrious Mr Wharton from three MSS. in the famous library in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth (97). The worthy editor gives a large account of these (and other pieces added to them) in an epistolary discourse addressed to the rev. Mr Archdeacon Bateley, dated Aug 30, 1693; wherein he takes notice, amongst other things, that he published these Opuscula of Venerable Bede, to remove the complaint of our negligence in this respect, and that foreign writers might not boast, as they had hitherto done, of being the sole publishers of the works of Beda. He added to these the small treatises that had been before published by Sir James Ware, and which it seems were at that time become extremely scarce. But at the same time he shews that he was not transported, as some editors are, with such an affection for his author, as to conceive better of his works than they deserved; since he confesses that the Divines of the middle ages are by no means to be compared with the ancient Fathers in point of authority, or to the Moderns in respect to acuteness; but nevertheless they have their uses, and therefore such collections had been well received by the learned world, and amongst them none better than such of the works of Beda as had been before published.

The Works of Beda that still remain unpublished, are,

De Situ et Mirabilibus Britanniae liber; i. e. 'Of the Situation and Wonders of Britain.'

This remains in MS. in the library of Bennet-college in Cambridge, Cod. 32, 173, 205.

Vita S. Juliani; i. e. 'The Life of St Julian.'

This MS. is in the Bodleian library.

Vita S. Gregorii magni; i. e. 'The Life of St Gregory the Great.'

This is in the library of Merton-college; but, upon inspection, appears to be no other than a transcript of St Gregory's life by Paul Warnefrid (98).

De vita et virtutibus S. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli; i. e. 'Of the Life and Virtues of St Augustin, the Apostle of the English.'

MS. in the possession of Walter Cope.

Relatio de S. Laurentio Anglorum Archiepiscopo; i. e. 'A Relation of St Laurence, Archbishop of the English.'

MS. in the same place. This Laurence was the successor of St Austin before-mentioned, and the substance

of this relation is to be found in our author's Ecclesiastical History (99).

Homiliarum in S. Lucam libri 2; i. e. 'Two Books of Homilies on the Gospel of St Luke.'

MS. in the publick library at Cambridge, Cod. 25. And in the Pembroke library, Cod. 213.

Commentar in Ecclesiasten; i. e. 'A Commentary on Ecclesiastes.'

MS. in Baliol-college in Oxford, Cod. 158.

De Trinitate liber; i. e. 'A Discourse of the Trinity.'

MS. in the Lumley library.

Libellus de Locis Sanctis; i. e. 'A small Treatise of the Holy Places.'

MS. in the library of Walter Cope, Cod. 169.

De Imagine Mundi liber; i. e. 'Of the Image of the World.'

MS. in the library of Gonville and Cajus-college in Cambridge, Cod. 169. And in Merton-college, Oxford, Cod. 42.

Homiliae in Evangelia; i. e. 'Homilies on the Gospels.'

MSS. in the library of Lincoln-college at Oxford, Cod. 18. Also at Baliol-college, Cod. 130. And at Merton, Cod 227.

De Die Judicii liber; i. e. 'Of the Day of Judgment.'

MS. in Bennet-college, Cambridge, Cod. 284.

The following Writings of his are thought to be lost.

Commentarius in Esaiam Prophetam; i. e. 'A Commentary on Esaias the Prophet.'

Epistolarum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epistles.'

Traclatus de mansionibus filiorum Israel; i. e. 'A Treatise of the Mansions of the Children of Israel.'

Epigrammatum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epigrams.'

This Leland seems to have inspected (100).

De Vita et Passione S. Anastasii; i. e. 'Of the Life and Passion of St Anastasius.'

This, in Beda's own catalogue of his works, is said to have been before ill translated, and worse amended from the Greek, and by him therefore corrected and brought to the true meaning of it's original (101); but by whom it was written or translated is not expressed.

We have insisted more at large on the writings of Venerable Bede, because notwithstanding there have been several editions of them, as we have already shewn, yet neither those large collections, nor the other treatises in which some pieces of his are contained, are very common; so that it seemed the more necessary to give the reader a clear and complete view of all the writings this great man left behind him, such as are suspected, such as remain unpublished, and such as are supposed to be lost. By this means one great and valuable end of this work will be answered, viz. the seeing at one view, and without being obliged to have recourse to other books, what Beda did and wrote in his life-time, what remains to us of his writings, where they may be found, and how a farther account of any difficulties about them may be obtained, by consulting, as indicated in the margin, the remarks of the most eminent of our modern Critics.

[M] With honour even to ages at the remotest distance.] We will open these commendations of our author with the wise and weighty observations of Hermannus Conringius (102), a man of most extensive learning, and of as much judgment as any Critick of his age. 'It is, says he, worthy of notice, that in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, there was scarce to be found throughout Italy, France, Britain, Spain, and, in a word, throughout the whole western Church, the name of a person who had written a book, but what either dwelt in, or at least was educated at some monastery. How much was Beda distinguished amongst the British Monks, who, to say the truth, was not only the most learned of them, but, the age in which he lived considered, the whole

(99) Lib. ii. cap. iv, v, vi.

(93) See before in note [G].

(94) Dublin, 1664, 2vo.

(95) Analect. Tom. I. p. 9.

(96) De Bibliothecis Patrum, cap. iii. p. 269.

(97) The entire title of this Collection runs thus: 'Beda Venerabilis Opera quaedam Theologica, nunc primum edita, nec non Historica antea semel edita. Accesserunt Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Dialogus de Ecclesiastica Institutione, & Adelmi Episcopi Sireburnensis Liber de Virginitate, ex codice Antiquissimo emendatus. Lond. 1693, 4to.'

(98) Vide Praefat. ad Oper. S. Gregorii Magni, edit. Benct.

(100) Collection. Tom. II. p. 114.

(101) Scriptor. Vetust. p. 280.

(102) De Antiquitat. Academ. Dissertat. iii.

be acknowledged, that some late criticks of our own and foreign nations, but more particularly the French, have taken great liberties with his character; and have treated him as a man of superficial learning; vast, but indigested, reading; a collector rather than an author; of little judgment, though great industry; negligent in point of style as well as method, and void of all taste for criticism. He is also charged by some with being extremely credulous, and giving too easy a belief to the fabulous miracles reported in his time.

* whole western world. As for us Germans, we owe the first propagation of Christianity amongst us to those religious houses; and, to say the truth, we are likewise indebted to them for the cultivation of learning, and the improvement of all branches of literature, in the same manner as the English and Scotch received theirs in former times from the Roman Monks, who visited their countries.* This may serve to give us a just notion of the true merit of Beda, who is not to be commended as a writer much superior to those of the two last ages, but as an author who wrote much better than most men of his time, and took a great deal of pains to make the acquisition of knowledge very easy to his countrymen, who before his time found it hard to study to any purpose, even when they were ever so much inclined to it. Albinus, or Alcuinus Flaccus, in a letter of his directed to the Monks of Jarrow, addresses them thus

(103) Epist. xlix.

(103). ' Bearing in mind the example of the most worthy person of your times, Presbyter Beda, you ought to remember how he studied in his youth, how great a character he had amongst men, and how great a weight of glory he now sustains with God. His behaviour ought assuredly to awake your sleepy minds, be therefore assiduous you who are now intrusted with the care of teaching, open your books, read and explain their sense, and, like him, feed those who are under your care as he did, &c.' In the same manner Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus discourses in the fifth dialogue of his *History of Poets*, where he gives a large character and a high eulogium of Beda, who, he says, had learning enough to have distinguished him in any age, and that in one very dark and superstitious, he excelled all others. Folchardus (104), in his life of St John, Archbishop of York, takes occasion to speak of our author as his pupil; and says, that it is amazing how he became so perfect in all the branches of those sciences to which he addicted himself; whereby, as he assures us, he conquered all difficulties, and brought those of his own nation to frame right notions of the matters that most concerned them, so as that they were afterwards neither dull nor ignorant, but from the rude and boorish manners of their ancestors, began to be exceedingly civilized and polite through their desire of learning, of which he not only taught them the grounds while living, but in his works left them a kind of *Encyclopædia* for the institution of youth after his decease. Whoever it was that took upon him to continue Beda's History, has shewn an inclination to do justice to his memory (105), though he seems only to have transcribed William of Malmesbury. Indeed this custom of transcribing was very general in those times, so that commonly the same characters of eminent persons are given in the same words, under the name of various authors. In many also of the Abbey Chronicles, where there are short articles only entered, the same regularity (which shews their being copied from each other) appears. In one of these Chronicles I have observed, that in recording the death of Beda, he is stiled *Saint* as well as *Venerable* (106). But to proceed more methodically with our authorities; William of Malmesbury gives him a very extraordinary character, and tells us, that it was much easier to admire him in thought, than to do him justice in expression. He commends him also for his piety and learning, and laments the loss of his industry and abilities in the ages following; and observes, that history slept, and all notice of publick transactions were in a manner buried with him; for the English growing more indolent every day, all application to learning ceased for a long time over the whole island (107). Simeon Dunelmensis tells us, that it seems surprizing to some persons, that a man who lived in one of the most remote corners of the world, and never had an opportunity of travelling for his improvement in Science, or frequenting the schools of Philosophy, should distinguish himself by so uncommon an extent of learning, and the composition of so many books (108). Platina, in his Lives of the

(104) Leland. de Script. p. 119. Todd's MS. notes on Beda's History.

(105) Scriptor. Vetus. p. 285.

(106) Chron. Godtavian. MS. p. 63.

(107) De Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iiii.

(108) In Epistola ad Hugon. Decan. Eborac. ap. X. Hist. col. 76, 77.

Popes, observes, that he received the name of *Venerable* on account of his great skill in the Greek and Latin tongues, and his piety and modesty (109). Bale (110) assures us, that he was so well skilled in the writings of Pagan authors, that he had scarce an equal in that age, and that he learned Natural Philosophy and Mathematicks from the purest sources, the antient Greek and Latin writers themselves. He had so solid a knowledge of the mysteries and principles of the Christian Faith, considering the corruptions of the age in which he lived, that he was esteemed by many persons even superior to Gregory the Great himself, on account of his accurate skill in the Greek and Latin languages, but he certainly surpassed him in eloquence and copiousness of his stile. And I wish, says Bale, he had done so in the purity of his sentiments. In short, that there is scarce any thing in all antiquity worthy to be read, which is not to be found in Beda, though he travelled not out of his own country; and that if he had flourished in the times of St Augustin, Jerome, or Chrysostom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them, since even in the midst of a superstitious age he wrote so many excellent treatises; for however he owns, that he cannot be acquitted of some errors, since he mentions several ridiculous stories as real facts in his History, from the too great regard which he paid to the Monks and the dialogues of Gregory. Pits (111) tells us, that he was so well versed in the several branches of learning, that Europe scarce ever produced a greater scholar in all respects. That even while he was living, his writings were of so great authority, that it was ordered by a Council held in England, and approved afterwards by the Catholick Church, that they should be publickly read in the churches. That he was remarkable from his earliest years for his piety and love of learning, and went always from prayers to his studies, and from his studies to prayers; so that his intense application furnished him with a compleat knowledge of Poetry, Rhetorick, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysics, Astronomy, Arithmetick, Musick, Geometry, Cosmography, Chronology, History, and the whole circle of the Liberal Arts, and all parts of Mathematicks, Philosophy, and Divinity; so that Pits is really of opinion, that the Christian world in that age, which was distinguished, says he, by a very great number of learned men, produced few comparable to him, and not one superior, as appears evidently from the testimony of several Historians, and the excellent books which he wrote in all parts of learning. Fuller, a fanciful writer, has left us two accounts of Beda; we will cite the most remarkable and singular of them, which, if it does not inform, will at least divert the reader. Thus it runs (112). ' Bede, and (because some nations measure the worth of the person by the length of the name) take his addition Venerable! He was born at Girwy (now called Jarrow) in this Bishoprick, bred under St John of Beverly, and afterwards a Monk in the town of his nativity. He was the most general scholar of that age. Let a Sophister begin with his Axioms, a Bachelor of Arts proceed to his Metaphysics, a Master to his Mathematicks, and a Divine conclude with his controversies and comments on Scripture, and they shall find him better in all, than any Christian writer in that age, in any of those arts and sciences. He expounded almost all the Bible, translated the Psalms and New Testament into English, and lived a comment on those words of the Apostle, *Shining as a light in the world, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation*. He was no gadder abroad; credible authors avouching, that he never went out of his cell, though both Cambridge and Rome pretended to his habitation; yet his corpse after his death, which happened anno 734, took a journey, or rather was removed, to Durham, and there enshrined.' Hollinshed, Stowe, Speed, and the rest of our general Histories, treat his memory very respectfully.

(109) In Vit. Agathon.

(110) Script. Illustr. Major. Brit. Centur. II. p. 94.

(111) Relat. Histor. de Rebus Angl. p. 130.

(112) Fuller's Worthies, p. 292. under Durham.

(i) Du Pin, *Bibl. Ecclesiast.* Tom. VI. p. 28, 29. *Mélanges de Littérature*, par Vigneul-Marville, Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285. Nicholson's *English Historical Library*, p. 35.

time. On the other hand, there are some who blame him for giving into many singular opinions, and others are no less offended with his want of accuracy, and writing from very indifferent memoirs. We think ourselves obliged to report these exceptions to his character, with the same fidelity that we have shown, in repeating the praises that have been bestowed upon him, that the reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth (i) [N]. But to perform this more effectually, and with the strictest regard

to

[N] *The reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth.* Whoever considers the difference of their tempers, and the still greater difference between the times in which they wrote, will not be much surprized to find that Beda is not highly in favour with the famous Milton, who, after transcribing from him what appeared most valuable and fittest for his purpose, when he comes to the year 731, where Beda's History ends, he gives us this account of it (112). 'In which peaceful state of the land, many in Northumberland, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of arms, betook them to the cloyster, and not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, Clerks and Laics, men and women, halting to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure in eternal life till they were cloystered there. Thus representing the state of things in this island, Beda surceased to write, out of whom chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxons arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious works, from his many Legends of Visions and Miracles; towards the latter end, so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected, may seem a Calendar rather than a History, taken up for the most part with succession of Kings, computation of years; yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon Annals. Their actions we read of were most commonly wars, but for what cause waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing; the rest superstition and monastical affectation; Kings one after another, leaving their kingly charge to run their heads fondly into a Monk's cowl, which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence, to the Danish invasion, it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda.' If this account of his most famous work attacks the character of Beda as an Historian, we shall find that

(114) *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* Tom. VI. p. 89.

M. Du Pin (114), a famous French author, has censured almost all his writings in the lump; and though he throws in some slight commendations, yet it is very easy to perceive that he does it only with a view to defend himself from the imputation of treating with much freedom, one, whose name till then had been reputed Venerable. He tells us, that his style is clear and easy, but without any purity, eloquence, or sublimity; that he wrote with a prodigious facility, but without art or reflection; and that he was a greater master of learning than of judgment, or a true critical taste: That he has collected whatever he could meet with, without any considerable choice or accuracy: That his Commentaries upon the Scriptures are only extracts from those of the Fathers, which he has connected together; and that his History is exact enough with regard to what happened in his own time, or just before it; but in other parts, he is not to be depended upon, since he made use of erroneous memoirs. In short, that what he has done in prophane Literature, is not very profound or exact, though his knowledge was considerable for the time in which he lived. There is another French writer, who, that he might deliver himself with greater freedom in respect to the characters both of dead and living authors, thought fit to conceal himself under the name of M. de Vigneul-Marville. Amongst others who have felt the strokes of his pen, Beda has not escapéd; and that the reader may see what drew upon him the distaste of this author, we shall translate the passage which concerns him, so as to give the author's sense in his own words (115).

(115) *Mélanges d'Histoire & de Littérature*, Paris 1725, 12mo. Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285.

'As we do not pretend to give a dictionary, we shall not repeat here either the Life or the History of Beda, which may be found elsewhere, but shall be content with collecting some circumstances relating to him, that are not so well known. Beda had some particular sentiments which have found but few partizans. He thought, for instance, that Joseph

the husband of the virgin Mary was a farrier, contrary to the common opinion. When he speaks of the Magi, or wise men, who went to worship our Saviour, he is very particular in the account of their names, age, and description, and the offerings which each of them made to Christ. He tells us, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard, and that it was he who offered gold to our Saviour, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty; that Gaspar, the second of the Magi, was young and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense, in order to recognize the divinity of our Lord; and that Balthazar, the third, was of a dark complexion, and had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Saviour's humanity. He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. Perhaps this account of our author's gave occasion to the pictures which represent that subject, or was taken from them. Father Pezron, who has taken such pains, after Isaac Vossius and Father Morin, to support the chronology of the Septuagint, which represents the world about two thousand years older than the common account, tells us, that our author was the first who endeavoured, in the Western Church, to maintain the shorter calculation of the Hebrew text; whereas, before him, that Church, as well as the Eastern, had embraced the Chronology of Eusebius, which reckons 5199 years before Christ, especially after the time that St Jerome had translated the Chronicon of that celebrated writer. Archbishop Usher, in his Sacred Chronology, observes, that Beda was considered as an Heretick, on account of this innovation, or, which is equivalent to it, because he ventured to assert, that our Saviour did not appear in the flesh, in the sixth millenary of the world. However his computation was received afterwards, and scarce any other was admitted in the West, till the three learned men abovementioned, appeared in defence of the contrary opinion. We shall, in the succeeding note, shew, that as great men, and as good judges as any of these, entertained a different opinion of our author and his writings. But, in the mean time, it may not be amiss to hint to the reader's consideration, a few remarks upon these criticisms, in the order in which we have placed them. As to Milton, he blames Beda's History for faults, to which the first Histories of every country must be always liable, and from which, therefore, there was no reason to expect that his should be exempt. The errors he condemns in him, are not so much his, as those of the age in which he lived, and which, the circumstances of his life considered, it was impossible for him to avoid. That there was so little of Civil History in Beda's book, was indeed a misfortune to Milton, but no fault in the author, who proposed to write an Ecclesiastical History, without any mixture of the Civil, farther than was requisite to make it understood; so that he is censured, not for writing amiss upon his own plan, which certainly did not require an account of the motives and causes of wars, and other political transactions; but because his work was not so agreeable to Milton's plan, as he could have wished it. Yet at parting, he expresses a concern for the loss of so good a guide, as he very well might, for if we make the just allowances to Beda, which ought to be made from the circumstances under which he wrote, he may be very truly stiled, one of the best and most faithful of our ancient historians. Du Pin censures him a little unjustly, for want of considering what his aim was in those writings, with which he finds so many faults. He says that Beda's Commentaries were little better than collections from the Fathers; but the truth is, that Beda intended them for nothing better, and Du Pin himself admits, that the ancient Fathers were more happy in their explanations of the Scriptures, than the writers of those times; so that in making these collections, Beda, upon his own principles, must be allowed to have shewn a critical taste, for the want of

to justice, we find it likewise requisite to observe, that some of the greatest and ablest men of the last and of the present age, have entertained a very high opinion of his learning, judgment, and exactness, as well as of his piety, great regard for true religion, and having had very just notions, as to several of those points which are now controverted between Papists and Protestants (k), and who therefore look upon the collecting and publishing his works, as a thing equally honourable for this nation, useful to the learned world, and advantageous to the Christian faith (l). So that if we esteem the memory of Venerable Bede, in some measure unfortunate, from the number of censurers he has found among the moderns; we must at the same time allow, that there have not been wanting men of equal abilities, and equal reputation, who have vindicated his writings, and supported his right to that fame, which he has so long enjoyed, and which, if their arguments have any weight, will still remain very little diminished, if not absolutely entire (m) [O].

(k) Bale, de Scrip-
tor. Britan. cent.
II. c. i. p. 94.
Herman. Conring-
de Antiquitat. A-
cadem. Dissertat.
iii.
Jacob. Uffer. in
Chron. Sacr. et
al. loc.

(l) Paul. Colo-
mes. in Paralip-
pom. ad Carto-
phil. Ecclef. Gul.
Cave.

(m) Mabillon.
Traité des Etud. s.
Médiévales, p.
It 89.

of which, however, he is by this very writer condemned. As for the faults in his style, they will not appear very great, if compared with contemporary writers, and to compare him with others is unjust. The greatest admirers of Bede, do not pretend to set him upon a level in point of style, method, or literature, with the great men of the last century, who, as they had many advantages over him in point of education, might well surpass him in most parts of learning; but the admirers of Bede say, that considering the situation of this country at that time, and the low estate of letters therein, it was amazing that this man should make so great a progress in the languages and sciences, and write so great a number of books upon such different subjects, before he was threescore. Even supposing they are not so correctly written as is usual in our times, since the critics have exercised their trade, and thereby introduced a kind of reformation in learning. But it is a little singular, to hear a French writer complain of Bede's writing from erroneous memoirs. It may be so, but how came he to know it? We shall in the next note shew, that the greatest masters in English History, men of probity, candour, and capacity, knew nothing of this, and Milton himself confesses, that he travelled with much worse guides after he parted with Bede. The last of these critics was a Carthusian Monk, Dom Bonaventure d'Argonne, who took the Nomme de Guerre of Vigneul-Marville (116), to prevent being called to an account, for what he thought fit to publish in his Miscellanies. The very account he gives of Bede shews, he understood very little of his subject. He takes it for granted, that King Sigebert erected the university of Cambridge, which is alone sufficient to shew, how indifferent a judge he must prove of Bede's historical Writings (117). He blames our author for the singularity of his opinions, and yet in the singularity of his own opinions, consists the chief merit of his book. He criticises some passages in our author's Writings, without quoting them, which is indeed his method, but very unfair, and which no writer of that kind ever used but himself. Yet we may safely affirm, that these singular opinions, for which he censures him, were not Bede's, but copied by him from other books; so that his objection falls to the ground with respect to Bede, whatever becomes of the notions that he labours to expose. As to what he says of Bede's being the first who declared in favour of the Hebrew Chronology; it is indeed a proof of his being singular in his opinions, but it is a proof at the same time, of his great learning, penetration, and good sense. If he had ever looked into our author's epistle to Plegwin, he would have found, that he discourtes there in support of his own opinion, with as much learning, penetration, and critical skill, as any of the moderns, and gives very just reasons why he had taken so much pains upon this head. He says that it gave him great concern, and in some measure moved his indignation; when he heard the common people continually asking, When the world would be at an end? or, When the last day was to come? which demands he shews plainly, were founded upon the mistaken opinion of the time of Christ's coming, which therefore he endeavoured to explode, and in the close of his epistle, he is so far from taking any merit to himself from his discoveries upon this subject, that he very fairly and candidly confesses, that he had delivered no more than was consistent with the Hebrew verity, explained by Origen, published by Jerome, commended by Augustin, and confirmed by Josephus, than whom, in

such matters, he professes he knew none more learned; at the same time he passes a very just censure upon Eusebius, and recommends the study of the Hebrew tongue, as the most effectual means of coming at the true sense of the Scriptures (118). Whoever considers this attentively, and at the same time reflects on the number of great men, who, in all succeeding ages, have acquiesced in, and defended, Bede's opinions in this respect, not indeed upon his authority, but upon the same authorities which induced him to publish it, against the common sentiment in his time, will feel just reason to entertain a better opinion of our author's learning, judgment, and capacity, than from the accounts given of him by these critics, who very plainly shew, that they had more regard for their own reputation, than for those of other men; for though it becomes such writers to deal freely and justly with the authors they mention, yet it is surely their duty, not to censure without evidence, or condemn upon slight grounds.

[O] *Very little diminished, if not absolutely entire.* We are in this note to produce the authorities in favour of Bede; and first, with regard to his History, we will not have recourse to Church-writers, however eminent, because they may possibly be esteemed some way prejudiced in his favour; but to such judges of our antiquities, whose very names are never mentioned but with reverence. As for instance, the famous Camden, who knew as well as any man the merit of our ancient Historians, and the contents of their writings speaks, of Bede thus (119). 'In this monastery of St Peter, Bede, the singular light of our England, who by his piety and learning justly obtained the surname of *Venerable*, spent his days, as himself tells us, in meditating on the Scriptures, and, in the midst of a barbarous age, wrote many learned works.' In the same learned work he frequently cites Bede, and never without paying the utmost regard to his authority. In another work of his he has these words (120). 'The reverend Bede, whom we may more easily admire than sufficiently praise, for his profound learning in a most barbarous age, when he was in the pangs of death, said to the standers-by, *I have so lived among you, that I am not ashamed of my life; neither fear I to dye, because I have a most gracious Redeemer.*'

The famous Mr Bolton, author of that learned piece of British History, intitled, *NERO CÆSAR*, gives us this character of our author (121). 'Indifferency and even dealing are the glory of Historians, which rule Venerable Bede reputed so sacred and inviolable, that albeit he much detested the opinion of Aidan, the Scot, according to which he celebrated the high feast of Easter, otherwise than that church did, whereof Bede was a member, within exact obedience; nevertheless he durst not as an Historian, but with all candour and freedom possible, deliver Aidan's praises; yea he makes profession, that he did not only detest him as a Quartodeciman; though he were not a Judaizing Quartodeciman (for that he kept Easter in honour of Christ's resurrection upon the next Sunday after the fourteenth day of the Moon, and not indifferently upon the next day of the week, what day soever it was). But he did also write of purpose against Aidan's opinion therein, as himself professeth, citing Aidan's own books. Bede nevertheless, coming by the order and necessity of this talk to memorize the truth of things, his closing words, full of faintly gravity and sincere conscience, are, (122); *These things I have wrote concerning the person and actions of the man before-mentioned, not in*

(118) Ouseul.
Bede H. Whar-
ton. edit. p. 250.
Jacob. Ufferii
Chronol. Sacra,
cap. iii. p. 44.
Voff. de Natura
Artium, lib. iii.
cap. xli. §. 14.

(119) Britan. in
Britan. p. 576.

(120) Remains of
a greater Work
concerning Bri-
tain, Lond. 1605,
4to, p. 183.

(121) Hypercri-
tica, or a rule of
Judgment for
writing or read-
ing our Histories,
Address. 11.
Sect. i.

(122) Hist. Ec-
clesi. lib. iii. cap.
xxi.

(116) Ouvres de
Bayle, Tom. IV.
p. 785, 800,
836.

(117) Melanges
d'Histoire & de
littérature, Tom.
III. p. 283.

It may appear somewhat strange, that hitherto in treating the history of Bede, I have taken no notice at all of his being of the order of St Benedict, which is indeed a point, I find myself obliged to clear up before I leave it. It must be confessed, that many great and learned men, from whom I can scarce take the liberty to differ, are very clear in this point, and make no kind of scruple of calling Beda a Benedictine (*n*). Upon what grounds they do this, the reader may in some measure satisfy himself from Reynerus, who has written expressly, and with much labour and learning on the subject (*o*). But I must confess he does not quite satisfy me. Our author himself seems to have been the most capable of setting us right on this head, and his absolute silence makes one suspect, that the fact is not so clear as these writers would make it, for had it been so, one can scarce doubt that in some or other of his works, Venerable Bede would have told us he lived under the rule of St Bennet. St Gregory the Great approved the rule of St Benedict about 595, and in succeeding times there is no doubt to be made, that (except Carlisle) all our cathedral priories, and most of the rich abbies in the kingdom, were of this Rule, which has given the stronger colour and appearance of truth, to what is delivered by the great favourers of this religious order (*p*). It is very certain that we had Monks in Britain, not only before the establishment of St Benedict's rule, but even before he was born. Yet I think this does not much affect the present argument, for we are not concerned

about

' the least commending or approving what he thought about the observation of Easter, in which he was mistaken, &c. but as a faithful Historian, simply describing whatever was done by him, or by his means, and praising in his actions whatever appears praiseworthy, &c. According to which rule he doth sincerely discharge his duty, commending Aidan not only for learning and eloquence, (which are common as well to the good as bad) but for his charity, peacefulness, humility, for a mind which neither wrath nor covetousness could overcome, and for many other qualities characteristic and proper to a most worthy man; and finally, (which is a principal point of equanimity) he doth diligently extenuate and allay the ill conceit which might be conceived against Aidan, for his doctrine and practice in that article, but doth not in no sort extenuate his praises; concluding with one of the fullest that perhaps we shall find of any Saint in the world, which is (123), ' That he omitted nothing that he knew from the writings of the Evangelists, Apostles, or Prophets, was to be done, but endeavoured to fulfil all things to the utmost of his power.' To these we might add the many testimonies in his favour in the works of the learned Selden (124), as well as the commendations bestowed on him by that great Antiquarian, Sir Henry Spelman (125), and which might alone establish his reputation; and the character given him by the most learned Stillingfleet (126), if what we have already done were not more than sufficient; for if those writers last-mentioned have not authority to fix the credit of any writer of our History, it will be in vain for us to look farther, or to hope to succeed by the addition of a multitude of names less known, and less considered. I shall oppose to the two French writers, two of their own countrymen, who without offence, I may have leave to say were much greater men than themselves, and indeed not at all inferior to any their nation has produced, either in the last age, or in the present. The first of these is M. Colomes, better known to the world by his Latin name of Colomesius, a clergyman of the Church of England, and keeper of the library at Lambeth, who expresses himself thus (127). ' I have wondered more than once, that as there are so many manuscript treatises of Beda's to be found in England, why hitherto no Englishman, who must be much more capable of doing justice to his countryman than any stranger, has never taken the pains to publish them.' He then, for the common benefit of the republick of letters, gives his reader various notices, of what he thought might be useful in case such a design should ever be undertaken; from whence it appears, that he thought every fragment of Beda's valuable, and that it would be an injury to the learned world, if so much as a single line of his should be lost; which argues a better opinion of our author than was entertained by M. Du Pin, who does not appear at all better versed in our Venerable Beda's writings, or to have considered them with greater attention. The other French writer I shall produce is Mabillon, whose learning, judgment, and diligence, have made him known and esteemed; whose modesty, candour, and plain-dealing, have rendered him admired and beloved

by the whole republick of letters. But I shall not quote his elogy of Bede, for in that he might be supposed either to have some prepossession in favour of his author, or his order; but a practical treatise of his, written for the use of the young Benedictines of his own society, in which we may be sure he spoke his mind, and nothing more or less than his real sentiments (128). ' The Monks, says he, that were sent by St Gregory into England, built monasteries there for the cultivating virtue and learning at the same time. It was in that of St Peter at Canterbury, that Benedict Bishop, became acquainted with the monastick discipline, which he afterwards established in the two monasteries which he founded, where the Venerable Beda made profession of all the sciences, which he taught to his brethren in his monastery, and even to the Seculars in the church of York. St Adelme and many others followed his example.' He proceeds afterwards to shew how this discipline and learning spread over the whole kingdom; from whence, as he observes, it was transported into Germany by St Boniface, and thence again to the most distant countries; such were the consequences of Beda's learning and great application in the judgment of one who knew so well what he said. But in another part of the same work, he explains himself more fully as to the conduct of Venerable Bede (129). ' It signifies nothing, says he, to say that Monks are not designed to teach others, but to weep and lead a life of continual penitence. The principal end of their study does indeed terminate solely in their proper utility, and their particular advancement; and if it so happens, that the Church and Divine Providence engages them to instruct others, that is by no means the great end they ought to propose in their study, but that of instructing themselves, of edifying themselves, and obtaining to themselves the knowledge of heavenly truth, that they may be the more capable of sustaining the difficulties of a religious life, and of profiting by its advantages. We have an illustrious example in Venerable Bede, amongst many others, who applied more to all sorts of studies, and even to the teaching of others, than he? Yet who was more closely attached to the exercises of piety and religion than he? To see him pray, it seemed as if he had left no time to study, to behold the number of his books and writings, would incline us to believe he did nothing else; for notwithstanding he was continually employed in study, and the care of teaching his brethren, and even the Seculars, he was nevertheless most exact in discharging the duties of his religious profession, inasmuch, as he says himself, that amongst the distractions and hindrances, or rather among the employments, of a religious state and divine offices (130); *Inter observantias disciplina regularis et quotidianam in Ecclesia cantandi curam*; or as he elsewhere expresses himself (131), *Innumera monasticae servitutis retinacula*, he placed his whole delight in studying, in teaching others, or in writing, *Semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere, dulce habui.* Would to God our monasteries were full of such men of letters!

(128) *Traité des Etodes Monastiques*, P. i. chap. xi. p. 89.

(129) *Id. ibid.* P. i. chap. xii. p. 108, 109.

(130) *Beda in Epitome Histor. Angl.*

(131) *Id. ad Accam.*

(n) Trithem. Regner. Mabillon.

(o) Apofotolatus Benedictorum in Anglia. Duaci, 1626, fol.

(p) Capgrave, Harpsfield, Pitt.

(123) *Ibid.*

(124) *Analect. Anglobrit. lib. ii. cap. ii.*

(125) See his Posthumous Works, p. 36, 155.

(126) *Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the British Churches, in the Preface, and in chap. v.*

(127) *Paralipomena de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. p. 220, 221.*

about the British Monks, of whom Beda himself gives us a large account (g), but with the English Monks, or rather Saxon Monks, who were brought in and settled by St Austin, the great converter of this nation. But in regard to the rule of St Bennet, we are told, and told with great confidence too, that it was introduced by St Wilfrid about 666 (r), but if this had been really so, can we possibly imagine that Beda, who wrote his History with so much care, and who is also supposed of the same order, should omit this particular? As for the Bull of Pope Constantine, requiring the Monks of Evesham to conform strictly to this rule in 709, there are many, and some very strong, reasons to suspect that it is absolutely a forgery; but if it were genuine, it would not make much for the antiquity of the Benedictine rule, since it admits it scarce practised in England before that time. It was long after this Bull, that the two monasteries of St Peter and St Paul at Weremouth and Jarrow were founded, and yet Beda himself shews, that Benedict Bishop had been for some time abroad, had taken the habit in a foreign abbey, and brought over some kind of orders and regulations; but that these were not the rule of St Bennet in it's full extent, we may be sure, because, if it had, Beda would certainly have said so (s) [P]. Yet if, after all, nothing farther were expected, than that we should admit Benedict Bishop (for that was his cognomen) brought some kind of regulation from France, which was taken from the rule of St Bennet, and that these monasteries should be from thence reckoned in some measure Benedictine; I do not see how or why it should be denied. But in a stronger or stricter sense than this, it never can be admitted. For in the general, and as far as we can see, in the first regulation of the English Monks, by Archbishop Cuthbert, at Clovesho in 647, there is nothing said of St Benedict or his rule, which would have been impossible, if that rule, in it's full extent, and under it's founder's name, had ever been introduced here (t). By those constitutions at Clovesho the Monks undoubtedly governed themselves, till harassed, dispersed, and in a manner extirpated by the Danes, who, except Glastenbury and Abingdon, scarce left a convent of Monks in the kingdom, which was the case in the days of Ælfred the Great (u). But it may be demanded, if this was so, how came Weremouth and Jarrow to become cells of the Benedictine monastery at Durham? and indeed the answer to this question, brings the whole affair to a natural and satisfactory conclusion. The secular Canons were turned into Benedictine Monks by William de Carlepho, Bishop of Durham, in the eighteenth of William the Conqueror (w), and these two small monasteries being, from the reviving the monastick state by St Dunstan, occupied by black Monks, they were put under the jurisdiction of the great Benedictine abbey of Durham (x), whence the opinion grew, that as Beda was a Monk at Jarrow, he was consequently a Benedictine.

(g) Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(r) Chr. August. Cant. apud Decem Script. col. 2232.

(s) Hist. Abbat. Weremuth, &c.

(t) Spelman. Concilia.

(u) Leland. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 8.

(w) Chron. Eccl. Dunelm. MS. Bibl. Bodl. p. 31.

(x) Monast. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 94.

[P] Because if it had, Beda would certainly said so. This argument is so much the stronger, because the History left by Beda of the foundation of these two monasteries is very large and full; containing every circumstance that has the least relation to the erecting, endowing, and settling those religious houses. The dates likewise are very exact, so that it clearly appears that Benedict, after his return from Rome with a vast provision of all things necessary for the furnishing a convent, obtained a Grant from King Egfred, in the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of Christ 674 (132). He then considered the time this monastery of his would require before it was finished, and computed that it would be four years. He went next over to France, from whence he brought Masons who were able to build after the Roman manner; and when he saw the work pretty far advanced, he sent agents thither to bring over people who could make glass; and Beda observes, that these people not only furnished whatever was wanting for this monastery, but likewise instructed the English, and so brought the art of glass-making, which was till then unknown, into this island. Whatever he wanted, and could not obtain in France, he sent for into other countries, and particularly to Rome; so that when the house was finished, he found himself much better provided with every thing necessary for a monastery, than when he had first propounded the building of one to King Egfred; and in this respect Beda is very particular in shewing us what the nature of these provisions were, whence this point with relation to the rule of St Benedict seems to be absolutely cleared up, that is to say, it is manifest they had heard nothing of it, and consequently could not think themselves bound to obey it; in proof of which we will here set down Beda's own words (133). 'In the first place, says he, he brought with him an innumerable quantity of books of all kinds. Secondly, He drew together, by the favour of many of the English churches, a vast store of relics of the Apostles and Martyrs of Christ. Thirdly, He brought into and established in his monastery, the order of chanting and psalm-singing after the manner of the Ro-

man Church; for he desired; and obtained from Pope Agatho, John, Abbot of the monastery of St Martin, and arch-chantor of the church of the blessed apostle St Peter, and brought him over with him to be the teacher and instructor of the British monasteries; who coming hither, not only taught them the Roman methods of performing divine service viva voce, but also left several writings on this subject, which are still preserved in the library of the monastery. Fourthly, Benedict obtained from the same venerable Pope, by the consent and desire, and even at the request, of King Egfred, a privilege or exemption of the said monastery. And fifthly, He brought pictures and images of the Saints for adorning the walls of the church, that even such as were ignorant of letters might not be able to turn their eyes on any side, without drawing some instruction from what they saw.' This is Beda's account of the matter, which agrees exactly with what he says in another place of this John, Abbot of St Martin (134), who brought with him the acts of a Synod held some time before at Rome, and was instructed to enquire into the faith of the English churches, of which he carried over ample testimonials; and dying in his journey back to Rome, was buried in the church of the abbey of St Martin at Tours. But neither in the former or the latter passages is there one word of his bringing the rule of St Benedict into this kingdom; and had it been known and observed here before, there had certainly been no occasion for his coming at all. It is indeed true, that some of the most learned writers of the Church of Rome, have produced many probable and plausible arguments in favour of the contrary opinion; but in answer to these positive facts they have hitherto said nothing, or at least nothing that can give a reasonable and unprejudiced person satisfaction (135). Thus we have given the reader, in as narrow a compass as it was possible, the History of Venerable Beda and his writings; and, as far as we were able, have set the disputes that have been raised about them in a clear light, so as to make whatever relates to this famous Light of the English Church perfectly intelligible. E

(132) Historia de Vita Abbatum Wiremuthensium & Girwienfium, p. 224. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 39. Monasticon. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 96.

(133) Historia de Vita Abbatum, &c. p. 225, 226.

(134) Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 18.

(135) Vid. Reyner. Dugdale, Mabillon, &c.

B E D E L L (WILLIAM) Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, and one of the most famous Prelates in that kingdom during the last century. He was descended from a good

(a) Life of William Bedell, D. D. Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, London, 1685, 8vo, p. 1.

(b) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(c) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 2.

(d) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(e) Life of Sir Henry Wotton, by Israel Walton, p. 23.

(f) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 8.

(g) The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved, Dublin, 1739, fol. Vol. I. p. 232.

(h) See the article DE DOMINIS (ANTONIO).

(i) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 10.

(k) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

family, and born some time in the year 1570 (a), at Black Notley in Essex, and being a younger son, was by his father designed for the Church. It was with this view, that he was sent to Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of Dr Chadderton, who was for many years head of that house (b), where he made great progress in his studies, and went early into Holy Orders, which he received from the Suffragan Bishop of Colchester, who valued himself very much afterwards upon that head (c). In 1593 he was chosen Fellow of his college, and in 1599, took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (d). He removed from the university to St Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, where he had a church, and by an assiduous application to the duties of his function, came to be much taken notice of by many gentlemen who lived near that place. He continued there for some years, till an opportunity offered of his going with Sir Henry Wotton, whom King James had appointed his Ambassador to the State of Venice, which was about the year 1604, and thither Mr Bedell attended him as his Chaplain (e). While he resided in that city, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Father Paul Sarpi, Divine to the State, who took him into his entire confidence, taught him the Italian language, of which he became a perfect master, and translated into that tongue the English Common-Prayer Book, which was extremely well received by many of the clergy there, especially by the seven Divines appointed by the Republick to preach against the Pope, during the time of the Interdict, and which they intended for their model, in case they had broke absolutely with Rome, which was what they sincerely desired (f). In return for the favours he received from Father Paul, Mr Bedell drew up an English Grammar for his use, and in many other respects assisted him in his studies. He continued eight years in Venice, during which time, he greatly improved himself in the Hebrew language, by the assistance of the famous Rabbi Leo, who taught him the Jewish pronunciation, and other parts of Rabbinical learning, and by his means it was that he purchased a very fair manuscript of the Old Testament, which he bequeathed, as a mark of respect, to Emanuel-college, and which, it is said, cost him it's weight in silver (g). He became acquainted there likewise, with the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalata, who was so well pleased with his conversation, that he communicated to him his secret, and shewed him his famous book *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London (h). Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many misapplications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of Fathers, for that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes, both in the one and the other, and if there remain some places still, that discover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them. But no wonder, if, in such a multitude, some escaped his diligence. *De Dominis* took all this in good part from him, and entered into such familiarity with him, and found his assistance so useful, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say, He could do nothing without him (i). At Mr Bedell's departure from Venice, Father Paul expressed great concern, and assured him, that himself and many others would most willingly have accompanied him, if it had been in their power. He likewise gave him his picture, a Hebrew Bible without points, a small Hebrew Psalter, in which he wrote some sentences expressing the sincerity of his friendship. He gave him also the manuscript of his famous History of the Council of Trent, with the Histories of the Interdict and Inquisition, all written by himself, with a large collection of letters, which were written to him weekly from Rome, during the dispute between the Jesuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace, which it is supposed are lost (k). Such were the testimonies he brought home of his wife conduct in Italy [A]. Upon his returning

[A] Such were the testimonies he brought home of his wife conduct in Italy.] We stand indebted for the principal passages in the text to the life of this excellent person, written by the late Bishop Burnet, who had his materials from one Mr Clogy who had been minister at Cavan, and lived long in Bishop Bedell's family (1); and it must be owned they have lost nothing by the Bishop of Salisbury's putting them together, who was certainly as happy in this way of writing as any one who ever practised it in our language. The account he gives us, of Mr Bedell's manner of living while at Venice, is very curious, as well as very entertaining. He happened to reside there at a very critical season, when the Republick lay under the Interdict of Pope Paul V, for making some laws in the nature of our statutes of mortmain, and for punishing two lewd Friars (2). This Interdict however was obeyed by none but the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who were banished the State for that reason. The rest of the Clergy were kept firm to the interest of their country, by Father Paul and the Divines who assisted him, and who would have been glad if this quarrel had been pushed to extremities, that they might have had an

opportunity of quitting a Church, to the corruptions of which they were no strangers (3). How this design was defeated, and this quarrel ended, the reader may learn in another article, to which it more properly belongs; at present we are to confine ourselves to what particularly relates to Mr Bedell, whose intimacy with Father Paul was so great, and his credit with him so well established, that after an attempt made to assassinate that worthy person, when the Republick assigned him a guard, and ordered that nobody should be admitted to speak with him, till they had undergone a strict examination, Mr Bedell alone was excepted, and was admitted with the same freedom as before, whenever he thought fit. If we consider the character and condition of Father Paul at that time, upon whose pen the State depended, much more than upon her own power, this will appear very extraordinary (4). But besides this, a passage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noise than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to, but it was suited to the Italian genius. There came a Jesuit to Venice, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who printed a thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope, with

(3) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 15.

(1) See the Preface to Bishop Bedell's Life, p. 31.

(2) Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton, p. 23.

(4) See the article WOTTON (SIR HENRY).

turning to England, he immediately retired to his charge at St Edmundsbury, without aspiring to any preferment, and went on in his ministerial labours. It was here he employed himself in translating the Histories of the Interdict and Inquisition (which he dedicated to the King); as also the two last books of the History of the Council of Trent into Latin, Sir Adam Newton having translated the two first (*l*). He lived there in a private and obscure condition, until Sir Thomas Jermyn taking notice of his abilities, presented him to the living of Horingheath, A. D. 1615. But he found difficulties in obtaining institution and induction from the Bishop of Norwich, who demanded large fees upon this account. Mr Bedell was so nice in his sentiments of Simony, that he looked upon every payment as such, that exceeded a competent gratification, for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refused taking out his title upon other terms, but left the Bishop and went home (*m*). However, in a few days, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his title without fees, and he removed to Horingheath, where he continued unnoticed twelve years, although he gave a singular evidence of his great capacity, in a book of controversy with the Church of Rome, which he published and dedicated to King Charles I, then Prince of Wales, in 1624 (*n*). However neglected he lived in England, yet his fame had reached Ireland, and he was, in 1627, unanimously elected Provost of Trinity-college in Dublin (*o*). But it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to accept the charge, until the King laid his positive commands on him, which he cheerfully obeyed, and on the sixteenth of August that year, he was sworn Provost. At his first entrance upon this scene, he resolved to act nothing, until he became perfectly acquainted with the statutes of the house, and the tempers of the people whom he was appointed to govern, and therefore carried himself so abstractedly from all affairs, that he passed some time for a soft and weak man, and even Primate Usher began to waver in his opinion of him. When he went for England some few months after, to bring over his family, he had thoughts of resigning his new preferment, and returning to his benefice in Suffolk. But an encouraging letter from Primate Usher put an end to this design. He returned with his family, and applied himself to the government of the college, with a vigour of mind peculiar to him (*p*). His first business was, to compose divisions among the Fellows, to rectify disorders, and to restore discipline; and as he was a great promoter of religion, he catechised the youth once a week, and divided the Church-Catechism into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were looked upon as learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. He continued about two years in this employment, when, by the interest of Sir Thomas Jermyn, and the application of Laud, Bishop of London, he was advanced to the Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and consecrated on the thirteenth of September 1629 (*q*), at Drogheda, in St Peter's church, by James, Archbishop of Armagh; Robert, Bishop of Down and Conner; Theophilus, Bishop of Dromore; and James, Bishop of Clogher; in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the letters for his promotion, the King made honourable mention of the satisfaction he took in the services he had done, and the reformation he had wrought in the university (*r*). Having thus entered on a different course of life, he found his dioceses under vast disorders, the revenues wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all things exposed to sale in so fordid a manner, that it was grown into a proverb, The cathedral of Ardagh, and the Bishop's houses, were all flat to the ground; the parish churches all in ruins; and the insolence of the Popish clergy insufferable; the oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts excessive; and pluralities, and non-residence, shamefully prevailing (*s*). He had the courage, notwithstanding all the difficulties that lay in his way, to undertake a thorough reformation; and the first step he took was, to recover part of the lands of which his Sees had been despoiled by his predecessors, that he might be in a condition to subsist, while he laboured to reform other abuses. In this he met with such success, as encouraged him to proceed upon his own plan, and to be content with nothing less, than an absolute reformation

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*m*) Bishop Bedell's Life, p. 23.

(*n*) See that Work entire, annexed to Bishop Burnet's Life of our author.

(*o*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*p*) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 39.

(*q*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*r*) Id. Ibid.

(*s*) Taken from the Bishop's own Letter to Archbishop Laud, dated Kilmore, April 1, 1630.

(*t*) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 12.

this extravagant inscription: PAULO V VICE DEO Christianæ Republicæ Monarchæ invictissimo & Pontificæ Omnipotentie conservatori accerrimo. 'To Paul the Vth, the Vice God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of the Papal omnipotency.' All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr Bedell observed, that the numeral letters of the first words, Paulo V. Vice-Deo, being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beast in the Revelation, he communicated this to Pope Paul and the seven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate. It was entertained almost as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrist. And it is likely this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than they could build much upon it. The

noise that this made over all Italy made the Pope so uneasy, that he was forced to devise one of the strangest fables that was ever heard of to put it out of the peoples heads; for he caused it to be given out, that Antichrist was actually born in Babylon, was descended from the tribe of Dan, and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom; and with this piece of false news, the other conceit, says Bishop Burnet, was choked (*5*). When Mr Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine a Phygeian, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worship, and so chose a freer air. The latter lived near him in St Edmundsbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with our author.

(t) See his Letter to Primate Usher, September 18, 1630.

(u) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 68.

(w) Earl of Strafford's Letters published by Dr Knowler, Vol. I. p. 146. This seems to be contradicted by the Bishop's letter to Archbishop Laud, printed (after Prynne) by Bishop Burnet; but this is in truth no letter to the Archbishop, but a fragment of the letter to the Lord-Deputy.

(x) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 164. The former letter is dated, Nov. 5. the latter, Nov. 25, 1633.

(y) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 236.

(z) History of the execrable Irish Rebellion, p. 32.

(a) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 112.

reformation of those, which he esteemed capital and enormous abuses (t) [B]. Upon the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, in 1633, his Lordship of Kilmore had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure, for setting his hand to a petition which was for redress, in some respect, of grievances; and so high and open was the Lord-Deputy's testimony of this displeasure, that the Bishop did not think fit to go in person to congratulate him (as others did) upon his entering into his government (u). It is however very improbable, that he should write over to Sir Thomas Jermyn and his friends in England, or procure, by their interest, injunctions to the Lord-Deputy, to receive him into favour, because this suits very ill with the character, either of the men or of the times (w). On the contrary, it appears from his own letter to the Lord-Deputy, that it was he, not the Bishop, who had complained in England; that he meant to justify himself to the Deputy, and expected, on that justification, he should retract his complaints. One may safely affirm, from the perusal of this single epistle, that our Prelate was as thorough a statesman as the Deputy, and that he knew how to become all things to all men, without doing any thing beneath him, or inconsistent with his dignity. This conduct had it's effect, and in three weeks, it appears he stood well with the Deputy (x), and probably without any interposition, but his own letter beforementioned. He then went on cheerfully in doing what he thought was his duty, and for the benefit of the Church, in which he met with an opposition that might have been well expected, and a success much superior to what could have been hoped for (y). His own example did much; he loved the Christian power of a Bishop, without affecting either political authority or pomp; whatever he did was so visibly for the good of his flock, that he seldom failed of being well supported by his clergy, and such as opposed him did it with visible reluctance; for he had the esteem of the good men of all parties, and was as much revered as any Bishop in Ireland (z) [C]. Amongst other extraordinary things he did, there was none more worthy of remembrance, than his removing his Lay-Chancellor, sitting in his own courts, hearing causes, and retrieving thereby the jurisdiction which antiently belonged to a Bishop. The Chancellor upon this filed his bill in equity, and obtained a decree in Chancery against the Bishop, with one hundred pounds costs (a). But by this time, the Chancellor saw so visibly the difference between the Bishop's sitting in that seat and his own, that he never called for his costs, but appointed a Surrogate, with orders to obey the Bishop in every thing, and so his Lordship went on in his own way; such a singular power has a true spirit of religion, untainted

[B] *An absolute reformation of those which he esteemed capital and enormous abuses.* The first of these he undertook was Pluralities, by which one man had the cure of souls in so many places, that it was impossible to discharge his duty to them all, or to perform those vows made at ordination of feeding and instructing the flock committed to him. To this end he convened his Clergy, and, in a sermon, laid before them, both out of Scripture and Antiquity, the institution, nature, and duties of the ministerial employment, and after sermon discoursed to them upon the same subject in Latin, and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse: To prevail on them the better, he told them he resolved to shew them an example in parting with one of his Bishopricks, and accordingly he voluntarily resigned Ardagh in 1633, although he had been at considerable charge in recovering the revenues of it, and although he was able to discharge the duties of both, being contiguous and small, and the revenues not exceeding a competency; it was conferred on Dr Richardson the same year. The efficacy of his discourse, and the authority of his example, made such an impression on his Clergy, that they almost all freely relinquished their pluralities, which pleased him the more, since he had no authority to compel them to it. The Dean was the only person who did not submit, but he exchanged his Deanery with another, being ashamed to live in a diocese, where he would not submit to such terms as both Bishop and Clergy had agreed to. The next part of his project was to oblige his Clergy to residence, and this met with great difficulties. King James, upon the reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, had assigned glebes to all the Clergy, and had obliged them to build houses thereon after a limited time. But the commissioners appointed to allot these glebes had taken no care of the conveniencies of the Clergy, so that in many places the lands allotted for glebes were not within the parish, and often lay divided in parcels; in consequence of which, if they built houses on these glebes, they would be obliged to live out of their parishes, and it would be inconvenient to have houses remote from their lands. To remedy this, the Bishop, who had lands allotted him in every parish, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to assign them more convenient portions of equal va-

lue. To this end he procured a commission from the Government, to some gentlemen to examine and settle the matter, which was brought to a conclusion with the universal satisfaction of the whole Diocese. But a Great Seal being necessary for the determination and confirmation of what was then agreed on, a person was sent over to England to procure it; yet before that could be done the rebellion broke out, which put a stop to this and other good designs (6).

[C] *Was as much revered as any Bishop in Ireland.* We are warranted in saying this by all the writers of those times, and there is no question to be made that he deserved it. He was as strict in his own behaviour, as in the accounts he took of the conduct of his inferior Clergy. His ordinations were publick and solemn, he preached and gave the Sacrament on such occasions himself. He never gave Priests orders till a year after a man had been made Deacon, that he might know how he had demeaned himself in that time. He wrote certificates of ordination and other instruments with his own hand, and suffered none who received them either to pay fees, or to give any thing to his servants. When he had brought things to a fit temper, and saw that his Clergy were very willing to assist him in the great work of reformation, he convened a Synod in September 1638, in which he made many excellent canons that are still extant, and will always do honour to his memory (7). Offence was taken at this by some who were in power, and who perhaps were jealous of his great abilities. They questioned the legality of the meeting, and some talk there was of calling him in question for it, either in the Star-Chamber or High-commissioned Court; but his Archdeacon, Thomas Price, who was afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, gave such an account of the matter as satisfied the State. The famous Primate Usher gave a fine picture of the man upon this occasion; for, when some were very earnest for sending for him up to answer for himself, the Primate said very calmly, *You had better let him alone, for fear, if he should be provoked, he should say much more for himself than any of his accusers can say against him.* This had it's effect, and those who were weak enough to make the complaint, were so wise as not to call him to an answer (8).

(6) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 234.

(7) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 237.

(8) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 236.

[D] *That*

untainted with secular views (*b*)! Our Bishop was no persecutor of Papists, and yet the most successful enemy they ever had; and if the other Bishops had followed his example, the Protestant religion must have spread itself through every part of the country. He laboured to convert the better sort of the Popish clergy, and in this he had great success. He procured the Common-Prayer which had been translated into Irish, and caused it to be read in his cathedral, in his own presence, every Sunday; having himself learned that language perfectly, though he never attempted to speak it (*c*). The New Testament had been also translated by William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, but our Prelate first procured the Old Testament to be translated by one King, and because the translator was ignorant of the original tongues, and did it from the English, the Bishop himself revised and compared it with the Hebrew, and the best translations (*d*). He caused likewise some of Chrysostome's and Leo's Homilies, in commendation of the Scriptures, to be rendered both into English and Irish, that the common people might see, that in the opinion of the ancient Fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the clergy, but that it was their duty so to do (*e*). He met with great opposition in this work, from a persecution against the translator, raised without reason, and carried on with much passion by those, from whom he had no cause to expect it. But this did not hinder his persisting in his design; he supported Mr King as far as he was able (*f*), and he got the translation finished, which he would have printed in his own house, and at his own charge, if the troubles in Ireland had not prevented it; and as it was, his labours were not useless, for the translation escaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expence of Robert Boyle, a man born for the good of his country and of mankind (*g*). The Bishop was very moderate in his sentiments, and in his methods of enforcing them; he loved to bring men into the communion of the Church of England, but he did not like compelling them; and it was his opinion, that Protestants would agree well enough, if they could be brought to understand each other. These principles induced him to promote Mr Drury's design, of endeavouring to reconcile the Lutherans to the Calvinists, a project which had been encouraged by many other worthy persons, and towards which he subscribed twenty pounds a year, to defray the expences of Mr Drury's negotiations (*h*). He gave another instance, not only of his charity towards, but his ability in, reconciling those of other communions, to the Churches of England and Ireland. There were some Lutherans at Dublin, who, for not coming to church and taking the sacrament, were cited into the Archbishop's Consistory, upon which they desired time to write to their Divines in Germany, which was given them, and when their answers came, they contained some exceptions to the doctrine of the Church, as not explaining the presence of Christ in the sacrament, suitable to their sentiments; to which Bishop Bedell gave so full and clear, and withal so moderate and charitable an answer, as entirely satisfied their objections, inso-much, that those Divines advised their countrymen to join in communion with the Church, which they accordingly did (*i*). In this mild and prudent way our Prelate conducted his charge, with great reputation to himself, and with the general approbation of all good men, who were perfectly pleased with the Doctrine he preached, at the same time that they were highly edified by his excellent example [*D*]. When the barbarous and bloody

Rebellion

[*D*] That they were highly edified by his excellent example] There was a firmness and consistency in his conduct, which appeared clearly in every thing he did. He went constantly to common-prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always with great reverence and affection (*g*). He took care to have the publick service performed strictly according to the rubrick; so that a Curate of another parish being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, and adding somewhat to the collects, the Bishop observing he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, and took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, suspended him for his presumption, and read the rest of the office himself. He preached constantly twice on a Sunday in his cathedral, on the Epistles and Gospels for the day, and catechised always in the afternoon before sermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his auditors. He observed the rubrick so nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; so that in reading the psalms and the anthems, he did not observe the common custom of the minister and people reading the verses by turns, for he read all himself, because the other was not enjoined by the rubrick. As for the placing of the communion-table by the east wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of conformity prescribed by the law; for he said, that they were as much Non-conformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined, as he that adds an inch to a measure

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disowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it; and as he was severe to him that added words of his own to the collect, so he thought it was no less censurable to add rites to those that were prescribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the composedness of his behaviour, that he observed the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the house of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any man, or by the authority of any person's example, to go out of his own way, though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought the zeal of conformation discovered itself. He preached very often in his episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter, which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And when another Bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections; he answered, that in order to the raising the affections, those things that tended to edification ought only to be used, and thought it would be hard otherwise to make stops, for upon the same pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green-sickness in religion.

† He never used the Common-Prayer in his own family,

8 E

for

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*c*) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 117.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*e*) History of Translations of the Bible into vulgar Tongues, p. 195.

(*f*) See his free Expatriation with the Earl of Strafford, Life of Bedell, p. 131.

(*g*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 618, 619.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 238.

(*i*) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 138.

(*g*) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 145.

Rebellion broke out in October 1641, the Bishop did not at first feel the violence of its effects, for even those rebels, who in their conduct testified so little of humanity, professed a great veneration for the Bishop, and openly declared, he should be the last Englishman they would drive out of Ireland (*k*). His was the only English house in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, notwithstanding that it, and its out-buildings, the church, and the church-yard, were filled with people who fled to him for shelter, whom, by his preaching and prayers, he encouraged to expect and endure the worst with patience. In the mean time, Dr Swiney, the Popish titular Bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan, and pretended great concern and kindness for Bishop Bedell. Our Prelate had converted his brother, and kept him in his house till he could otherwise provide for him, and Dr Swiney desired likewise to lodge in his house, assuring him, in the strongest terms, of his protection. But this Bishop Bedell declined, in a very civil and well wrote Latin letter, urging, the smallness of his house, the great number of people that had taken shelter with him, the sickness of some of his company, and of his son in particular, but above all, the difference in their ways of worship, which could not but be attended with great inconveniency (*l*). This had some effect for a time, but about the middle of December, the rebels, pursuant to orders they had received from their Council of State at Kilkenny, required him to dismiss the people that were with him, which he absolutely refused to do, declaring that he would share the same fate with the rest. They signified to him upon this, that they had orders to remove him, to which he answered in the words of David, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good to him, the will of the Lord be done*: Upon this they seized him, his two sons, and Mr Clogy who had married his step-daughter, and carried them prisoners to the castle of Cloughboughter, surrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, but the Bishop, in irons. They did not suffer any of them to carry any thing with them, and the moment the Bishop was gone, Dr Swiney took possession of his house and all that belonged to it, and said Mass in the church the Sunday following (*m*). After some time the rebels abated of their severity, took the irons off the prisoners, and suffered them to be as much at their ease as they could be in so wretched a place, for the winter was very rigorous, and the castle being old and ruinous, they would have been exposed to all the severity of the weather, if it had not been for an honest Carpenter who was imprisoned there before them, and who made use of a few old boards he found there, to mend a part of the roof, the better to defend them from the snow and sleet (*n*). While thus confined, the Bishop, his sons, and Mr Clogy, preached and prayed continually to their small and afflicted congregation, and upon Christmas-day, his Lordship administered the sacrament to them. It is very remarkable, that as rude and barbarous as the Irish were, they gave them no disturbance in the performance of divine service, and often told the Bishop, they had no personal quarrel to him, but that the sole cause of their confining him was, his being an Englishman (*o*). After being kept in this manner for three weeks, the Bishop, his two sons, and Mr Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O'Rourkes; but though it was agreed that they should be safely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would never suffer them to be carried out of the country, but sent them to the house of Dennis Sherridan, an Irish Minister, and convert to the Protestant religion, to which, though he steadily adhered, and relieved many who fled to him for protection, yet the Irish suffered him to live quietly among them, on account of the great family from which he was descended (*p*). While our Prelate remained there, and enjoyed some degree of health, he every Sunday read the prayers and lessons, and preached himself, though there were three Ministers with him. The last Sunday he officiated was the thirtieth of January, and the day following he was taken ill. On the second day it appeared his disease was an ague, and on the fourth apprehending a speedy change, he called for his sons and his sons wives, spoke to them a considerable time, gave them much spiritual advice, and blessed them (*q*), after which he spoke little, but slumbered out most of his time, only by intervals he seemed to awake a little, and was then very cheerful. At last, on the seventh of February 1641, about midnight, he breathed his last, in the seventy-first year of his age, his death being chiefly occasioned by his late imprisonment, and the weight of sorrows which lay upon his mind (*r*). The only care now remaining to his friends was, to see him buried according to his desire, and since that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Bishop's leave, Mr Clogy, and Mr Sherridan went to ask it, and Mr Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and second their desire. They found the Bishop lying in his own vomit, and a sad change in that house, which was before a house of prayer and of good works; but was now a den of thieves

(k) History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 235.

(l) See this excellent Letter in the Appendix to Bishop Bedell's Life.

(m) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

(n) An Account of the Sufferings of the English in the Great Rebellion, p. 95.

(o) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 206.

(p) History of the Beginning of the Irish Troubles, p. 95.

(q) See this Discourse of his at large in the Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 210.

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

for he thought it was intended to be the common worship of Christians in their publick assemblies, and that it was not so proper for private families. He was so exact an observer of Ecclesiastical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own diocese, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave; so that being in Dublin when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr Clogy, and they both desired to be blessed by him, he would not do it till he first took out a licence for it in the Archbishop of Dublin's Consistory. We

may from these instances gather his true notions as to Church power, in which he seems to have been as much in the right as any man of his age, and to have distinguished as acutely about the possession and exercise of it, as it was possible for man to do, and, as we see, his precept and practice went together; and he never did that in another diocese, which he would have taken amidst if another Clergyman had done it in his; so great a friend he was to decency and order in all things.

thieves and a nest of uncleanness. The Bishop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with Hereticks bodies; yet he consented to it at last. So on the ninth of February he was buried, and according to the direction himself had given, next his wife's coffin (s). The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr Sherridan's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and they desired Mr Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the Church. But though the gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought advisable to provoke the rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done, so it was passed over. But the Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, 'May the last of the English rest in peace;' for they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them (t). What came from Edmund Farilly, a Popish Priest, at the interment of the Bishop, is too remarkable, and is too well attested, to be passed over, who cried out, *O sit anima mea cum Bedello*, 'I would to God my soul were with Bedell's (u).' Our Prelate had long before prepared for death, as appears by his will, dated the fifteenth of February 1640, in which there are several legacies, that shew he had recollected all the memorable passages of his life before he made it, and seriously considered the several blessings which God had bestowed upon him (w) [E]. He married a lady of the antient and honourable family of L'Esrange, who was the widow of the Recorder of St Edmundsbury, a woman exemplary in her life, humble and modest in her behaviour, and singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in an extraordinary reverence to him (x). She bore him three sons and a daughter. One of the sons and the daughter died young, only William and Ambrose survived, for whom he made no provision, but a benefice of eighty pounds a year for the eldest and worthy son of such a father; and an estate of sixty pounds a year for the youngest, who did not take to learning. This was the only purchase he made (y). His wife died three years before the rebellion broke out, and he preached her funeral sermon himself, with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it drew tears from all his auditors. He was an enemy to burying in the church, thinking that there was both superstition and pride in it, and believing it was a great annoyance to the living, to have so much of the steam of dead bodies rising about them. One of the Canons in his Synod was against burying in churches, and he often wished that burying-places were removed out of all towns. He chose the least frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife to lie in, and by his will ordered, that he should be placed next to her, with this inscription:

(s) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 217.

(t) Ibid. p. 218.

(u) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241.

(w) See note [E].

(x) Bishop Bedell's Life, p. 230.

(y) The estate of the family in Essex, was entailed on, and came to, his eldest son.

Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.

That is,

'The Remains of William, heretofore Bishop of Kilmore.'

It is justly observed by Bishop Burnet, that the word *Depositum*, cannot, strictly speaking, bear an English translation, because it signifies *somewhat given to another in trust*; so that Bishop Bedell meant to express thereby, that he considered his burial as committing a trust to the earth, until such time as it should be called upon to give up it's dead (z). Thus lived and died this great and good man, whose behaviour in his publick character did honour to his high office in the Church, and whose private life was perfectly consistent with the doctrine he taught. His actions were such as rendered him beloved and esteemed while he lived, and the report of them will ever secure the highest reverence for his memory.

(z) Bishop Bedell's Life, p. 231.

[E] *The several blessings which God had bestowed upon him.* This preparation for his death was a very discreet act, and probably was the effect of his great foresight, which shewed him the dangers of the Protestants in Ireland, when few besides conceived of them in that light; and this made him always thoughtful and concerned. It certainly redounds to his honour, that out of his narrow fortune (which in the next note will appear) he should define somewhat to every place unto which he had any relation; a sure sign that he was mindful in his highest fortunes, not of his progress only, but beginnings. To the parish church of Black Notley in Essex, where he was baptized, he bequeathed a bell. To the library of Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was educated, and where he had been Scholar and Fellow, he left his Hebrew manuscript Bible, the four Evangelists, and Euclid's Elements in Arabick. To Trinity-college in Dublin, of which he had been Provost, he gave his manuscript Priscian, with four more of his manuscripts. To Primate Usher his manuscript Irish Psalter; and he also

bestowed five pounds upon his church of Kilmore, for paving the chancel with hewn stone (10). Besides these legacies, he gave directions in his will about his interment, as the reader will see in the text. It may not be amiss to observe in this place, that the church of Kilmore, mentioned in his will, is a small parish church, contiguous to the episcopal house; for in this Bishoprick, as we are informed by the worthy editor of Sir James Ware's works, there are neither Cathedral, Chapter, Canons, or Prebendaries. We have seen how this Bishop, out of pure conscience, quitted the See of Ardagh, which before his time had been annexed to the See of Kilmore, but after his decease they were united again in favour of Dr Robert Maxwell, our Bishop's successor; but in 1692, upon the deprivation of Bishop Sheridan, they were again divided, Dr Smith being made Bishop of Kilmore, and Dr Burgh of Ardagh; but the latter dying within the year, the Sees were again united, and have continued so ever since (11).

(10) Extract from the Will, in the Prerogative office.

(11) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 225, 243, 256.

memory [F]. The country, and the times in which he lived, required, above all others, such examples, and the respect paid him by the Irish sufficiently shews, what might have been done amongst them, if all, or the greatest part of the Protestant clergy, had been such as he was; and therefore the diligence of those can scarce be sufficiently commended, who have secured to posterity so ample an account, of so worthy and so excellent a person.

[F] *Will ever secure the highest reverence for his memory.* It is requisite that the reader should be put in mind, before we come to that copious account, which is still preserved, of his daily behaviour, that it was not taken from common fame and from different persons, at a great distance of time after his decease, for then it might have been looked upon, rather as a picture drawn by such as were strongly affected by the obligations they had to him, or the affection they had for him; but these accounts were drawn up by Mr Clogy, who lived in the Bishop's family, was the companion of all his fortunes, the faithful witness and sincere admirer of all his virtues; one who committed to writing, while fresh in his memory, those things that Bishop Burnet long afterwards published in print, while that gentleman was living, to testify the truth of them, and while many others were also able to vouch the same facts. It was therefore reasonable for him to introduce as he does the character he gives him with this observation, *viz.* 'That he was one, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical Bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world though dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable order, and for the instruction of those that succeeded him in it; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it, than all speculative discourses can possible have. And as the lives of the primitive Christians are a speaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to those that grew up, so it is to be hoped that the solemn, though silent language, of so bright an example, will have the desired effect both ways, and then my (12) author will have a noble reward for his labours.' The person whom Bishop Burnet here styles the author, is Mr Clogy, before-mentioned, who, he affirms, had a much greater hand in the work than himself; and this it was the more necessary for him to do, because otherwise the reader could not have told so well, what to think of the numerous particulars contained in the following character, which is indeed long and large, but so curious, and so well put together, that it is impossible it should seem tedious. He was tall and graceful, and had something in his looks and carriage that created a veneration for him. His deportment was grave, without affectation. His apparel decent with simplicity; he wore no silks, but plain stuffs; had a long and broad beard, grey and venerable hair. His strength continued firm to the last, so that the week before his last sickness, he walked as vigorously and nimble as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch, inasmuch that his sons, who were amazed at it, had enough to do to follow him. He never used spectacles. By a fall in his childhood he had unhappily contracted a deafness in his left ear. He had great strength and health of body, except that a few years before his death he had some severe fits of the stone, occasioned by his sedentary life, which he bore with wonderful patience. The remedy he used for it was to dig in the garden (in which he much delighted) until he heated himself, and that mitigated the pain. His judgment and memory remained with him to the last. He always preached without notes; but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He shewed no other learning in his sermons but in clearing the difficulties of his text, by comparing the originals with the most antient versions. His style was clear and full, but plain and simple. He read the Hebrew and Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English translation. He had gathered a vast

heap of critical Expositions, which, with a trunk full of other manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish, and were all lost except his great Hebrew manuscript, which was preserved by a converted Irishman, and is now in Emanuel college in Cambridge. Every day after dinner and supper a chapter of the Bible was read at his table, whether Papists or Protestants were present, and Bibles were laid before every one of the company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, but in his last years the Irish translation; and he usually explained the occurring difficulties. He wrote much in controversy, occasioned by his engagements to labour the conversion of those of the Roman communion, which he looked on as idolatrous and antichristian. He wrote a large treatise on these two questions: 'Where was our religion among Luther? And what became of our ancestors who died in Popery?' Archbishop Usher pressed him to have printed it, and he resolved to have done so; but that and all his other works were swallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correspondence not only with the Divines of England, but with others over Europe. He observed a true hospitality in house-keeping; many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen; and in Christmas the poor always eat with him at his own table, and he had brought himself to endure both their rags and rudeness. At publick tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one observed, that while they were all talking he said nothing. The Primate answered, 'Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him.' Upon which the person proposed a question in Divinity, in answering which the Bishop shewed his abilities so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at last, except the Bishop, fell a laughing at the other. The greatness of his mind, and undauntedness of his spirit, evidently appeared in many passages of his life, and that without any mixture of pride, for he lived with his Clergy as if they had been his brethren. In his visitation he would accept of no invitation from the gentlemen of the country, but would eat with his Clergy in such poor inns, and of such coarse fare, as the places afforded. He avoided all affectation of state in his carriage, and, when in Dublin, always walked on foot, attended by one servant, except on publick occasions, which obliged him to ride in procession among his brethren. He never kept a coach, his strength suffering him always to ride on horseback. He avoided the affectation of humility as well as pride, the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind of his obligations to purity: It was a flaming crucible, with this motto, 'Take from me all my Tin,' the word in Hebrew signifying Tin, being Bedil, which imported that he thought every thing in him but base alloy, and therefore prayed God would cleanse him from it. He never thought of changing his See, but considered himself as under a tie to it that could not easily be dissolved; so that when the translating him to a Bishoprick in England was proposed to him, he refused it; and said, he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England as he had been in Ireland. He had a true and generous notion of religion, and did not look upon it as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, but as a divine discipline that reforms the heart and life. It was not leaves but fruit that he sought. This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery. He considered the corruptions of that Church as an effectual course to enervate the true design of Christianity. He looked on the obligation of observing the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and was most exact in the observation it (13).

(12) Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 218, 219.

(13) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241. Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 219.

B E D E R I C (H E N R Y) a celebrated preacher in the XIVth century, was a monk of the order of St Augustin at Clare; and surnamed de Bury, because he was born at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk (a). Having from his youth shown a quick wit, and a great inclination to learning, his superiors took care to improve those excellent faculties, by sending him not only to our English, but also to foreign, universities: where closely applying himself to his studies, and being a constant disputant, he arrived to such fame, that at Paris he became a Doctor of the Sorbonne (b). Not long after he returned to England, where he was much followed, and extremely admired, for his eloquent way of preaching. This eminent qualification, joined to his remarkable integrity, uprightness, decent behaviour, prudence, and dexterity in the management of affairs, so recommended him to the esteem of the world, that he was chosen Provincial of his order throughout England: in which station he behaved in a very commendable manner. He writ several things [A]. But he is censured by one author [B], for having asserted and maintained, that the virgin Mary was conceived in original sin. He flourished about the year 1380, in the reign of King Richard II.

(a) Pits, de Illust. Anglie Scriptor. Æt. XIV. n. 657.
Baleus Script. B ytan. Cent. Sexta. n. 51.

(b) Baleus, & Pits, ubi supra.

[A] He writ several things] Namely, I. ' Lecturès upon the Matter of the Sentences, i. e. Peter Lombard, in four books. II. Theological Questions, in one book. III. Sermons upon the Blessed Virgin. IV. A course of Sermons for the whole year ' Besides several other things, of which no account is given.

[B] But he is censured by one author, for having asserted and maintained, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin.] That author's name is Petrus Vicentinus (1). The trifling opinion here mentioned has occasioned very long and warm disputes among those patrons of nonsense, the members of the Church

of Rome. The Dominicans, a very considerable Order amongst them, affirmed, That she was conceived in original sin. But the Franciscans, who were more popular, took it into their heads to maintain the contrary (2). The first inventor of her immaculate conception was the famous John Duns, surnamed Scotus, and Doctor Subtilis, who died in the year 1308 (3). Since which time great numbers of books have been written for and against that opinion. Montfaucon relates (4), that, when he visited Italy, Signor Belcredidi of Pavia had a library full of books in behalf of that groundless notion, and most of them written by Franciscans.

(2) See Bishop Burnet's Travels, edit. 1697, 2vo, p. 26, &c.

(3) Histoire Ecclesiast. par M. Fleury, Paris, 1720, 12mo, Tom. XIX. p. 150.

(4) Diarium Italicum, Paris, 1702, 4to, p. 16.

(1) Bale, ubi supra. Pits calls him Vincentinus.

B E H N (A P H A R A) [A], a celebrated Poetess of the last age, was a gentlewoman by birth, being descended from a good family in the city of Canterbury (a); and was born some time in the reign of King Charles I, but in what year is not known. Her father's name was Johnson; whose relation to the Lord Willoughby drew him, for the advantageous post of Lieutenant-General of Surinam, and six and thirty islands, to undertake a voyage, with his whole family, to the West Indies; at which time our Poetess was very young. Mr Johnson died at sea in his passage thither; but his family arrived at Surinam (b) [B], where our Poetess became acquainted with the story, and person, of the American Prince Oroonoko [C], whose adventures she has so feelingly described in the celebrated novel of that

(a) History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn: written by one of the Fair Sex. Prefixed to her Histories and Novels, in two Vols 12mo, Lond. 1735, p. 2.

(b) Ibid. p. 2, 3, & Oroonoko, ibid. p. 152.

[A] APHARA.] This is the true spelling, as appears by her epitaph (1), and not *Afra*, as it is usually written. Langbaine (2) calls her *Mrs Afræa Behn*; but *Afræa* is only a fictitious name, used by her in her Epistolary Correspondence.

[B] She arrived at Surinam.] In her *History of Oroonoko* (3) she has given us the following description of her habitation in that country. ' As soon as I came into the country, the best house in it was presented me, called *St John's Hill*: It stood on a vast rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river ran a vast depth down, and not to be descended on that side; the little waves still dashing and washing the foot of this rock, made the softest murmurs and purlings in the world; and the opposite bank was adorned with such vast quantities of different flowers eternally blowing, and every day and hour new, fenced behind 'em with lofty trees of a thousand rare forms and colours, that the prospect was the most ravishing that fands can create. On the edge of this white rock, towards the river, was a walk, or grove, of orange and lemon-trees, about half the length of the *Mall* here *, whose flowery and fruit-bearing branches met at the top, and hindered the sun, whose rays are very fierce there, from entering a beam into the grove; and the cool air that came from the river made it not only fit to entertain people in, at all the hottest hours of the day, but refresh the sweet blossoms, and made it always sweet and charming; and sure the whole globe of the world cannot shew so delightful a place as this grove was: Not all the gardens of boasted Italy can produce a shade to outvie this, which nature had joined with art to render so exceeding fine; and 'tis a marvel to see how such vast trees, as big as English oaks, could take footing in so solid a rock, and so little earth, as covered that rock.' Mrs Behn indeed speaks wonders of the whole continent of Surinam, with this reflection upon it, ' that certainly, had his late Majesty † of

' sacred memory but seen and known what a vast and charming world he had been master of in that continent, he would never have parted so easily with it to the Dutch (4).'

[C] She became acquainted with the person and story of the American Prince Oroonoko.] She herself tells us (5), ' she had often seen and conversed with that great man, and been a witness to many of his mighty actions; ' and that at one time ' he and *Clemene* (or *Imoinda* his wife) were scarce an hour in a day from her lodgings; that they eat with her, and that she obliged them in all things she was capable, entertaining them with the lives of the Romans, and great men, which charmed *him* to her company; and *her*, with teaching her all the pretty works she was mistress of, and telling her stories of Nuns, and endeavouring to bring her to the knowledge of the true God ' (6). She tells us likewise (7), that Oroonoko used to call her his *Great Mistress*, and that ' her word would go a great way with him.' This intimacy between Prince Oroonoko and our Poetess occasioned some reflections on her conduct, from which the authress of her *Life* has justified her in the following manner. Speaking of the unfortunate story of Oroonoko, ' Here, says she (8), I can add nothing to what she has given the world already, but a vindication of her from some unjust aspersions I find are insinuated about this town in relation to that Prince. I knew her intimately well, and I believe she would not have concealed any love-affair from me, being one of her own sex, whose friendship and secrecy she had experienced; which makes me assure the world there was no affair between that Prince and *Allraza*, but what the whole plantation were witnesses of; a generous value for his uncommon virtues, which every one that but hears 'em finds in himself, and his presence gave her no more. Besides, his heart was too violently set on the everlasting charms of his *Imoinda*, to be shook with those more faint

(4) Oroonoko, &c. p. 153.

(5) Ibid. p. 85.

(6) Ibid. p. 149.

(7) Ibid.

(8) History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn: written by one of the Fair Sex. Prefixed to her Histories and Novels, p. 3, 4.

(1) See the remark [A].

(2) Account of her Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 17.

(3) Page 154. See her Histories and Novels, in 2 Vols. Lond. 1735, Vol. I.

(*) In St James's Park.

(†) K. Charles I.

(c) *She the remark [H].* that name (c). After her return to England, she was married to Mr Behn, a merchant of London, but of Dutch extraction. King Charles II, to whom she had given an entertaining and just account of the colony of Surinam, thought her a proper person to be intrusted with the management of some important affairs, during the Dutch war; which occasioned her going into Flanders, and residing at Antwerp (d). Here, by her intrigues, she discovered the design, formed by the Dutch, of sailing up the river Thames, and burning the English ships in their harbours [D]; which she communicated to the Court of England: but, her intelligence (though well grounded, as appeared by the event) being only laughed at and slighted, she laid aside all farther thoughts of state affairs, and amused herself, during the rest of her stay at Antwerp, with the gallantries of that city (e) [E]. After some time, she embarked at Dunkirk for England, and in the passage

(e) *Ibid.* p. 6—38.

(in his eye) of a white beauty; and Afræa's relations there present, had too watchful an eye over her, to permit the frailty of her youth, if that had been powerful enough.

[D] *She discovered the design of the Dutch — to burn the English ships in their harbours.* She made this discovery by the intervention of a Dutchman, whom her life-writer calls by the name of Vander Albert. This Vander Albert, who, before the war, in her husband's time, had been in love with her in England, as soon as he heard of her arrival at Antwerp, and the public posts he was in would give him leave, paid her a visit; and, after a repetition of all his former professions for her service, pressed her to let him, by some signal means, give her undeniable proofs of the vehemence and sincerity of his passion; for which he would ask no reward, 'till he had by long and faithful services convinced her that he deserved it. This proposal was so suitable to her present aim in the service of her country, that she accepted it, and employed Albert in such a manner, as made her very serviceable to the King. The latter end of the year 1666, he sent her word by a special messenger, that he would be with her at a day appointed; at which time he revealed to her, that Cornelius De Wit, who, with the rest of that family, had an implacable hatred to the English nation and the House of Orange, had, with de Ruyter, proposed to the States the expedition above-mentioned. This proposal, concurring with the advice, which the Dutch Partisans in England had given them of the total neglect there of all naval preparations, was, he told her, well received, and would certainly be put in execution, as a thing neither dangerous nor difficult. Albert having discovered a secret of this importance, and with such marks of truth, that she had no room for doubt, as soon as the interview was at end, she dispatched an account of what she had discovered to England (g).

(g) *Ibid.* p. 6—9.

[E] *She amused herself with the gallantries of Antwerp.* Besides Vander Albert, mentioned in the last remark, Mrs Behn had another lover at Antwerp, a Dutchman likewise: of whom she herself gives the following humorous account in one of her letters (10): 'My other is about twice his (*Albert's*) age, nay and bulk too, though Albert be not the most Barbary shape you have seen; you must know him by the name of Van Bruin, and he was introduced to me by Albert his kinsman, and obliged by him to furnish me in his absence with what money and other things I should please to command, or have occasion for, as long as he staid at Antwerp, where he was like to continue some time about a law-suit then depending. He had not visited me often before I began to be sensible of the influence of my eyes on this old piece of worm-eaten touchwood; but he had not the confidence (and that's much) to tell me he loved me, and modestly, you know, is no common fault of his countrymen. — He often insinuated that he knew a man of wealth and substance, though stricken indeed in years, and on that account not so agreeable as a younger man, that was passionately in love with me, and desired to know whether my heart was so far engaged, that his friend should not entertain any hopes. I replied, that I was surprized to hear a friend of Albert's making an interest in me for another; that if love were a passion I was any way sensible of, it could never be for an old man, and much to that purpose. But all this would not do; in a day or two I received this eloquent epistle from him.' Here Mrs Behn inserts a translation of Van Bruin's letter, which was wrote in French, and in a most ridiculous

(10) *Ibid.* p. 20.

style, telling her, *he had often strove to tell her the tempests of his heart, and with his own mouth scale the walls of her affections; but terrified with the strength of her fortifications, he concluded to make more regular approaches, and first attack her at a farther distance, and try first what a bombardment of letters would do; whether these carcasses of love, thrown into the sconces of her eyes, would break into the midst of her breast, beat down the court of guard of her aversion, and blow up the magazine of her cruelty, that she might be brought to a capitulation, and yield upon reasonable terms* (11). He then considers her as a goodly ship under sail for the Indies; her hair is the pennants; her forehead the prow; her eyes the guns; her nose the rudder, &c. He wishes he could once see her keel above water! and desires to be the pilot, to steer her by the Cape of Good Hope for the Indies of Love (12). Our Poetess returned a suitable answer to this ridiculous letter. She rallies him on his setting out for so unprofitable a voyage as Love, and humorously reckons up the expences of the voyage; as Ribbons and hoods for her pennants; diamond-rings, lockets, and pearl-necklaces for her guns of offence and defence; silks, holland, lawn, cambric, &c. for her rigging, &c (13). This produced another letter, in the same style, from Van Bruin; in which, to show her that what she proposed had not terrified him, he tells her, he sends her Cart-blank to fill up herself, promising to visit her that evening, to sign articles, and put a new garrison into the fort (14). Though Mrs Behn had no need of answering this, being threatened with so speedy a visit, yet, for the diversion of herself and her acquaintance, she sent him another billet; in which, seeming to encourage his passion, she tells him, *she fears that deducing tongue of his will quite remove all her objections; but that she defers proposals of articles, 'till their Plenipo's meet, and proceed regularly on these preliminaries at the place of conference; which, says she, is agreed on all hands to be the abode of your most happy Afræa* (15). This letter, we may imagine, soon brought her *Hogen-mogen* lover (as he calls him) to her apartment. The other part of his courtship she tells her friend could not easily be described. 'But imagine to yourself, says she (16), an old, over-grown, unwieldy Dutchman, playing awkwardly over all that he supposed would make him look more agreeable in my eyes. Age he found I did not admire; he therefore endeavoured to conceal it by dress, peruke, and clumsy gaiety. Respect he was informed I expected from a lover; which he would express with such comical cringes, such odd sort of ogling, and fantastick addresses, that I could never force a serious face on whatever he said; for let the subject be ever so grave, his person and delivery turned it into a farce. There was no piece of gallantry he observed performed by the young gentlemen of the city, but he attempted in imitation of them, even to poetry; but that indeed was in his own language, and so might be extraordinary for aught I know.' In this manner, Mrs Behn tells us, she diverted herself with Van Bruin, in Albert's absence, 'till he began to assume and grow troublesome on her bare permission of his addresses; so that, to rid herself of him, she was forced to disclose the whole affair to Albert, who was so enraged, that he threatened the death of his rival; but was pacified by his mistress, and contented to upbraid the other with his treachery, and to forbid him the house (17). 'But this, says our Poetess (18), produced a very ridiculous scene, and worthy of more spectators: For my Nestorean lover would not give ground to Albert, but was as high as he, challenged

(11) *Ibid.* p. 21, 22.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 21—24.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 24—27.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 28—30.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 30—32.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 33.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 33, 34.

(18) *Ibid.*

passage was near being lost; for the ship, being driven on the coast, foundered within sight of land: but, by the assistance of boats from the shore, they were all saved, and Mrs Behn arrived in London. The rest of her life was entirely dedicated to pleasure and poetry (f). Besides publishing three volumes of *Miscellany Poems* [F], she wrote seven- (f) *Ibid.* p. 38—
teen *Plays* [G], and some *Histories* and *Novels* [H]. She translated M. Fontenelle's ^{40.}
History

“ him to *snick-or-see* for me, and a thousand things
“ as comical; in short, nothing but my positive com-
“ mand could satisfy him, and on that he promised
“ no more to trouble me. Sure, as he thought, of
“ me, he was thunder-struck, when he heard me not
“ only forbid him the house, but ridicule all his ad-
“ dresses to his rival Albert; and, with a countenance
“ full of despair, went away, not only from my lodg-
“ ings, but the next day from Antwerp, leaving his
“ law-suit to the care of his friends, unable to stay in
“ the place where he had met with so dreadful a de-
“ feat.” Thus far we have an account of Mrs Behn's
gallantries at Antwerp from her own pen. The au-
thors of her *Life* has given us a farther account of her
affairs with Vander Albert, in which she contrived to
preserve her honour, without injuring her gratitude.
There was a woman at Antwerp, who had often given
Astræa warning of Albert's fickleness and inconstancy,
assuring her, he never loved past enjoyment, and some-
times changed even before he had that pretence; of
which she herself was an instance, Albert having mar-
ried her, and deserted her on the wedding-night.
Our Poets took the opportunity of her acquaintance
with this lady, whose name was Catalina, to put an
honest trick upon her lover, and at the same time do
justice to an injured woman. Accordingly she made
an appointment with Albert, and contrived that Cata-
lina should meet him in her stead. The plot succeeded,
and Catalina, infinitely pleased with the adventure,
appointed the next night and the following, till at last
he discovered the cheat, and resolved to gratify both
his love and his revenge, by enjoying Astræa even
against her will. To this purpose he bribed an elderly
gentlewoman, whom Mrs Behn kept out of charity,
and who was her bedfellow, to put him to bed dressed
in her night-cloaths in her place, when Astræa was pas-
sing the evening at a Merchant's house in the town.
The Merchant's son and his two sisters waited on
Astræa home; and, to conclude the evening's mirth
with a frolic, the young gentleman proposed going to
bed to the old woman, and that they should all come
in with candles, and surprize them together. As it
was agreed, so they did; but, no sooner was the young
spark laid in bed, than he found himself accosted
with unexpected ardour, and a man's voice, saying,
Have I now caught thee, thou malicious charmer!
Now I'll not let thee go till thou hast done me justice
for all the wrongs thou hast offered my doating love.
The rest of the company coming in, were extremely
surprized to find Albert in Astræa's bed, instead of the
old woman, and Albert no less to find the young spark
instead of Astræa. In conclusion the old woman was
discarded, and Albert's fury at his disappointment ap-
peared by a promise from Mrs Behn of marrying him
at her arrival in England. But Albert, returning into
Holland to make preparations for his voyage to Eng-
land, died of a fever at Amsterdā (19).

[F] *She published three volumes of Miscellany Poems.*
The first in 1684, the second in 1685, and the third
in 1688. They consist of songs, and other little pieces,
by the Earl of Rochester, Sir George Etherege, Mr
Henry Crisp, and others; with some pieces of her
own. To the *Second Miscellany* is annexed a transla-
tion of the Duke de Rochefoucault's *Moral Reflexions*,
under the title of *Seneca Unmasked*.

[G] *Her Plays.*] They are as follows: I, II. *The*
Rover, or the Banish'd Cavalier, in two parts, both
Comedies; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed,
in *quarto*, in 1677 and 1681. The second part is de-
dicated to his Royal Highness the Duke. These Plays
are taken, in a great measure, from Killigrew's *Don*
Thomaso, or the Wanderer. III. *The Dutch Lover*, a
Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed,
in *quarto*, in 1673. The plot of this play is founded
on a Spanish Romance, written by Don Francisco de
las Coveras, intitled, *Don Fenise*. IV. *Abdelazar, or*
the Moor's Revenge, a Tragedy; acted at the Duke's
Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. It is taken
from an old Play of Marlo's, printed in 1661, intitled,
Lust's Dominion, or the Lascivious Queen; a Tragedy.

V. *The Young King, or the Mistake*, a Tragi-comedy;
acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*,
in 1683. It is dedicated to some gentleman, her par-
ticular friend, under the name of *Philaster*. The de-
sign of this Play is taken from the story of *Alcarnenes*
and *Menalippa*, in Calprenede's *Cleopatra*. VI. *The*
Round-heads, or the Good Old Cause, a Comedy; acted
at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in
1682. It is dedicated to Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of
Grafton. Great part of the dialogue of this Play is
taken from John Tatham's *Rump, or A Mirror of the*
Times. VII. *The City-Heiress, or Sir Timothy Treat-*
All, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and
printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry
Earl of Arundel, and Lord Mowbray. This Play was
very well received, but most of the characters are bor-
rowed, as those of Sir *Timothy* and his *nephew*, from
Sir *Bounteous Progress* and *Folly-wit*, in Middleton's
Mad World my Masters; and those of Sir *Anthony*
Merrywell and his nephew *Sir Charles*, from *Durazzo*
and *Caldoro*, in *Messenger's Guardian*. VIII. *The*
Town-Fop, or Sir Timothy Tawdry, a Comedy; acted
at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in
1677. This Play is founded on a Comedy, written
by George Wilkins, intitled, *The Miseries of enforced*
Marriage. IX. *The False Count, or a new Way to*
play an old Game, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's
Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. Isabella's
being deceived by the Chimney-sweeper, is borrowed
from Moliere's *Precieuses Ridicules*. X. *The Lucky*
Chance, or An Alderman's Bargain, a Comedy; acted
by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in
1687. It is dedicated to Hyde Earl of Rochester.
This Play was greatly decried by the Critics. The in-
cident of *Gayman's* enjoying the *Lady Fulbanck*, and
taking her for the Devil, is borrowed from *Alexander*
Kickshaw and the *Lady Aretina*, in Shirley's *Lady of*
Pleasure. XI. *Forced Marriage, or the Jealous Bride-*
groom, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre,
and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. XII. *Sir Patient*
Fancy, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and
printed, in *quarto*, in 1678. The character of *Sir*
Patient is borrowed from Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire*;
and those of *Sir Credulous Easy*, and his Groom *Curry*,
from *Sir Amphibus* and *Trebasto*, in Broome's *Damois-*
elle. XIII. *The Widow Ranter, or the History of*
Bacon in Virginia, a Tragi-comedy; acted by the
King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1690.
It is uncertain from whence she had the *History of*
Bacon; but the catastrophe seems founded on the story
of *Cassius*, who died by the hand of his freed-man.
This Play was published, after Mrs Behn's death, by
one G. J. her friend. XIV. *The Feign'd Courtizan,*
or A Night's Intrigue, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's
Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1679. It is de-
dicated to the famous Mrs Ellen Gwin, King Charles's
mistress; and is esteemed one of Mrs Behn's best
Plays. XV. *The Emperor of the Moon*, a Farce;
acted at the Queen's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*,
in 1687. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Worcester.
The plot is taken from an Italian piece, translated
into French, under the title of *Harlequin Empereur*
dans le monde de la Lune, and acted at Paris above
eighty nights without intermission. XVI. *The Amorous*
Prince, or the Curious Husband, a Comedy; acted at
the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*,
in 1671. The plot is borrowed from the Novel of
the *Curious Impertinent*, in *Don Quixote*. XVII. *The*
Younger Brother, or the Amorous Jilt, a Comedy;
published, after her death, by Mr Gildon. It was
taken from a true story of Colonel Henry Martin and a
certain Lady. — Mrs Behn's Plays, all but the last,
were published together in two volumes, 8vo. But the
last edition of 1724 is in four volumes, 12mo, in-
cluding the *Younger Brother*.

[H] *Her Histories and Novels.*] They are extant
in two volumes, 12mo, London 1735. 8th edition;
published by Mr Charles Gildon, and dedicated to
Simon Scroop, Esq; to which is prefixed *The History of*
the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn, written by one of
the

(19) *Ibid.* p. 35
—38.

History of Oracles, and Plurality of Worlds; to which last she annexed an *Essay on Translation, and Translated Prose* [I]. The Paraphrase of *Cenone's Epistle to Paris*, in the English translation of *Ovid's Epistles*, is Mrs Behn's [K]; as are, the celebrated *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, Lond. 1684 (g). Her wit gained her the acquaintance and esteem of the Poets of that time, as Mr Dryden, Mr Southerne, Mr Charles Cotton, and others; and, at the same time, the love and addresses of several gentlemen; one in particular, with whom she corresponded under the name of *Lycidas* (h) [L]. Mrs Behn died, after a long indisposition, the 16th of April 1689, and

(g) Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 23.

(h) *Life*, &c. ubi supra, p. 40, &c.

the Fair Sex. The *Histories* and *Novels* are as follows: I. *The History of Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave*. This was a true story, the incidents of which happened during her residence at Surinam (20). It gave birth to Mr Southerne's celebrated Play of *Oroonoko*. That Gentleman, in the *Epistle Dedicatory* of that Play, speaking of his obligation to Mrs Behn for the subject, says, 'She had a great command of the Stage; and I have often wondered that she would bury her favourite Heroe in a *Novel*, when she might have revived him in the *Scene*. She thought either that no Actor could represent him, or she could not bear him represented; and I believe the last, when I remember what I have heard from a friend of her's, that she always told his story more feelingly than she writ it.' II. *The Fair Jilt; or, The Amours of Prince Tarquin and Miranda*. This is likewise a true story; to a great part of which, she tells us (21), she was an eye-witness; and what she did not see, she learned from some of the actors concerned in it, the Franciscans of Antwerp, where the scene is laid. III. *The Nun; or, The Perjured Beauty; a true Novel*. IV. *The History of Agnes de Castro*. V. *The Lover's Watch; or, The Art of making Love*. It is taken from M. Bonnecourse's *La Montre, or The Watch*. It is not properly a *Novel*. A Lady, under the name of *Iris*, being absent from her lover *Damon*, is supposed to send him a *Watch*; on the dial-plate of which the whole business of a lover, during the twenty-four hours, is marked out, and pointed to by the dart of a Cupid in the middle. Thus, *Eight o'clock* is marked *Agreeable Reverie*; *Nine o'clock*, *Design to please nobody*; *Ten o'clock*, *Reading of Letters, &c.* To which is added, as from *Damon to Iris*, A Description of *The Case of the Watch*. VI. *The Ladies Looking-Glass to dress themselves by*. *Damon* is supposed to send *Iris* a *Looking-Glass*, which represents to her all her charms, viz her *Shape, Complexion, Hair, &c.* This likewise, which is not properly a *Novel*, is taken from the French. VII. *The Lucky Mistake; a new Novel*. VIII. *The Court of the King of Bantam*. IX. *The Adventure of the Black Lady*. The reader will distinguish the originals from the translations, by consulting the 2d and 3d *Tomes of Le Recueil des pieces gallantes, en prose et en vers*. Paris, 1684, 8vo.

[J] Her *Translation of M. Fontenelle's — Plurality of Worlds; to which is annexed, An Essay on Translation and Translated Prose.* This Translation is in general a pretty good one, though there are some mistakes in it, occasioned by her want of sufficient skill in Philosophy. In the *Essay on Translation, &c.* annexed to it, she censures M. Fontenelle on several accounts, and occasionally answers some objections made to several passages of Scripture; as, that of the Sun's standing still at the command of Joshua; the measure and dimensions of Solomon's molten-brass Sea, and the time of King Solomon's reign; as these passages relate to Astronomy, Geometry, and Chronology. But in handling these points, Mrs Behn shews she is out of her sphere, and engaged in a kind of writing, for which nature had not formed her. In this *Essay* she endeavours likewise to prove, that the French is of all languages the most difficult to be translated into English.

[K] *The Paraphrase of Oenone's Epistle to Paris, in the English Translation of Ovid's Epistles, is her's*.] In the preface to that work, Mr Dryden pays her this handsome compliment: *I was desired to say, that the author, who is of the Fair Sex, understood not Latin: But if she does not, I am afraid she has given us occasion to be ashamed who do* The following passage, transcribed from this Epistle, will afford the reader a proper specimen of Mrs Behn's poetical talent.

Say, lovely youth, why wou'd'st thou thus betray
My easy faith, and lead my heart astray?

I might some humble Shepherd's choice have been,
Had I that tongue ne'er heard, those eyes ne'er seen;
And in some homely cot, in low repose,
Liv'd undisturb'd with broken vows and oaths;
All day by shaded springs my flocks have kept,
And in some honest arms at night have slept.
Then, unupbraided with my wrongs, thou'dst been
Safe in the joys of the fair Grecian Queen.
What Stars do rule the Great? No sooner you
Became a Prince, but you were perjur'd too.
Are crowns and fallshoods then consistent things?
And must they all be faithless who are Kings?
The Gods be prais'd that I was humble born,
Ev'n tho' it renders me my Paris' scorn.
And I had rather this way wretched prove,
Than be a Queen, and faithless in my love.
Not my fair rival wou'd I wish to be,
To come prophand by others joys to thee.
A spotless maid into thy arms I brought,
Untouch'd in fame, ev'n innocent in thought:
Whilst she with love has treated many a guest,
And brings thee but the leavings of a feast:
With Theseus from her country made escape,
Whilst she miscall'd the willing flight a rape:
So now from Atræus' son with thee is fled;
And still the rape hides the adulterous deed.
And is it thus great ladies keep entire
That virtue they so boast, and you admire?
Is this a trick of Courts? Can ravishment
Serve for a poor evasion of consent?
Hard shift to save that honour priz'd so high,
Whilst the mean fraud's the greater infamy!
How much more happy are we rural maids,
Who know no other palaces than shades;
Who want no titles to enslave the eroud,
Left they should babble all our crimes aloud;
No arts our good to shew, our ills to hide;
Nor know to cover faults of love with pride (22)!

[L] — *One in particular, with whom she corresponded under the name of Lycidas.*] Eight of her love-letters to that Gentleman are printed in the *Life and Memoirs, &c.* prefixed to her *Histories and Novels* (23). They are full of the most passionate expressions of love for her dear Lycidas, who, at the time of her writing these letters, seems to have lost much of the passion he once had for her, and to have returned her love with great coldness and indifference. 'I may chance, says she, in her last letter (24), from the natural inconstancy of my sex, to be as false as you would wish, and leave you in quiet: For as I am satisfied I love in vain, and without return, I am satisfied that nothing, but the thing that hates me, could treat me as Lycidas does; and 'tis only the vanity of being beloved by me can make you countenance a softness so displeasing to you. How could any thing, but the man that hates me, entertain me so unkindly? Witness your passing by the end of the street where I live, and squandering away your time at any coffee-house, rather than allow me, what you know in your soul is the greatest blessing of my life, your dear, dull, melancholy company; I call it dull, because you can never be gay or merry where Astræa is. How could this indifference possess you, when your malicious soul knew I was languishing for you? I died, I fainted, I panted for an hour of what you lavished out, regardless of me, and without so much as thinking on me!'

(22) Ovid's *Epistles, &c.* Lond. 1736, 12mo, p. 84, 85.

(23) Ubi supra, p. 54, &c.

(24) Ib. p. 69, 70.

[M] She

and was buried in the cloyster of Westminster-Abbey [M]. We shall say something of her character, as a writer, below [N].

[M] *She was buried in Westminster-Abbey.* Her grave is covered with a plain black marble stone, on which is the following inscription.

Mrs Apharra Behn died Aprill the 16, 1689.

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough against mortality.
Great Poets, O thy stupendous lays
The world admires, and the Muses praise.

Revived by Thomas Waine in respect to so bright a genius.

No person of the least taste or judgment can possibly believe, what was maliciously suggested by the envious of her own sex, that the author of this epitaph was, in reality, the author of most of those pieces which go under Mrs Behn's name.

[N] *Her character.* Mr Langbaine, her contemporary, thinks 'her memory will be long fresh among all lovers of dramatic poetry, as having been sufficiently eminent, not only for her theatrical performances, but several other pieces both in prose and verse, which gained her an esteem among the wits, almost equal to that of the incomparable *Orinda*, Mrs Catherine Philips. — Most of her Comedies, *continues he*, have had the good fortune to please; and though it must be confessed that she has borrowed very much, not only from her own countrymen, but likewise from the French Poets, yet it may be said in her behalf, that she has often been forced to it thro' haste; and has borrowed from others stores, rather of choice than for want of a fund of wit of her own, it having been formerly her unhappiness to be necessitated to write for bread, as she herself has published to the world (1). 'Tis also her commendation, that whatever she borrows she improves for the better; a plea which our late Laureat (*) has not been ashamed to make use of (†). If to this her sex may plead in her behalf, I doubt not but she will be allowed equal with several of our Poets her contemporaries (25). There are several encomiums on Mrs Behn prefixed to her *Lover's Watch*. Among the rest Mr Charles Cotton, author of *Virgil Travesty*, &c. compliments her in the following lines.

Some hands write somethings well, are elsewhere lame;
But on all themes your power is the same.
Of buskin and of sock you know the pace,
And tread in both with equal skill and grace.
But, when you write of love, Astraea, then
Love dips his arrows where you wet your pen.
Such charming lines did never paper grace,
Soft as your sex, and smooth as beauty's face.

But why should you, who can so well create,
So stoop, as but pretend you do translate?
Cou'd you, who have such a luxurious vein,
As nought but your own judgment cou'd restrain,
Who are yourself of poesy the foul
Descend so low
To make an author, that before was none?
Yet we can trace you there, in cy'ry line;
The texture's good, but some threads are too fine:
We see where you let in your filver springs,
And know the plumes, with which you imp his wings (26)

It seems this gentleman thought it too great a condescension in Mrs Behn to meddle with translation. Mr Charles Gildon, who was intimately acquainted with our Poets, speaks of her with the highest encomiums. 'Poetry, says he (27), the supreme pleasure of the mind, is begot, and born in pleasure, but oppressed and killed with pain. This reflection ought to raise our admiration of Mrs Behn, whose genius was of that force, like Homer's, to maintain it's gaiety in the midst of disappointments, which a woman of her sense and merit ought never to have met with. But she had a great strength of mind and command of thought, being able to write in the midst of company, and yet have her share of the conversation, which I saw her do in writing *Oroonoko*, and other parts of the following volumes; in every part of which, Sir, you'll find an easy style, and a peculiar happiness of thinking. The passions, that of Love especially, she was mistress of; and gave us such nice and tender touches of them, that, without her name, we might discover the author, as Protogenes did Apelles by the stroke of his pencil.' To this character of Mrs Behn may very properly be added that given of her by the authres of *her Life and Memoirs* (28), in these words: 'She was of a generous and open temper, something passionate, very serviceable to her friends in all that was in her power, and could sooner forgive an injury than do one. She had wit, honour, good humour, and judgment. She was mistress of all the pleasing arts of conversation, but used 'em not to any but those who love plain dealing. She was a woman of sense, and by consequence a lover of pleasure. — For my part I knew her intimately, and never saw aught becoming the just modesty of our sex, though more gay and free than the folly of the precise will allow.' — This respects only her moral character, and may be strictly true. But how far she may deserve the high encomiums bestowed on her as a writer, and what abatements it may be necessary to make in settling her true merit, the reader of her works will easily judge. Her *Novels*, *Oroonoko* excepted, are chiefly translations: Her *Poetry* is none of the best; and her *Comedies*, though not without wit and humour, are full of the most indecent scenes and expressions. T

(26) *La Motte*, or, *The Lover's Watch*, Lond. 1686, 12mo.

(27) *Epistle Dedicatory*, &c. of *her Histories and Novels*, p. x, xi.

(28) *Ubi supra*, P. 72.

(1) Pref. to *Sir Patient Fancy*.

(*) Mr Dryden.

(†) Pref. to *the Mock Astrologer*.

(25) Langbaine, *ubi supra*, p. 17, 28.

BEK, or BEC, or BEAK (ANTHONY) Bishop of Durham in reigns of Edward I and II, was advanced, with the King's consent, from the archdeaconry of Durham to the bishoprick, in the room of Robert *de Insula* (a). Of the extraction and education of this Prelate I find no account. He was elected by the Monks on the ninth of July 1283, and consecrated, in the presence of the King and several of the Nobles, by William Wicwane Archbishop of York, on the ninth of January following (b). At the time of his consecration, the Archbishop, having had a dispute, during the vacancy of the See, with the Chapter of Durham, obliged the Prior to go out of the Church; and the next day enjoined the new Bishop, upon his canonical obedience, to excommunicate the Superior and several of the Monks: but Bek refused to obey the Archbishop, saying, 'I was yesterday consecrated their Bishop, and shall I excommunicate them to day? no obedience shall force me to this (c).' He was enthroned on Christmas-eve 1285; upon which occasion a dispute arising between the Prior and the Official of York about the rite of performing that ceremony, the decision of it was deferred; and in the mean time Bek was installed by his brother Thomas Bek Bishop of St David's (d). This Prelate had a long dispute with the Monks of Durham; which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See [A]. He is said to have been the richest Bishop (if we except

(a) Rob. de Graystanes, *Hist. Dunelm. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 745.

(b) *Ibid.* & in *notis*.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 745.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 747.

[A] *He had a long dispute with the Monks of Durham, which proved very detrimental to the revenues and*
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privileges of the See.] Having complained to the Pope, that the Prior of his Church was a very ignorant and unskillful;
8 G

Wolfey) that had ever held the See of Durham: for, besides the revenues of his bishoprick, he had a temporal estate of five thousand marks *per annum*; part of which, we are told, he gained by unjustly converting to his own use an estate, which he held in trust for the natural son of the Baron of Vefcey [B]. He procured the translation of the body of St William formerly Archbishop of York, and was at the whole expence of the ceremony, which was solemnly performed in the church of York (e). He assisted King Edward I, in his war against John Baliol King of Scotland, and brought into the field a large body of forces [C]. In the year 1294, he was sent Embassador from King Edward to the Emperor of Germany, to conclude a treaty with that Prince, against the increasing power of France (f). In 1295, the Pope having sent two Cardinals on an embassy to the English Court, this Prelate was pitched upon to answer them in the King's name [D]. He had the title of *Patriarch of Jerusalem* conferred on him by the Pope in 1305 (g); and about the same time received from the King a grant of the principality of the Island of Man (h). An act passed, in this Bishop's time, in the Parliament of Carlisle, Anno

1307,

unskilful person, and in all respects unqualified for the government of so considerable a convent, he obtained of his Holiness the sole management of its revenues and jurisdiction; and accordingly sent down certain of his officers to Durham to execute his orders. But the Monks refused to admit them, and appealed to the Pope; whereupon the Bishop's officers excommunicated the Prior and all the Monks. These proceedings so displeased the King, that he laid a severe fine on the officers, and ordered the Bishop himself to appear in his courts, and answer for what he had done. But Bek, without regarding the King's summons, or asking his leave, set out for Rome; which so incensed the King, that he confiscated the revenues of his bishoprick, and turned out the Chancellor, Justiciaries, and other public officers of the principality of Durham. He wrote likewise to the Pope in favour of the Prior, who presented the letter with his own hand; and his Holiness having examined him, and found the Bishop's complaint against him to be groundless, restored him to his office; but he died before he could return into England. As to Bek, the King's resentment against him did not stop here; for he seized on several castles, which, by the condemnation of Baliol, King of Scots, and others, had devolved to the Bishops of Durham, as Counts Palatine; among which were Werkam in Tivendale, Perth, and the Church of Simonburne; nor were they recovered to the Church of Durham till the time of his next successor but one, Lewis Beaumont (1). This affair will receive farther light from Mr Camden, who, reciting the privileges of the Bishoprick of Durham, says as follows: 'The Bishops have also had their royalties, so that the goods of outlaws were forfeited to them, and not to the King; nay the common people, insisting upon privilege, have refused to go to the wars in Scotland under the King. For they pleaded (these are the words of the history of Durham *) that they were *hali-werke folkes*, i. e. registered or enrolled for holy work; that they held their lands to defend the body of St Cuthbert, and that they ought not to march out of the confines of their bishoprick, namely beyond the Tine and the Tees, either for the King, or for the Bishop. But Edward the first abridged them of these liberties. For he (voluntarily) interposing himself as a mediator between Anthony Bec Bishop, and the Prior, who had then a sharp contest about certain lands, and at last would not stand to his determination, seized (as my author says) the liberty of the Bishoprick into his own hands; and then were many things searched into, and their privileges abridged in many particulars. However, the church recovered its rights afterwards (2).' Bishop Bek extricated himself at length out of this troublesome affair, and was entirely restored to the King's favour.

[B] He converted to his own use an estate, which he held in trust for the natural son of the Baron of Vefcey.] Camden informs us (3), that William de Vefcey, whose lawful son John died in the Welsh wars, gave some of his lands in Ireland to King Edward, on condition that his natural son William de Kildare, might inherit his estate; and made Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, his feoffee in trust for the use of his son; who did not acquit himself over fairly in that part of his charge relating to Alnwick (in Northumberland), Eltham in Kent, and some other estates, which he converted to his own use. The same Antiquarian tells us (4), the Bishop gave the castle of Eltham, which belonged to the Vefcies, to Queen Eleanor; and else-

where (5), that the said Bishop, basely betraying his trust, alienated the inheritance (of Alnwick-castle) selling it for a present sum of money to William Percy; since which time it has always been in the possession of the Percies.

[C] He brought into the field a large body of forces.] Knyghton informs us (6), that some English merchants having been plundered and murdered in the port of Berwick by the Scotch, King Edward summoned the King of Scots to appear before him at Newcastle upon Tyne, to answer for this and other outrages committed by his subjects. But Baliol slighting the summons, Edward marched against him with four thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and was joined by the Bishop of Durham at the head of five hundred horse and a thousand foot, consisting chiefly of Welsh and Irish. Robert de Graystones tells us (7), the Bishop had of his own family twenty-six standard-bearers; and adds, that he looked more like a Lay-Prince, than a Priest or a Bishop; *ita ut magis crederetur Princeps Laicus, quam Sacerdos aut Episcopus*. Let us hear Leland; King Edward, says that Antiquarian (8), *was the batel in Fawkirik yn Scotland upon S. Maria Magdalena day in the yere of our Lorde 1295, where Wyl-liam Waleys, their Capitayne ran a way. Anthony de Bek, Bishop of Duresme, had this batel such a retinew, that in his company were thirty two baners.*

[D] This Prelate was pitched upon to answer the Pope's Legates in the King's name.] The design of the embassy was to reconcile the differences, and establish peace between the Kings of England and France. The two Legates (Beraldus, Bishop of Alba, and Simon, Bishop of Præneste) having declared, in the King's presence, the subject of their embassy, the Bishop of Durham rose up, and answered them in the French language. He told them, 'that tho' every Christian and good Catholic ought to wish for peace, on account of the blessings which attend it, and the extreme mischiefs consequent on war and discord; yet that this consideration ought not to induce any Prince to break his word or promise; that his Highness had concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, by which he was obliged not to make peace without that Prince's consent.' The Cardinals hereupon requesting, that the King would dispatch messengers to the Emperor upon this subject, and in the mean time grant a truce, during which negotiations might be carried on for bringing about a peace, the next day was appointed for returning a farther answer; which being come, and the Council assembled, the Bishop of Durham again spoke in French to the following effect: 'That the King, out of reverence to the Holy See, and in consideration of the high station and quality of the Legates, freely granted their request of sending embassadors to the Emperor; that, it being notorious to all the world, that the forces of the King of France were ready to act against his Highness both by sea and land, it would not be safe for him to disarm himself till the enemy did the like; that when he was assured the King of France had suspended his military preparations, his Highness would do so too; but not before (9).' The event of this business not being material to the history of Bishop Bek, I shall say no more of it. The probable reason of his being chosen to deliver the King's mind upon this occasion may be, either his superior talent of speaking, or his knowledge of the French language, or perhaps both.

(5) Ib. col. 1094.

(6) De Eventib. Angl. l. iii. apud X Scriptoros, col. 2478.

(7) Hist. Dunelm. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 746.

(8) Ex Scalæ Chronico, apud Collesian, edit. T. Hearne, T. I. P. i. p. 541.

(e) Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. apud X Scriptoros, col. 1727.

(f) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Anglie, l. iii. apud X Scriptoros, col. 2500.

(g) R. de Graystones, ubi supra, p. 752.

(h) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Dunelm. an. 1283.

(1) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Dunelm. an. 1283.

(*) Per R. de Graystones, apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i.

(2) Britannia, published by Bishop Gibson, last edit. Vol. II. col. 933. 934.

(3) Ibid. col. 913.

(4) Ibid. col. 222.

(9) H. Knyghton, de Eventib. Angl. l. iii. apud X Scriptoros, col. 2504, 2505, 2506.

1307, to prevent the Bishop of Durham, or his officers, from cutting down the woods belonging to the bishoprick (i). This Prelate expended large sums in building. He fortified the Bishop's seat at Aukland, and turned it into a castle [E]. He built, or enlarged, the castles of Bernard in the bishoprick of Durham; of Alwick in Northumberland (k); of Gainford in the bishoprick of Durham; of Somerton in Lincolnshire, which he gave to King Edward I; and of Eltham in Kent, which he gave to Queen Eleanor (l). He founded the priory of Alvingham in Lincolnshire, the revenue of which, at the dissolution, was valued at 141*l.* 15*s.* per annum. He founded likewise a collegiate church, with a Dean and seven Prebendaries, at *Chester upon the Street*, in the bishoprick of Durham (*). This Bishop gave to the church of Durham two pictures, containing the history of our Saviour's nativity, to be hung as an ornament over the great altar on the festival of Christmas (m). He died at Eltham the third of March 1310, having sat twenty-eight years, and was buried in the church of Durham near the east front, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, who, out of respect to the body of St Cuthbert, were never laid within the church (n). Bishop Bek was of a martial disposition, magnificent and expensive, extremely active, and remarkably chaste [F].

I find another ANTHONY BEK or BEEK, who was Bishop of Norwich in the reign of Edward III, being advanced to that See by the Pope's collation in 1337. This Prelate had borne some office in the Court of Rome, and is remarkable chiefly for the opposition he made to Archbishop Winchelsea intending to visit the diocese and Chapter of Norwich, and for the manner of his death, which was by poison given him by one of his own domestics (o).

I find likewise two THOMAS BEKS; the one promoted to the See of Lincoln in the reign of Edward II, Ann. 1319; who sat so short a time, that he is seldom reckoned among the Prelates of that See. Bishop Godwin thinks, he was the same Thomas Bek, Archdeacon of Dorchester, who, in 1278, was appointed High-Treasurer of England, and that he was brother to *Anthony Bek* Bishop of *Durham* (p). But the last is probably a mistake: for it appears by the present article (q), that that Prelate's brother was Bishop of *St David's*. This latter (*Thomas Bek*) was consecrated in 1280, and founded two colleges, one at Aberguilly, and another at Landewy-brevy (r). In 1286, a large subsidy was granted to this Bishop; to be levied on the whole diocese, for the transacting certain affairs relating to the clergy with Giffard the Pope's Nuntio in England (s).

(i) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745, in notis.

(k) See the remark [B].

(l) See ibid.

(*) Godwin, ubi supra.

(m) R. de Graystones, ibid. p. 747.

(n) Id. ibid. p. 754.

(o) Monach. Norwic. anonym. de Episc. Norwic. apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 414.

(p) Godwin, de Praeful. Angl. inter Episc. Lincolnienf. an. 1319.

(q) See reference (d).

(r) Godwin, ibid. inter Episc. Menevens. an. 1280.

(s) Annal. Eccles. Menevens. apud Wharton, ubi supra, P. II. p. 631.

(10) Ubi supra.

[E] He turned the Bishop's seat at Aukland into a castle. Bishop Godwin adds (10), that he built therein a very spacious hall, supported with pillars of black marble spotted with white; a large parlour, with other adjacent buildings; and a very fine chapel, in which he placed a Dean and Prebendaries, assigning for their habitation a large court, or quadrangle surrounded with buildings, on the West side of the castle. *Aedes Auklandenses convertit in castrum, ubi aulam construxit magnae amplitudinis, quam columnis ornavit ex nigro marmore maculis candentibus variegato; et conclave fatis amplum, cum aliis aedificiis vicinis; nec non capellam pulcherrimam, in qua Decanum collocavit et Prebendarios, area quadrata (aedificiis à se porro constructis circumdata) pro habitaculo iis assignata, in occidentali parte ejusdem castris.*

[F] He was of a martial disposition, magnificent and expensive, extremely active, and remarkably chaste. Robert de Graystones shall fill up the outlines of this character. That historian tells us, Bishop Bek was courageous, and, next to the King, the best skilled of any one in military affairs; and more conversant in matters of state, than in the duties of his function. But though he was fond of a retinue of soldiers about him, he affected a seeming indifference towards them; and shewed no concern that the greatest nobles bent the knee to him, and officers of the army waited upon him standing, whilst he himself sat. He thought nothing too dear, which might serve to augment his grandeur. As an instance of which, my author tells us, he once paid at London forty shillings for forty fresh herrings, which were thought too dear by the rest of the nobility then assembled in Parliament. Another time, he bought a parcel of very dear cloth, of which he made housings for his horses, for no other reason, but because somebody had said, he did not believe Bishop Anthony would venture to buy it. He was so impatient of rest, that he never took more than one sleep, saying, it was unbecoming a man to turn from

one side to the other in bed. He was perpetually either riding from one manor to another, or hunting, or hawking. Though his expences were very great, he never wanted money. He always rose from his meals with an appetite; and his continence was so great, that he never looked a woman full in the face: Whence, in the translation of St William of York; when the other Bishops declined touching the Saint's bones, through a consciousness of having forfeited their virginity, he alone boldly handled them, and assisted the ceremony with due reverence. *Erat autem iste Antonius magnanimus, post regem nulli in regno in apparatu, gestu, et potentia militari secundus; magis circa negotia regni quam circa episcopalia occupatus.*

Et quamvis gauderet militum conspici agmine, erga tamen eos sic se habuit, quasi eos non curasset: Comites et Barones regni majores sibi genuflectere, et eo sedente milites quasi servientes diutissime coram eo assere parvipendens. Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare posset. Pro XL balecibus recentibus XL solidos Londoniæ semel solvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in Parlamento ibi consentibus pro nimia caristia emere non curantibus. Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo co-operturas palefridis suis fecit; eo quod quidam dixit se credere quod Episcopus Antonius id emere non audebat. Quies impatiens vix ultra unum somnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non esse hominem, qui in lecto de latere in latus se verteret. In nullo loco mansurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de Austro in Boream; et equorum, canum et avium sectator. Et cum esset sumptuosus in multis, nunquam tamen egens erat; sed usque ad mortem omnia ei abundabant. Ad satietatem vix comedit; castissime vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aspiciens. Unde in translatione S. Willelmi Eboracensis, cum alii Episcopi ossa ejus timerent tangere, remordente eos conscientia de virginitate amissa, iste audacter manus imposuit; et quod negotium poposcerat reverenter egit (11).

(11) Hist. Du-nelm. ubi supra, p. 746.

BEKINSAU (JOHN), author of a book intituled *De Supremo et absoluto Regis Imperio* [A], was born at Broadchalke in Wiltshire [B]. He had his education in grammar learning at Wykeham's school near Winchester: from whence he was sent very early to New-college in Oxford; where, having served two years of probation, he was admitted Perpetual Fellow in the year 1520. In 1526 he took the degree of Master of Arts, being that year (as one of the University Registers informs us) *about to take a journey beyond the seas for the sake of study* [C]. In his college he distinguished himself by his extraordinary skill in the Greek language. In 1538 he resigned his fellowship, and married. What preferment or employment he had afterwards is uncertain. He was familiarly acquainted with, and highly esteemed by, the most learned men of the nation, particularly the famous Antiquary and Historian John Leland, who has bestowed an *Encomium* on him [D]. He was in good esteem with King Henry VIII, and King Edward VI. When Queen Mary came to the crown, and endeavoured to destroy all that her father and brother had done towards the Reformation of the Church, Bekinsau wheeled about with the times, and became a zealous Roman Catholic. After Queen Elizabeth's accession, when Protestantism again took place, he retired to an obscure village in Hampshire called Sherbourne; where he spent the remainder of his life in great discontent, and was buried in the church of that place, the twentieth of December 1559, aged about sixty-three years; leaving behind him this character among the Roman Catholics, that, *as he was a learned man, so might he have been promoted according to his deserts, if he had been constant to his principles* (a).

(a) Wood, *Atben. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

[A] He was the author of a book intituled, *De Supremo et Absoluto Regis Imperio*. This piece is a defence of the King's Supremacy against the claims of the Church of Rome, and is dedicated by the author to King Henry VIII. He did not venture to publish it, till he saw that the Pope's power was wholly exterminated in England. It was printed at London in 1546, in *octavo*, and afterwards in the first volume of *Monarchia Romani Imperii*, &c. by Melchior Goldast Hamensfeldius, at Francfort 1621, in *folio* (1).

(2) Wood, *Atben. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

[B] He was born at Broadchalke in Wiltshire. His father, John Bekinsau, descended of an antient and genteel family, was a native of Bekinsau in Lancashire, but resided chiefly in Hampshire (2). How our author came to be born in Wiltshire, we are not told.

(2) *Ibid.*

[C] He intended to travel for the sake of study. It is not certain, from the university register, whether our author ever put his intention of travelling in execution. But Anthony Wood informs us (3); he found it entered upon record (4), that *John Beconsau, second son of John Beconsau, of Hartly-Wespeil, in Hampshire (born at Beconsau in Lancashire), was reader of the Greek lecture at Paris, and afterwards came over, and died at Sherbourne in Hampshire.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) In *Offic. armor. Londini*, in Reg. vel lib. C. fol. 72. b.

[D] Leland bestowed an *Encomium* on him. It is contained in the following verses (5).

Ad Libellum, de Jo. Beckensano.

Tu quum prodieris pictus fuligine preli
In lucem, doctos extulerisque viros;
Beckensanus erit tibi vel tutela politus,
Artes qui didicist, perducitque bonas;
Qua celer ancipiti decursum profuit annis
Istis, dicta est urbs Idisi unde vadum;
Et qua Parthisis collambit Sequana flumen
Valle vagus media, nobilis urbis honor.
Te decet exculum multa impertire salute
Illum, nam studiis annuit atque favet:
Utpote qui certet praestantes fortiter artes
Splendorem ad solitum jam revocare suum.
Lectio multa quidem, linguarum et gratia felix,
Illius hic causam promovet, auget, agit.
Officio quare ne desis, chare libelle,
Candoris niveo et munere clarus eris.

(5) *Princip. ac illustr. aliquot et eruditor. in Anglia viror. Encomia, &c. apud J. Leland, Colletian.* edit. T. Hearne, Vol. V. p. 150, 151.

(a) We also find it written *Bello-greus*, vid. Leland *Comment. de Scriptor. Britan.* Tom. II. cap. 353.

(b) Burton's *Antiq. of Leicest.* p. 39, 40.

BELGRAVE (RICHARD) (a), a writer of the XIVth century, of the antient family of the Belgraves in Leicestershire [A], was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leicester (b) [B], and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he applied himself with great diligence, and the like success, to his studies, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (c). He entered himself into the Order of Carmelite Fryars (d), and distinguished himself by his great skill in the Aristotelian Philosophy [C], and School Divinity. However he was more remarkable for the strength and subtilty

(c) Baluz's *Illust. Scriptor. major. Brit. Cent. XI.* cap. v. p. 51.

(d) Dugdale's *Monast. Anglic.* by Stevens, Vol. II. p. 162.

[A] Of the antient family of the Belgraves. Of this family the first that I find, says Burton (1), was William Belgrave, to whom Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leicester in the reign of Henry II, gave land in Belgrave; a pleasant place and fruitful soil, about a mile distant from Leicester; which family according to the custom of those times, took their name from thence (2), and hath since spread itself into many branches, some yet in being in this county: And of this family Burton informs us, was this Richard de Belgrave.

(1) *Antiq. of Leicest.* p. 39, 40.

(2) See the latter end of note [B].

[B] Was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leicester. We have ventured in this to contradict the common account (*), of his being born in or near the city of Chichester in Suffex; though so mentioned by Pits and copied by Dugdale (3); the reason for which alteration, we shall however submit to the reader's judgment. — Burton (4), far from an inaccurate writer, expressly says, he was born at Belgrave, and Fuller also remarks, that Pits makes him born at Chichester in Suffex, and Burton at Belgrave in Leicestershire, whom I rather believe, says he, because he wrote a particular description of this county.

(*) See this article in the *General Dictionary*.

(3) Dugd. *Monast. Pits*, ut supra.

(4) In his *Antiq. of Leicest.* p. 39, 40.

Now surely the more is the exactness of the author, the less the extent of his subject, especially making it his set work (what was Pits's by-work) to observe the natives of this shire (†). — Besides, it was particularly the custom of those times, for Clergymen of note to receive local names, that is, names derived from the town, village, or place of their birth, or abode: — Which practice continued long in vogue, till the days of King Henry the sixth, and then says Fuller (5), de such a place begun to be left off, but was not wholly laid aside till a great while after. —

(†) Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 132, in Leicestershire.

(5) Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 45.

[C] Distinguished himself by his great skill in the Aristotelian Philosophy. This must be understood of his reading and studying it privately by himself; for the first that read Aristotle publicly in the schools at Cambridge, was, we find, a brother of his order, and not unlikely, a contemporary and companion, so that Belgrave's great knowledge in it, might probably induce Bampton (for that was the Monk's name) to introduce it, and read it afterwards publicly in the schools. — But as we have thus cursorily mentioned Bampton, as introducer of the Aristotelian Philosophy into the schools, it may not be disagreeable to the reader to have a little farther account

subtily of his lectures, than the elegance of his style, the study of polite literature being generally neglected in that age. Pits (e) gives him the character of a man of eminent integrity and piety. He flourished in the year 1320, under the reign of King Edward II, and wrote, among other works, *Theological Determinations, in one book*, the subject of which was, *Utrum Essentia Divina possit videri? Whether the Divine Essence could be seen (f)?* and *Ordinary Questions, in one book*.

(e) Piteus, de Illust. Angliz Script. nom. 481. p. 415. an. 1320.

(f) Pits, ubi supra.

count of him, which we shall do in this note, his life being omitted in the body of the work.

BAMPTON (JOHN), wrote also de Bampton and de Baunton, &c. D. D. was born at Bampton in the West of England, which place, as well as his name, we find variously written, his name being also local (6). The particular time of his birth is uncertain, he flourished about the year 1340; studied at Cambridge, where he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity, was also, as we before hinted, a Monk of the order of Carmelites (7), &c. He was a great lover of learning, and excellently well learned for the times in which he lived, had a very acute wit, and was a great and

skilful logician, or disputant, for he well knew how to urge and how to evade all the subtilties of sophistical arguments; of which particular he wrote several pieces, as Bale (8) informs us in his Centuries, besides some other things, viz. *Opusculum octo Quæstionum de Veritate Propositionum, Lib. I. A small work containing eight Questions of the truth of Propositions, of which Pits wittily says, Quæro de Veritate illius Quæstionis, concerning the truth of which question I doubt; that is (I presume) whether he wrote such a book (9):* Also *Lecturæ Scholasticæ in Theologia, Lib. I. Scholastic Lectures in Divinity* What particular monastery he was of, when he died, or where buried we know not (10).

(8) Balæus Descript. Cent. XI. p. 46.

(9) Piteus, ut supra.

(10) Danmonii Illustrat. Orient. p. 64.

BELING (RICHARD) descended of an antient English family, though long settled in Ireland, was born in the year 1613, at Belingstown, in the barony of Balrothery, and county of Dublin, the antient seat of his family, which was of considerable rank in the English Pale [A]. Another branch of that family was settled at Stradbally in the barony of Castlenock in the same county; and in antient lists are to be seen, the numbers of archers on horseback, which these two families sent to the aid of the State, in the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, in obedience to the Chief Governor's summons to General Hostings. He was the son of Sir Henry Beling, Knt. and was educated in his greener years at a grammar-school in the city of Dublin, but afterwards put under the tuition of some priests of his own religion, which was Popish, who so well cultivated his good genius, that they taught him to write in a fluent and elegant Latin style, as appears by several of his pieces hereafter mentioned. Thus grounded in the polite parts of literature, his father removed him to Lincoln's-Inn, to study the municipal laws of his country, where he abode some years, and returned home a very accomplished gentleman: But it does not appear that he ever made the Law a profession. His natural inclinations turning him to arms, he early engaged in the rebellion of 1641, and though but about twenty-eight years old, was then an officer of considerable rank. For in February (a) that year, he appeared at the head of a strong body of the Irish before Lismore, and summoned the castle to surrender: but the Lord Broghill, who commanded in it a small body of 100 new raised forces, slighted the summons, and another party coming to his aid, Mr Beling thought fit to draw off, and quitted the siege. He afterwards became a leading member, in the supreme council of the confederated Roman Catholics at Kilkenny, to which he was Principal Secretary; by whom he was sent Ambassador (b) to the Pope and other Italian Princes in 1645, to crave aid for the support of their cause. He brought back with him a fatal present in the person of the Nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Fermo [B]; who was the occasion of reviving the distinctions between the old Irish of blood, and the old English of Irish birth, which split that party into factions, prevented all peace with the Marquis of Ormond, and ruined the country which he was sent to save. When Mr Beling had fathomed the mischievous schemes of the Nuncio and his faction, and perceived that they had other views, than merely to obtain a toleration for the free exercise of their religion, as in the beginning they pretended, no body was more zealous than he in opposing and clogging their measures, or in promoting the peace then in agitation, and submitting to the King's authority, which he did with such heartiness and sincerity, that he became very dear to the Marquis of Ormond, who intrusted him with many negotiations [C] both before and after the Restoration, which

(a) Borlase Hist. p. 35.

(b) Pet. Walth's Hist. of the Irish Remonstrance, p. 674. Cox, Vol. H. p. 149.

[A] Which was of considerable rank in the English Pale. The English Pale was those parts of Ireland extended about Dublin, which in the reign of Henry II were possessed and fortified by the English, comprehending sometimes larger, and sometimes less districts, as the English or Irish power in different ages prevailed. But the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Carlow, being for the most part obedient to the English laws, went under the more immediate denomination of the Pale. The word seems to be taken from the English Pales, the materials with which Deer Parks and other inclosures were surrounded, as if the English were separated from the Irish by such inclosures. Since the reign of King James I the English laws have obtained obedience through all Ireland, and therefore the notion of the Pale is antiquated (1).

an Archbishoprick and Principality in Italy, in the Marquisate of Ancona, subject to the Pope.

[C] Intrusted him with many negotiations. Mr Beling was commissioned by the Marquis of Ormond in 1647 to transact the junction of the Irish army with his, before the surrender of Dublin to the Parliament party; and after the Restoration the Marquis, then created Duke, employed him three several times to the Synod of the Romish Clergy, assembled by connivance at Dublin in 1666, to prevail on them to sign a remonstrance of their loyalty, which he himself had subscribed in the year 1662. But he had no fruits from these negotiations, the Synod abruptly breaking up before they could be prevailed upon to come to any conclusions. See this whole transaction in Peter Walth's *Loyal Formulary, or History of the Irish Remonstrance*.

[B] Archbishop and Prince of Fermo. Fermo is

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(6) See Dugd. Bar. Vol. I. p. 432. And the latter end of note [B].

(7) Piteus, p. 449. No. 538. anno 1341.

(1) See the remark [C] in the article BASNET (EDWARD).

which he executed with great fidelity and sufficiency. When the Parliament army had subdued the Irish, Mr Beling retired to France, where he continued several years, and in that time employed himself in writing several books in Latin, in opposition to such writers of the Romish party, who had endeavoured to clear themselves from being the instruments of the rebellion, and to lay the blame thereof on the severity of the English government. His account of the transactions of Ireland during the period of the rebellion, is esteemed by judicious men as the best piece for credit of any written by the Romish party; and yet he is not free from a partiality to the cause he was at first embarked in, and his credulity has been taxed in the case of Father Finachty [D]. He returned home upon the Restoration, and was repossessed of his estate, by the favour and interest of the Duke of Ormond. He died in Dublin in September 1677, and was buried in the church-yard of Malahidert, about five miles from that city, where he hath a tomb walled in, but without any inscription to his memory that is apparent or legible. He was father to Sir Richard Beling, Knt. Secretary to Catherine, Queen to King Charles II, which Sir Richard, marrying a lady of the name of Arundel, who was an inheritrix of a great estate, his children were obliged to take the name of the mother's family. Mr Beling in his youth; and while he was a student in Lincoln's-Inn, writ and added a sixth book to the *Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney*, which was printed with that romance, Lond. 1633, fol. to which he put only the initial letters of his name. During his retirement in France, he writ in Latin in two books, *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ, lib. ii.* under the feigned name of Philopater Irenæus; the first of which gives a pretty accurate history of Irish affairs, from 1641 to 1649; and the second is a confutation of an epistle written by Paul King, a Franciscan Fryar, and a Nunciotist, in defence of the Irish rebellion. This book of Mr Beling's being answered by John Ponce, a Franciscan Fryar also, and a most implacable enemy to the Protestants of Ireland, in a tract intitled, *Belingi Vindiciæ eversæ*, our author did not fail of a reply, which he sent abroad under the title of *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciæ Eversæ: accesserunt Belingi Vindiciæ*, Parisiis 1654, 8vo. He writ also a vindication of himself against Nicholas French, titular Bishop of Ferns, under the title of, *Innocentiæ suæ impetitæ per Reverendissimum Fernensem vindiciæ*, Parisi. 1652, 12mo, dedicated to the clergy of Ireland; and is reported to have written a poem called *The Eighth Day*, which has escaped our searches.

[D] *In the case of Father Finachty.* Father Finachty was an ignorant Romish Priest, who both before and after the Restoration travelled about Ireland and England, pretending to dispossess people of Devils, and of healing all diseases by his touch, insomuch that he was followed by multitudes. Mr Beling often declared, that in his conscience he believed Finachty had a wonderful gift from God of curing by exorcisms and prayers; yet he could not say, that he, who had un-

dergone his operations for the Gout, was perfectly cured, but thought his fits were easier than before. This man was afterwards discovered for an impostor, and afforded no small mirth to people against Mr Beling and others, who had given too much credit to this juggler. See the *Irish Remonstrance*, from page 710 to page 735, a full account of this pretender to miracles, and the manner how he was detected. D

(a) By some fir-named Rufus, to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name. See the next article.

(b) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Londinens. an. 1108.

(c) Simeon Durnelm. de Gest. Reg. Angl. apud X. Scriptorum, col. 231.

(1) Wharton, de Episc. et Decan. Londinens. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(2) De Gest. Reg. Angl. apud X. Scriptorum, col. 231.

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) I (a), Bishop of London in the reign of Henry I, was advanced to that See through the interest of Roger Montgomery Earl of Shropshire (b), and consecrated [A] 26 July 1108 (c). Immediately after his consecration, he was appointed by the King, Warden of the Marches between England and Wales, and Lieutenant of the county of Salop; which offices he held about three years, residing for the most part of the time at Shrewsbury (d). This Prelate expended the whole revenues of his bishopric on the structure of St Paul's cathedral in London [B]; but despairing ever to finish it, and growing tired of so much labour and expence, he turned the stream of his liberality another way; and, exchanging the manor of Landisworth for a place in the diocese of London called *St Osth de Chich*, he built there a convent of Regular Canons (e) [C]. Being seized with a dead palsy, and thereby dis-

[A] *His consecration.* He was consecrated by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his chapel of Pagenham, after having made the profession of canonical obedience to that Prelate. The King, it seems, impatient of delay, desired he might be immediately consecrated, though out of the metropolitan church, because, knowing his address in the management of secular affairs, he intended to employ him as soon as possible in the western parts of England. *Rex enim moræ impatiens Ricardum cito (quævis extra ecclesiam metropolitanicam) consecrari petiit, utpote qui illum in secularibus multum valentem ad negotia sua apud occidentales Angliæ fines gerenda statim transmissurus erat* (1). Simeon of Durham tells us (2), the Archbishop was assisted in the ceremony by the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Chichester, and Exeter; and that Richard, in imitation of his predecessors, made a handsome present, on the day of his consecration, to the cathedral church of Canterbury.

[B] *He expended large sums of money on the structure of the cathedral church of St Paul's.* He purchased

several adjoining houses of the owners, which he pulled down, and converted the ground they stood upon into a church-yard, which he surrounded on all sides with a very high wall. Bishop Godwin thinks this wall remained entire in his time, though no part of it was to be seen by reason of the houses, with which it was on all sides covered. *Ille vero ad ecclesiæ suæ structuram totus intentus, ædificia quàmplurima ipsi vicina à possessoribus redemit; quibus demolitis, areas illarum in cæmeterium convertit, quod muro valde excelso circumdique. Vix tamen hic murus, quamquam integer adhuc ut puto, comparat usquam, à domibus hodiè usque quæ constructus* (3). Notwithstanding the large sums expended by this Bishop of London, and his successors, on the fabric of St Paul's, it was not finished (as Dugdale in his *History* of that cathedral informs us) till near two hundred years after his death, viz. about the year 1312, being that year paved with good firm marble (4).

[C] *He built a convent of regular Canons at St Osth de Chich.* This place is in the county of Essex. Let us hear our great Antiquarian: 'Below this town

(d) Wharton, Hist. de Episc. & Decan. Londinens. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(e) At the dissolution of the monasteries, the annual rent of this house was 758l. 5s. 8d. Godwin, ubi supra.

(3) De Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Londinens. an. 1108.

(4) See Camden's Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, last edit. Vol. I. col. 375. &c.

(f) W. Malmsh. De Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. ii. apud Scriptor. post Bedam, Francof. 1601.

qualified for the exercise of his episcopal functions, he intended to have resigned his bishopric, and to have spent the remainder of his life in the monastery of his own foundation: but whilst he delayed his purpose from day to day, he was prevented by death (f), which took him out of this life, Jan. 16, 1127 (g); and he was buried in the convent of St Osih (b).

(g) Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 71.

(b) Wharton, ubi supra.

town (Colchester), where the Coln empties itself into the sea, lies the little town of St Osih; the former name was Chich; the present it received from the holy virgin St Osih, who, devoting herself entirely to the service of God, and being stabbed here by Danish pirates, was by our ancestors esteemed a Saint. In memory of her, Richard, Bishop of Lon-

don, about the year 1120, built a religious house; and filled it with Canons regular. This was made an Honour by act of parliament in the 37th year of King Henry VIII, and is the chief feat of the right honourable the Lords Darcy, styled Lords of Chich, and advanced to the dignity of Barons by Edward VI (5).

(5) Camden, ib. col. 422.

(a) See the foregoing article.

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) II, Bishop of London in the reign of King Stephen, was nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London in the preceding reign (a), by that Prelate's brother Walter de Belmeis. Before he came of age, he was appointed by his uncle Archdeacon of Middlesex: but the Bishop was prevailed upon by William, Dean of London, his nephew by his sister Adeline, and by the Prior of Chich, to commit the administration of the archdeaconry, during Richard's minority, to Hugh one of his Chaplains. It was with no small difficulty, that Richard afterwards recovered his archdeaconry out of the hands of this faithless guardian (b) [A]. In the beginning of October 1151, he was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Robert de Sigillo (c), and consecrated at Canterbury by Archbishop Theobald, in the presence of all the Bishops of England, excepting Henry of Winchester, who excused his absence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbishop (d) [B]. This Prelate died [C] 4 May 1162 (e), leaving behind him a reputation for singular eloquence (f). Wharton tells us, he had seen a seal of this Bishop's, with this inscription round it; Ricardus Landoniensis Episcopus Secundus (g).

(b) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbr. Chronic. apud X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(c) Sim. Dunelm. Hist. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Hagufald. apud X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(d) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hist. apud X. Scriptor. col. 527.

(e) Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 98.

(f) Eloquentia predicis valde commendanda. X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(g) Wharton, Hist. de Episc. et Decan. Londinens. p. 59. edit. Lond. 1694.

[A] It was with some difficulty he recovered his Archdeaconry out of the hands of Hugh. His uncle Richard being dead, Gilbert Universalis succeeded to the Bishopric of London. And now our Richard's years and merits qualifying him for the episcopacy, he called upon Hugh to deliver up his trust; but this ecclesiastic, finding himself in favour with the present Bishop, and making light of the solemn oath he had taken to resign, invented a thousand frivolous excuses to delay the resignation. At length, Universalis being dead, and Richard having appealed to the Pope, his Holiness sent letters to the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, directing them to examine into the matter; who having heard the case, and taken Richard's allegations, divested Hugh, and restored Richard to his just rights. Traitu temporis episcopo Ricardo rebus humanis exempto, Gilebertus Universalis in episcopatum successit. Advenit etiam tempus, quo Ricardus de Belmeis, suffragantibus annis et meritis exigentibus, passus etiam in episcopum sublimari. Capellanus Hugo sepe conventus ut Ricardus restitueret archidiaconatum, velut immemor sacramenti fideique transgressor, consilium suum in alterius mutavit injuriam. Nam in oculis episcopi Landoniensis se videns gratiam invenisse, frivolas semper invenit occasunculat. Universalis defuncto, sua spes omnis cum episcopo sepelitur. His in audientia communi propositis, dominus papa literas direxit episcopo tam Lincolnienis quam Herefordensis. Quibus de causis cognoscitibus, susceptis Richardi probationibus, Hugo spoliatus est, Ricardus in integrum restitutus (1).

[B] The Bishop of Winchester excused his absence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbishop. This letter is preserved by Radulphus de Diceto (2), and is as follows: Temporis brevitas, improrsisa vocatio, transitus suspecti, improba predonum molestia, medicamenti sollicitudo adhibita, excusabiles

paternitati vestrae nos reddunt. Electioni vero factae et consecrationi faciunde benignum ex affectu praebemus assensum. Quoniam quidem persona et moribus pollet, et industria viget, et scientia floret, credimus quod in domo Dei plantata, adjuvante divinitate, florebit et faciet fructum; i. e. 'The shortness of the time, the unexpectedness of the summons, the danger of travelling, the annoyance of robbers, and my want of health, will excuse me to your fatherhood. However, I give my unfeigned assent to the election already made, and the consecration which is to be performed. And whereas the person chosen is of unquestionable morals, industry, and learning, I am persuaded, that, being planted in the house of God, he will, by the blessing of Heaven, flourish and bring forth fruit.' A testimony so advantageous to the character of this Bishop ought not to be suppressed. And by the way, we may observe from this letter, that the highways at that time must have been infested with robbers in a most extraordinary manner; otherwise a Bishop, who could no doubt have commanded a numerous retinue, would not have alledged the danger of travelling upon that account, as one justifiable reason of his absence.

[C] His death. The latter part of his life (says an Historian) was full of affliction; for being several years unable to speak, he at last died in a wretched condition. Cujus novissima plena erant mœrore; obmutescens enim plurimis annis, tandem tristi sine perit (3). The reader must explain this for himself as well as he can, since the other Historians of those times say nothing of the manner of this Bishop's death, nor afford us any light into the passage here cited. All that we can collect from it is, that the distemper, of which he died, had deprived him of the use of speech for several years before his death.

(3) Simeon Dunelm. Hist. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Hagufald. apud X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(1) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbr. Chronic. apud X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(2) Ymagin. Hist. apud X. Scriptor. col. 527.

BELMEYS (JOHN), commonly called Joannes Eboracensis, or John of York, an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century (a), was born of a good family (b). After having happily laid the foundations of learning in his own country, he travelled abroad, and visited the most famous universities of France and Italy; where he acquired the reputation of being the most learned man of his time [A]. After some time spent in finishing his studies

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

(b) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

[A] He acquired the reputation of being the most learned man of his time. Let us copy Leland. Quo cum pervenisset, ita strenue partes suas egit, ut brevi nomen aliquod decusque inter eruditos, sibi compararet; at cum jam maturior aetas superveniret, eo excellentiae devenit, ut vel princeps literatorum ha-

beretur. Neque tamen satis putabat ipsa nuda scientiarum cognitione praestare; quin etiam eloquentiam, hoc est linguarum peritiam adiceret. In qua tantum profecit, quantum illis temporibus facilius erat sperare, quam consequi. Sim vanus, nisi Joannes Severianus Anglus, cui quam familiarissimus erat, hæc eadem

(c) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

(d) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Histor. apud X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(e) Ibid. col. 676.

(f) Bale & Pits, ubi supra.

(g) Baleus, ib.

studies, he returned home, and was made a Canon, and Treasurer of the cathedral church of York: but he soon quitted this post, and went back again into Italy (c). He lived a considerable time at Rome, and had the honour of conversing familiarly with Pope Adrian IV, who was an Englishman by birth. Alexander III, who succeeded Adrian in 1159, made him Bishop of Poitou in France [B], and he was consecrated at the abbey of Dole in the diocese of Berry (d). He sat there twenty years, thirty weeks, and one day, and was from thence translated to the archbishopric of Lyons, and became thereby Primate of all France [C]. He was Archbishop of that city ten years and twenty-nine weeks (e). It is said, he returned into England, in 1194, being then a very old man (f): but we are not told, when or where he died. Bale informs us, that he vehemently opposed Archbishop Becket in the contests he had with King Henry II [D], and that he was very expert at controversial writing (g). His works, which are but few, are mentioned below [E].

(1) Comment. de Scriptor. Brit. c. 175.

eadem de illo scribat octavo capite septimi libri Polycratia: "Vir singularis eloquii, et qui omnibus, quos viderim, trium linguarum gratia præstat. Is quidem est Joannes Theaurarius Eboraci (1)." — "When he came thither he applied himself so diligently to his studies, that he soon attained to some degree of reputation among the learned; but when he arrived to more mature years, he excelled so far, as even to be esteemed the learnedest man of the age. He was not satisfied to outstrip others in a bare knowledge of the Sciences; but he added thereto a familiar acquaintance with the Languages, in which he made such a proficiency, as in those times it was more easy to wish for, than to arrive at I am deceived, if Joannes Severianus, an Englishman, to whom he was intimately known, did not mean him in the following passage of the eighth chapter of the seventh book of his Polycratia: "A man of singular eloquence, and who excels all that I have seen in the knowledge of the three tongues (i. e. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew). The person I mean is, John, Treasurer of York."

(2) Ymag. Histor. apud X. Scriptor. col. 675.

[B] He was made Bishop of Poitou in France.] Radulphus de Diceto (2) places this event in the reign of Richard I, under the year 1194; but if Belmeys was advanced to that See by Pope Alexander III, as the same historian tells us, this chronology must be wrong; for Adrian IV, the immediate predecessor of Alexander, died in 1159, and Alexander sat but twenty years or thereabouts (3). And therefore the latter must have been dead in 1180 or 1181, which is thirteen or fourteen years earlier than this date.

(3) Vide Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Alexandro III.

[C] He was translated to the Archbishopric of Lyons.] He was elected Archbishop of Narbonne; but before he could procure his Pall from Rome, Pope Lucius III, at the request of the Clergy of Lyons, translated him to that See. Electus est in archiepiscopum Narbonensem. Dum autem Romam Pallium petiturus properaret, anno Domini 1181, a Clero Lugdunensi petitur, et a Lucio Papa tertio constituitur archiepiscopus Lugdunensis, et Galliarum Primas (4).

(4) Pits, de Illust. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

[D] He vehemently opposed Archbishop Becket in the contests he had with King Henry II.] He could not endure the arrogance of that Prelate, and the furious zeal with which he opposed the King; but, without regarding the character he bore of Primate of England and Legate of the Holy See, he boldly reproved him for it, both in person and in his writings. *Elatam ar-*

rogantiam in Thoma archiepiscopo Becketo, atque ejus in regem debacchationes iniquas sustinere non poterat; sed in faciem objiciens, honestis salibus reprehendit. Net id oblitit, quod esset Anglorum Primas, aut à Romana sede Legatus; sed ingenue ac valide illum et voce et scriptis insectabatur (5).

[E] His works.] Leland could not find any thing certainly written by Joannes Eboracensis. He complains of the injuries of time, which have deprived us of the works of so learned a man; and he wishes he had it in his power to search all the libraries of Poitou, that he might bring something of his to light. *Sed vide quid tempus edax rerum et invidiosa vetustas faciant: nam nihil à tanto viro, quod sciam, scriptum extat; et nihil ipsum scripsisse adfirmare non res levis, sed stulti judicii est. Quam ego nunc vellem omnes Picardensium bibliothecarum furculos excutere, ut aliquid saltem à tam docto viro scriptum in lucem eruerem!* Afterwards he tells us, he had met with a book, intitled, *Aurea Joannis Eboracensis Historia*; i. e. 'The Golden History of John of York;' but that he could not pretend to affirm, that the writer of it was the same with our author. He observes, that this book contains many remarkable particulars concerning William the Conqueror, and that the *Scale Chronicon* ascribes it to a certain Vicar of Tillemuth, or Timmouth, without mentioning his name. *Nec tamen temere diffinio hunc esse Joannem, cujus vitam præposui. In eo opere multa quidem et præclara de Gulielmo magno, rege Anglorum: Scale chronica attribunt auream Historiam cuidam, suppresso nomine, Tillemuthensis ecclesie vicario (6).* In John Leland's *Collectanea* we have some extracts out of the *Scale Chronicon* here mentioned; and that which he refers to concerning the book in question is as follows. *The Vicar of Tillemouth did write an Historie, thus intituled, Historia Aurea, verberis in much to be seene of Kinge William Conquerors Cumming yn to Englande.* The Antiquary's marginal note upon this passage is this: 'The bookes of the Gestes of Lindisfarne, Chester, and Derham, make much mention of historia aurea Joannis Eboracensis. Therefore loke wether they be both one or no (7).' Besides this *Golden History*, Bale and Pits mention *Thirty-two Letters to Thomas Becket; An Inveective against the same; and certain Elegant Orations*; all written by our author.

(5) Baleus, de Scriptor. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

(6) Leland, ubi supra.

(7) J. Leland, de Reb. Britan. Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, Vol. I. p. 309.

(8) The Publick is indebted for these informations to the late Paul Calton, Esq; who married one of the daughters and coheireses of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

BENBOW (JOHN) Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron, and one of the most eminent English seamen mentioned in our Histories. He was born about the year 1650, and was descended of a very antient, worthy, and honourable family in Shropshire (a), though his father, Colonel John Benbow, and most of his relations, were brought very low by their loyal adherence to the cause of King Charles I, and by the readiness they shewed to assist King Charles II, for the recovery of his rights, when he advanced with the Scots army as far as Worcester, from which accidental poverty, some have represented this Admiral as of mean parentage, directly contrary to truth, as the reader will see in the notes [A]. His father dying when he was very young, left this son John no other provision

[A] Directly contrary to truth, as the reader will see in the notes.] In order to clear up this point a little, and satisfy the world as to the fact asserted in the text, it will be necessary to give some account of this gentleman's father and uncle, and the circumstances I mention are such as will not take up a great deal of room, or by their dryness fatigue or disgust the reader. When the civil wars broke out, King Charles I, relying

strongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this country, repaired in person to Shrewsbury, and entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the same day made publick declaration that he did not carry on this war from a thirst of blood, of conquest, or of power, but from a desire of preserving his own just rights, and those of his people; since he was determined, if God gave him success therein, to

provision than that of the profession to which he was bred, *viz.* the sea, a profession to which he had naturally a great propensity, and in which he succeeded so happily, that before he was thirty he became Master, and in a good measure owner, of a ship called the Benbow-Frigate, employed in the Mediterranean trade, in which he had probably acquired a good estate, if an accident that happened to him in the last voyage he made, had not given a new turn to his fortunes, and brought him to serve in the British navy, with equal reputation to himself, and good fortune to his country, to which he rendered many, and those very important, services. In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own vessel beforementioned, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Sallee Rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of the ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz he went ashore, and ordered a Negro servant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a sack. He had scarce landed, before the officers of the revenue enquired of his servant, What he had in his sack? the Captain answered, Salt provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers, but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no stranger there, that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was suspected. The officers told him that the Magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provisions where he pleased, but that otherwise it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation. The Captain consented to the proposal, and away they marched to the Custom-House, Mr Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The Magistrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility, told him they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them, and that as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could be of no great consequence one way or the other. *I told you,* said the Captain, sternly, *they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table, and, gentlemen, if you like them they are at your service.* The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors heads, and no less astonished at the account of the Captain's adventure, who with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of Barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the Court of Madrid, and Charles II, then King of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the English Captain, who made a journey to Court, where he was received with great testimonies of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholick Majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who upon the Captain's return gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy. After the

be as tender of the privileges of Parliament as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration the Lords Newport and Littleton, with the greatest part of the Gentry of the country, came in and offered his Majesty their service (1). Among these were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Esqrs. both men of estates, and both Colonels in the King's service. After the King's affairs fell into confusion, such gentlemen as had served in his army retired to their own countries respectively, and lived there as privately as they could: But though their interests were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great measure ruined, yet their spirits remained unbroken, and they acted as cheerfully for the service of King Charles II, as if they had never suffered at all by serving his father (2): So much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that Prince marched from Scotland towards Worcester, the two Benbows, amongst other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him, and after fighting bravely in the support of their Sovereign, were both taken prisoners by the rebels. That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and soon after a Court-Martial was settled at Chester, wherein Colonel Mackworth sat as President, and Major-General Mitton, and other staunch friends to the Cause, assisted; by whom ten Gentlemen of the first families in England were sentenced to death for barely corresponding with his Majesty, and five of them were executed (3). They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, Colonel Thomas Benbow, and the Earl of Derby, for being in his service. They were all condemned, and, in order to strike the greater terror in different parts of the country, the Earl of Derby was adjudged to suffer death on the 15th of October at Bolton. Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th at Chester, and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be shot on the 19th at Shrewsbury: All which sentences were severally put in execution, which I think sufficiently

shews that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very considerable family in Shropshire (4); for otherwise the Colonel would hardly have been sent out of the world in so good company. As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his escape after a short imprisonment, and lived privately in his own country 'till after the Restoration, when he was far in years, and yet so much to seek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a small office belonging to the Ordnance in the Tower, which just brought him an income sufficient to subsist himself and his family without danger of starving. In this situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the first Dutch war, the King came to the Tower to examine the magazines; there his Majesty cast his eye on the good old Colonel, who had now been distinguished by a fine head of grey hair for twenty years. The King, whose memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at first sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. My old friend, Colonel Benbow, said he, what do you here? I have, returned the Colonel, a place of fourscore pounds a year, in which I serve your Majesty as cheerfully as if it brought me in four thousand. *Alas!* said the King, *Is this all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester? Colonel Legge, bring this Gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me.* But, short as the time was, the Colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim the effects of this gracious promise; for the sense of the King's gratitude and goodness so overcame his spirits, that, sitting down on a bench, he breathed his last (5), before the King was well out of the Tower. It may be easily imagined, that as our Mr Benbow was then very young, he must have suffered very much by losing his father, before he felt any effect of the King's promises: But it is not at all probable that he was ever a Waterman's boy, as some writers have asserted.

(4) Magn. Britan. & Hibern.

(1) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 248.

(2) Bates Elenchus Motuum, p. ii. p. 122.

(3) Heath's Chronicle, p. 102.

(5) From the information of the late Paul Calton, Esq;

the Revolution he was constantly employed, and frequently, at the request of the merchants, was appointed to cruise in the channel, where he did very great service, as well in protecting our own trade, as in annoying and distressing that of the enemy. He was likewise generally made choice of for bombarding the French ports, in which he shewed the most intrepid courage, by going in person in his boat to encourage and protect the engineers, who, for that reason, were very solicitous that he should command the efforts whenever they went upon those hazardous enterprizes, in which they knew he would not expose them more than was absolutely necessary, and that he would put them upon running no sort of danger, in which he did not willingly take his share. It is certain, that several of those dreadful bombardments had great effects, spoiled several ports, and terrified the French to the last degree, notwithstanding all the precautions their Government could take to keep up their spirits [B]. The vigour and activity of Captain Benbow, in every service on which he was employed, recommended him so effectually to his royal master King William, who was both a good judge of men, and always willing to reward merit, that he was very early promoted to a flag, and intrusted with the care of blocking up Dunkirk; the privateers from thence proving extremely detrimental to our trade during all that war (b). In 1695, we find him thus employed with a few English and Dutch ships, when the famous *Du Bart* had the good luck to escape him, with nine sail of clean ships, with which he did a great deal of mischief, both to our trade and to that of the Dutch. Rear-Admiral Benbow, however, followed him as well as he could, but the Dutch ships having, or pretending to have, no orders, quitted him, which hindered him from going to the Dogger-Bank as he intended, and obliged him to sail to Yarmouth roads, into which he was hardly come, before he received advice, that *Du Bart* had fallen in with the Dutch fleet of seventy merchant-men, escorted by five frigates, and that he had taken all the latter, and thirty of the vessels under their convoy; which might probably have been prevented, if the Rear-Admiral had failed, as he intended, to the Dogger-Bank, and could have persuaded the Dutch to have continued with him (c). As it was, he safely convoyed a great English fleet of merchant-men to Gottenburgh, and then returned to Yarmouth Roads, and from thence to the Downs for a supply of provisions. He afterwards resumed his design of seeking *Du Bart*, but his ships being much cleaner than the Rear-Admiral's, he escaped him a second time, though once within sight of him; but however he secured three rich English East-India men, that came north about, and brought them safe home (d). In 1697, he sailed, the tenth of April, from Spithead, with seven third-rates and two fire-ships, and after some time returned to

Portsmouth

[B] *All the precautions the Government could take to keep up their spirits.* In cases of this nature it is always right to have recourse to facts, that the reader may be satisfied as he proceeds, of the truth of what is asserted, and therefore it is requisite that we should give some accounts of the nature and effects of those bombardments. We have made choice of that of St Maloes, both because it was the most extraordinary, and because Commodore Benbow had the command of the squadron by which it was performed (6). On the 13th of November, 1693, Commodore Benbow, in conjunction with Captain Phillips, with a squadron of two men of war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, sailed for St Maloes, where they arrived on the 16th, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-port. Three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town; about eleven they began to fire, and continued firing 'till four in the morning, when they were constrained to warp to prevent grounding. On the 17th they went in again, and threw seventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the 18th, but with frequent intermissions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw. However they landed on an island near the town, and burnt a convent. On the 19th, being Sunday, they lay still 'till the evening, when, by the favour of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and a very dark night, they sent in an extraordinary fireship of about 300 tons burthen (7), (which the French will have to be a monstrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes, and indeed would have done it but for an unforeseen accident, the struck upon a rock within pistol-shot of the place, where they intended to have moored her. The Engineer who was on board did all he could to get her off, but to no purpose. At last, finding the vessel beginning to open, and fearing the might sink, he set fire to her. The sea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcasses from taking fire. The explosion however was terrible beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and struck off the

roofs of three hundred houses. The most extraordinary thing of all was this, that the captain of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon down to the ground. The greatest part of the walls towards the sea also fell down; and if there had been a sufficient quantity of land-forces on board, the place might have been taken and pillaged. As it was they demolished Quince-fort, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of the town (8). The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines stiled Infernals, which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the Prince of Parma besieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will observe by the following description, that it was in fact a fireship, contrived to operate, when moored close to the town walls. It was a new ship of about 300, or as the Marquis de Quincy says, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots, over which lay beams bored through to give air to the fire, and upon these lay three hundred carcasses filled with granadoes, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles (9). There were six holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were so vehement as to consume the hardest substances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the Engineer who contrived this vessel was blown up in it, because they found the body of a man well dressed upon the shore. and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition; he was however only a Mate to one of the vessels. This expedition was well timed and well executed; it struck a pannick into the inhabitants of St Malo's, where the most troublesome of the French Privateers were fitted out, and it served to awake the whole nation from their golden dreams of the Empire of the Sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of English ships could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

(b) Burchet's Naval History, p. 549.

(c) From the Journal of that Year's Service.

(d) Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 550. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 178.

(6) This account is chiefly taken from an original Letter.

(7) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

(8) Mercure Historique pour le Mois de Sept. 1694.

(9) This Description is copied from the French Mercury.

Portsmouth for provisions; after which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and West-India fleets, and saw them safe into port. He then repaired to Dunkirk, where he received, from Captain Bowman, two orders or instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, one to pursue M. du Bart, and to destroy his ships, if possible, at any place, except under the forts in Norway and Sweden, the other to obey the King's commands, pursuant to an order from his Majesty for that purpose (e). On the thirtieth of July, Rear-Admiral Vandergoes joined him, with eleven Dutch ships, when he proposed, that one of the squadrons should be so placed, as that Dunkirk might be south of them, and the other in or near Ostend road, that if Du Bart should attempt to pass, they might the better discover him; but all the answer he received from the Dutch Commander was, that his ships being foul, they were not in a condition to pursue him. Rear-Admiral Benbow being disappointed in this project, immediately formed another, for, observing; in the beginning of August, that ten French frigates were hauled into the basin to clean, he judged their design to be, what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring-tide; and therefore, as his ships were all foul, he wrote up to the Board to desire, that four of the best sailors might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but also to heel and scrub, which he judged might be done, before the next spring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them, of getting out with five clean ships, which however did not hinder the Admiral from pursuing them as well as he was able, and some ships of his squadron had the good luck, to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns and sixty men, which had done a great deal of mischief (f). This was one of the last actions of the war, and the Rear-Admiral soon after received orders, to return home with the squadron under his command. It is very remarkable, that as the disappointments we met with in the course of this war, occasioned very loud complaints against such as had the direction of our maritime affairs, and against several of our Admirals, there was not one word said, in any of the warm and bitter pamphlets of those times, to the prejudice of Mr Benbow. On the contrary, the highest praises were bestowed upon him in many of those pieces, and his vigilance and activity made him equally the darling of the seamen and the merchants; the former giving him always the strongest marks of their affection; and the latter frequently returning him thanks for the signal services he did them, and for omitting no opportunity that offered, of protecting their commerce, even in cases where he had no particular orders, to direct or to require his service (g). But we are to consider these passages, as instances only of his merit, and their gratitude, and not imagine them in any degree owing to his affecting popularity, which was by no means the case. He was a plain downright sea-man, and spoke and acted upon all occasions, without any respect of persons, and with the utmost freedom [C]. After the concluding of the peace

(e) This is taken from a Journal of that Voyage.

(f) Burchet's Naval History, p. 569—574.

(g) See a quarto pamphlet, intitled, *The Sea-Service impartially represented*, p. 21.

[C] Without any respect of persons, and with the utmost freedom.] At this time the nation was distracted by factions, and in most publick offices there was a great deal of that sort of influence, which however useful it might be to private families, was very fatal to the publick, and in nothing more so than in the management of the Navy, which occasioned very loud and general complaints throughout the kingdom. The Earl of Torrington, who was at the head of the Navy, immediately after the Revolution found ways and means to gain so strong an interest in the fleet, that it was judged by many inconsistent with the publick safety. After this Admiral Russel, who in process of time was created Earl of Orford, came to have the direction of our Naval affairs, and in point of influence followed the same steps with his predecessor (10). It does not at all appear that our Rear-Admiral was much obliged to either of these great persons, but rather owed his flag to his own merit and the general voice of the seamen, which was the reason that he never attached himself to any party; and, to say the truth, Politicks were never his study; so that if he wanted the support of any faction, he stood likewise unexposed to opposition, both sides treated him civilly, considered him as a good and useful officer, and as a able sea-man (11). The King consulted him about a famous question of those times, which was as to the expediency of preferring Tars, as they were called, or Gentlemen in the Navy; and though Mr Benbow considered himself, and was considered by all the world as one of the former, yet he told the King it was safest to employ both, and that the danger lay in preferring *Gentlemen* without *merit*, and *Tars* beyond their *capabilities* (12). He interested himself upon all occasions in favour of the sailors, and as he always used them well while a private Captain, so, after he was promoted to the rank of a Flag-Officer, he was constantly

their patron, which made him much beloved by them. He very seldom interested himself in preferments, and where it was in his own power to bestow them, he always considered long service and merit. His acquaintance with the Merchants, and having been bred in their service, gave him a great concern for commerce, and therefore he always preferred securing our own merchantships to the making prizes; he was a great enemy to Privateers, because he thought they ruined discipline, and after a war was over seldom failed of producing Pirates. He never had any great interest at Court, nor did he affect it; but when his judgment was asked he gave it very freely, and sometimes gave it unasked to the Lords of the Admiralty (13). He had a very high notion of the English Naval power, and always thought that we were a great over-match for the French. He had a better opinion than most other seamen of the bombarding the coasts of France; and it was observable, that none of those expeditions succeeded so well as that under his direction. He knew the importance of destroying Dunkirk, and therefore he was for encouraging all attempts for that purpose, in which he exposed his person very freely; but it appears from several papers, that he had no great opinion of blocking up that Port, especially with large ships, and therefore more than once proposed the keeping a convenient number of light clean frigates constantly upon that station. He sometimes differed with the Dutch, but never quarrelled with their commanders, imputing their slowness to their orders, and the bad condition of their ships to some disorders in their Government. On the other hand, the Dutch had a very good opinion of him, and spoke of him as a very vigilant and active officer in their Gazettes and publick papers. He looked upon discipline as a point of the greatest consequence, especially amongst officers, and in this there were many who thought him a little too severe,

but

(10) Burchet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 195.

(11) See Burchet's Naval History, p. 598.

(12) Life of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

(13) As in the expedition of 1697, mentioned in the text.

of Ryfwyck, and even while the partition treaties were negotiating, King William formed a defign of doing fomething very confiderable in the Weft-Indies, in cafe his pacifick views fhould be difappointed, or Charles II of Spain, fhould die fuddenly as was daily expected. There were indeed many reafons, which rendered the fending a fquadron at that time, into thofe parts, highly ufeful and requifite. Our colonies were in a very weak and defencelefs condition, the feas fwarmed with pirates, the Scots had eftablifhed a colony at Darien, which, very unluckily for them, gave the Englifh little fatisfaction, at the fame time that it provoked the Spaniards very much (*b*). King William himfelf fixed upon Rear-Admiral Benbow to command this fquadron, which proved but a very fmall one, as confifting only of three fourth rates; and when he went to take upon him his command, he received private inftructions from the King, to make the beft obfervations he could on the Spanifh ports and fettlements, but to keep as fair as poffible with the Governors, and to afford them any affiftance he could if they defired it. He was likewife inftructed to watch the galleons, for the King of Spain, Charles II, was then thought to be in a dying condition (*i*). Rear-Admiral Benbow failed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the Weft-Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent fituation. Moft of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm difputes with their Governors, the forces that fhould have been kept up in them for their defence, fo reduced by ficknefs, defection, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them; but the Admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he difpofed of to the beft advantage in the Leeward Iflands (*k*). This part of his charge being executed, he began to think of performing the other part of his commiffion, and of looking into the ftate of the Spanifh affairs, as it had been recommended to him by the King: and a proper occafion of doing this very fpeedily offered; for being informed, that the Spaniards at Carthagená had feized two of our fhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againft the Scots at Darien: He, like a brave and publick spirited Commander, as he really was, refolved to prevent it, and reftore thofe fhips to their right owners. With this view he ftood over to the Spanifh coaft, and coming before *Bocchonica* caftle, he fent his men afhore for wood and water, which though he afked with great civility of the Spanifh Governor, he would fcarce permit him to take; this highly nettled the Admiral, who thereupon fent his own Lieutenant to the Governor, with a meffage importing, that he not only wanted thofe neceffaries, but that he came likewife for three Englifh fhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there for fome time, which, if not fent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The Governor answered him in very refpectful terms, that if he would leave his prefent ftation, in which he feemed to block up their port, the fhips fhould be fent out to him. With this request the Admiral complied, but finding the Governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diftemper, which they doubted the Spanifh Governor forefaw, he fent him another meffage, that if, in twenty-four hours the fhips were not fent him, he would come and fetch them, and that if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of feeing, the regard an Englifh officer had to his word. The Spaniards however did not think fit to make the experiment, but fent out the fhips within the time, with which the Admiral returned to Jamaica. There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello, had feized feveral of our fhips employed in the fave trade, on the old pretence, that the fettlement at Darien was a breach of peace. At the defire of the parties concerned, the Admiral failed thither alfo, and demanded thefe fhips, but received a furlly answer from the Admiral of the Barvento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-Admiral Benbow expoftulated with him on this head, infifting, that as the fubjects of the crown of England had never injured thofe of his Catholick Majefty, he ought not to make prize of their fhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied fhrewdly, that fince both crowns ftood on the fame head, it was no wonder that he took the fubjects of the one crown for the other. After many altercations however, and when the Spaniards faw that the colony at Darien received no affiftance from Jamaica, the fhips were, with much to do, reftored (*l*). The Admiral, in the mean time, failed in queft of one Kidd a pirate, who had done a great deal of mischief in the Eaft and Weft-Indies, and of whom, hereafter, we fhall in the notes fpeak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a fupply of provifions from England, and foon after, orders to return home, which he did with fix men of war, taking New England in his way, and arrived fafe (*m*), bringing with him from the plantations, fufficient testimonies of his having difcharged his duty, which fecured him from all danger of censure, though the

House

but he very early forefaw the mifchiefs that muft follow from any relaxation of difcipline amongst commanders, and that it would have confequences very fatal to the publick fervice (*n*). He was the more ftrict in this refpect, becaufe he was never wanting in his own example, fending his whole time in his duty; and when others alledged, that there muft be fome

leifure for amufement, diverfion, and going afhore to their friends, and about bufinefs, his answer was, *Why fhould people who have other bufinefs, or love being on fhore, think of going to fea.* But this conduct, however right in itfelf, raifed him many enemies, and indeed all the enemies he had; and which, as will appear in the fequel, proved fatal to his life.

[D] In

(b) Complete History of England. Burnet's History of his own Times. The Life of King William III.

(i) Extracted from the Journal of this Voyage, by P. C.

(k) Burchet's Naval History, p. 576.

(l) Ibid. p. 577.

(m) Taken from the Journal of this Voyage.

(n) See note [C].

House of Commons expressed very high resentment, at some circumstances that attended the sending this fleet. But in regard to the Admiral, the greatest compliments were paid to his courage, capacity, and integrity, by all parties, and the King, as a signal mark of his kind acceptance of all his services, granted him an augmentation of *arms*, which consisted in adding to the *three Bent Bows*, he already bore, as many *Arrows*, which single act of royal favour, sufficiently destroys the foolish report of his being of mean extraction (n). His conduct in this expedition raised him so much in the King's esteem, that he consulted him as much or more than any man of his rank, and yet without making the Admiral himself vain, or exposing him in any degree to the dislike of the Ministers [D]. It may be easily imagined, that in the time the Rear-Admiral spent in the West-Indies, the face of affairs was much changed, indeed so much they were changed, that the King was forced to think of a new war, though he was sensible the nation suffered severely from the effects of the old one. His first care therefore was, to put his fleet into the best order possible, and to distribute the commands therein, to officers that he could depend upon; and to this it was, Mr Benbow owed his being promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue (o). He was at that time cruising off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was as yet no war declared between the two crowns, but this was held to be no security against France, and it was no sooner known that they were fitting out a stout squadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed, to be intended to cover a descent. Vice-Admiral Benbow satisfied the Ministry, that there was no danger on this side, and then it was resolved to prosecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession; and to facilitate this, it was thought necessary to send, immediately, a strong squadron to the West-Indies. This squadron was to consist of two third-rates, and eight fourths, which was as great a strength as could be at that time spared, and it was thought perfectly requisite, that it should be under the command of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this command, upon the right management of which, it was believed the success of the approaching war would in a great measure depend (p). Mr Benbow was thought on by the Ministry, as soon as the expedition was determined, but the King would not hear of it. He said that Benbow was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties, and therefore it was but fit, some other officer should take his turn. One or two were named and consulted, but either their health

(n) From the information of P. Calton, Esq;

(o) Burchet's Naval History, p. 588.

(p) Complete History of England. Life of King William. History of Europe for 1701.

[D] *In any degree to the dislike of the Ministers*] It has been before owned, and indeed there could have been no justice done this Gentleman's character without owning it, that he was no Politician or Courtier, and surely he was still less a pretender to Patriotism or Popularity; but yet such a charm there is in truth, and a conscientious regard to duty, that he came home in the good graces of all parties, without having in the least studied to oblige any of them. It must be confessed, that many accidents concurred to render this expedition of his so remarkable; but it may be likewise averred, that it was his conduct turned them all to his advantage. His care and diligence in visiting the Plantations, and not barely visiting them, but inquiring into their wants, and yielding them all the assistance and relief that was in his power, gained him a great reputation in the West-Indies, and with all who had any concerns in that part of the world. His vigilance in pursuing Pirates, and his recovering so many ships out of the hands of the Spaniards, recommended him to the Merchants. The whole nation of Scotland thought themselves obliged by the pains he took to thwart the Spanish expedition against Darien; and nothing could be more grateful to the people of England than the spirit he had shewn in supporting the honour of the English Flag. We have a strong proof of his disinterested zeal for justice, and concern for the honour of his country, in the readiness with which, at the request of the Governor of one of our Colonies, he went to expostulate with a Danish commander for giving shelter to, and entering into commerce with, Pirates, contrary to the strict rules of honour, as well as to the law of nations. The fact is very clearly set down by one who was well acquainted with it, and is remarkable enough to deserve our notice (15). 'At the request of the President of the Council of Nevis, he failed to the island of St Thomas, inhabited chiefly, if not altogether, by subjects of Denmark, and demanded by what authority they bore the flag of that nation on Crab Island, since it appertained to the King of England, his master. He also let the Governor know, that it was not agreeable to the law of nations to trade with Pirates (it being evident that he had suffered great part of Kidd's effects to be landed at that

port), and demanded of him all subjects of England who were non-resident there. The Governor seemed surprized at his making any objections to the Flag, and insisted that the island whereon it flew was actually the King of Denmark's. The Port he said was free, and since the Brandenburg Factors had received part of Kidd's effects, he could by no means molest, but, on the contrary, was obliged to protect them. He averred, that there were not any of the subjects of England on the island, Captain Sharpe, a noted Pirate, only excepted, who was confined for misdemeanors, and having sworn allegiance to the King of Denmark, could not justifiably be delivered up, so that the Rear-Admiral was obliged to desist, for his instructions did not empower him to act in an hostile manner.' Some other men, when vested with such a command, might have taken it ill from a provisional Governor of a little Colony, to be thus directed in the discharge of their duty; but the Vice-Admiral had quite another notion of things, and neither pretended to knowledge that he had not, nor thought himself above taking the opinion, or following the advice, of such as he had reason to judge might have a better opportunity of understanding things than he. There had happened in his absence a considerable change in King William's ministry, but that no way affected the fortune of our Commander, for as he was the creature of no Ministry, so, as it was very natural, every administration was very well pleased to reap the benefit of his services; and this was the reason, that when it soon after appeared requisite, and even absolutely necessary, to send another squadron into those seas, as well to look after our own affairs, as to be in a condition to attack the French whenever a war broke out, the new Ministry immediately thought of Mr Benbow, as a man not only well qualified for that service, but whose reputation was so well established, that they ran no kind of hazard in recommending him to that post, though it was then judged, and with good reason, a thing of the last consequence, and upon which the success of the war might in a great measure depend, or at least the length of it, in case we had been so lucky as to have seized the galleons (16).

(15) Burchet's Naval History, p. 579.

(16) Burnet, }
K: 22, &c.

health or their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused (*q*). Upon which the King said merrily to some of his Ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, *Well then, I find we must spare our Beaus, and send honest Benbow.* His Majesty accordingly sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, Whether he was willing to go to the West-Indies? assuring him if he was not, he would not take it at all amiss if he desired to be excused. Mr Benbow answered bluntly, that he did not understand such compliments, that he thought he had no right to chuse his station, and that if his Majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West-Indies, or any where else, he would cheerfully execute his orders as became him (*r*). Thus the matter was settled in very few words, and the command of the West-India Squadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-Admiral Benbow. To conceal the design of this Squadron, but above all, to prevent the French from having any just notion of it's force, Sir George Rooke, then Admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as the Isles of Scilly, and to send a strong Squadron with it thence, to see it well into the sea, all which he punctually performed; so that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of October 1701, the world in general believing that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the Squadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this more credible, the Dutch Minister at Madrid was ordered to demand the free use of all the Spanish ports, which was accordingly performed (*s*). As soon as it was known in England, that Vice-Admiral Benbow was sailed with ten ships only for the West-Indies, and it was discovered that the great armament at Brest was intended for the same part of the world, a mighty clamour was raised here at home, as if he had been sent to be sacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet (*t*); whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the Vice-Admiral had as considerable a Squadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought possible to be spared (*u*). It is certain, that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well, that Mr Benbow would execute, with the greatest spirit and punctuality, the instructions he had received, which were, to engage the Spanish Governors, if possible, to disown King Philip, or in case that could not be brought about, to make himself master of the galleons (*w*). In this design it is plain that the Admiral would have succeeded, notwithstanding the smallness of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no less certain, that the anxiety the Vice-Admiral was under about the execution of his orders, was the principal reason for his maintaining so strict discipline, which proved unluckily the occasion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reason to censure either the King's project, or the Admiral's conduct, both were right in themselves, though neither was attended with the success they deserved, which is too often the case, even of the best concerted expeditions [*E*]. The French had the same reasons that we had, to be very

(*q*) From Mr Calton's information.

(*r*) From the same information.

(*s*) Life of King William III. p. 627.

(*t*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) Burchet's Naval History, p. 590.

(*w*) Taken from his own Times, of this voyage.

[*E*] Which is too often the case, even of the best concerted expeditions.] We need not wonder that great complaints were made, as to the management of these affairs at this juncture, when we find that even so great a man as Bishop Burnet is pleased to say of the transactions of this year, 'That our fleets lay all this summer idle in those seas, while the French had many Squadrons lay in the Spanish Ports, and in the West-Indies (17).' He did not certainly consider, that as yet there was no war declared; that the French King had procured a Neutrality in Germany; that things were far from being settled between us and our Allies abroad, and the minds of the people and their representatives much farther from being settled at home; so that the only use that could be made of the fleet, was to amuse the French and Spaniards, to disturb and distract their measures, and to put things into the best method for acting when war should be actually declared. But to make this matter still clearer, we will give the reader a paragraph from a very popular pamphlet published at that time, in which this matter is set in the strongest light that angry people could represent it (18). 'A new war, says he, I believe to be unavoidable, and we are much beholden to the last Parliament that we are not entered into it already; and so become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Loose-alls of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But if we have a war managed as was the last, we had better spend a little money in bombs and chains to secure our ships in harbour, than to send them abroad to lose our money, lose our reputation, and not secure our trade. I cannot persuade myself that the Parliament of England will ever more send the native strength of their country abroad in other peoples quarrels, and to be at the charge of levies, cloathing, arms, and transportation, to put their own liberties in danger at home by a standing army, when they have done the business of our Allies abroad. The men we lost, and the money

we spent in the late war, as also how hard it was to get them disbanded, in opposition to the interest of men that wanted them to support their titles to their illegal grants and ill-gotten gain, is too fresh in our memories ever to bring ourselves under the like hardships. I foresee now, that the war will be at sea, and we have but a very ill omen of success from the last summer's expedition of our fleet; our modern Whigs, in their Legion letters, and Kentish Petition, exclaimed against the Parliament, because they raised no more money. But I hope those folk, if they have any brains or honesty, are now sensible of their groundless complaint. When they find how little has been done for what was there raised, they gave one million five hundred thousand pounds for the fleet for this summer's expedition; and what has been the effect, the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to the West-Indies, and while they were gone, our modern Whigs boasted of the conduct, and built castles in the air, to hold the money they would bring home in the Spanish galleons; but in a short time we found them all at Spithead, except a few ships that proceeded with Benbow to the West-Indies, where, if they be not *Talma-bed*, they have good fortune. Would it not have tended much to the good of the Empire, and to the strengthening of the confederacy for England, to have had a good Squadron this summer in the Straights, which might have animated the Neapolitans in the Emperor's interest, and so disheartened the French party, that in all probability Naples had been in the Emperor's hands.' At this distance of time we can see plainly there is very little, either of sense or honesty, in these objections. In the beginning of the paragraph a new war is unavoidable, yet, in the speaker's judgment, (for this pamphlet is a dialogue) unnecessary; but the fleet's inactivity is a crime for all this, and sending Benbow a crime likewise; but, worst of all, our not sending

(17) History of his own Times, Vol. 11. p. 288.

(18) The present Condition of the English Navy, Lond. 1702, 4to, p. 24, 25.

very attentive to what passed in the West-Indies, and it must be acknowledged, that they prosecuted their designs with great wisdom and circumspection, and, which is very extraordinary, they so contrived, as to send for this purpose a force much superior to ours (x), which however would have availed them little, if Admiral Benbow's officers had been of the same stamp with himself. But it so fell out, that he shewed much more conduct than even his friends expected, and they less courage than any Englishman ever did, which gave that advantage to the French, their own schemes, though closely laid, could never otherwise have obtained [F]. Admiral Benbow's squadron, consisting of two third and eight fourth-rates, arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November 1701, from whence he sailed to the Leeward-Islands, in order to examine the state of the French colonies and our own. He found the former in some confusion, and the latter in so good a situation, that he thought he ran no hazard in leaving them to go to Jamaica, where, when he arrived, his fleet was in so good a condition, the Admiral, officers, and sea-men, being most of them used to the climate, that he had not occasion to send above ten men to the Hospital, which was looked upon as a very extraordinary thing (y). There he received advice of two French squadrons being arrived in the West-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking Petit Guavas, but before he could execute it, he had intelligence, that Monsieur Du Caffé was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, with a squadron of French ships, with an intent to settle the Affiento in favour of the French, and to destroy the English and Dutch trade for Negroes (z). Upon this he detached Rear-Admiral Whetstone in pursuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he sailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the Rear-Admiral, but having intelligence that Du Caffé was expected at Leogane, on the north side of Hispaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-seventh. Not far from the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover his strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were six merchant ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the Admiral pressed so hard, that the Captain seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship on shore and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the Admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had failed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, viz. *Cul de Sac*. But some of our ships between them and that port, took three of them and sunk a fourth (a). The Admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impossible to attack, sailed for Donna Maria Bay, where he continued till the tenth of August, when, having received advice that Monsieur Du Caffé was sailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to sail to Porto Bello, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed

(x) Quincy, Histoire Militaire. P. Daniel Histoire de France. Mercure Historique, &c.

(y) London Gazette, No. 5286.

(z) Mercure Historique & Politique pour 1702, p. 657.

(a) Burchet's Naval History, p. 593, 594.

sending a fleet to the Mediterranean, though the sending and keeping fleets there in the last war, is most bitterly inveighed against through the whole pamphlet.

[F] *Their own schemes, though closely laid, could never otherwise have obtained.* It is impossible to form a right judgment of the conduct of Admiral Benbow in this expedition, without knowing what measures were taken, with respect to the affairs of the West-Indies, by the French, who, as soon as they resolved to accept the Will of Charles II, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, immediately projected the sending a squadron, with all sorts of necessaries, to the Spanish West-Indies; and the person they made choice of for this command was M. Du Caffé, Governor of St Domingo; but before he could be sent upon this service, it was requisite to have the consent of the Spaniards, who, though they could not but be sensible of their own weakness, had notwithstanding so strong an aversion to the French, that it was foreseen they would make a great difficulty of accepting their assistance; and therefore M. Du Caffé was dispatched to Madrid to settle all these points, which in some-time, and with much pains, he did (19). But after the Spanish nobility had once given their consent, that this squadron should be received in the Spanish ports of America, they were continually pressing the French to have it sent thither. The French ministry foresaw what would come to pass, and therefore had taken care to have a squadron ready at Brest, consisting of five ships of the Line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, sailed for the Spanish West-Indies; and on the 20th of October the Count de Chateau Renaud sailed with fourteen ships of the Line, and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons that were supposed to be already departed from the Havanna, under the escort of the Marquis de Coetlogon; and after all this, M. Du Caffé likewise

(19) Quincy, Histoire Militaire.

failed with his squadron; from whence the English reader will easily see, that as Admiral Benbow received no supplies, he was like to have been crushed by the superior power of the enemy, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them (20). Yet the French authors themselves own, that all the great projects they had formed for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, and even for driving the English out of most of their possessions in America, were entirely disappointed and defeated; and instead of finding themselves in any condition of executing them as they expected, they were obliged to act upon the defensive; and the Dutch writers of those times expressly say, after all their blustering, the English Admiral, with a small squadron, remained a long time master in those seas, alarmed and insulted the French settlements in Hispaniola, took a great number of prizes, and so effectually protected the British commerce, that, notwithstanding the great superiority of the French, they were not able to do any thing considerable (21). These testimonies sufficiently shew what mighty things the naval force of this country is able to perform when conducted by an active and experienced officer, who has the interest of his country at heart, and on whom our colonies can safely place their dependence. This was certainly the case with respect to our Admiral, who never had any differences with the Governors in the West-Indies, or disputes with the inhabitants or merchants, which after his death proved so fatal to the service in that part of the world, as the reader may find not only in our general and naval Histories, but also in the representations from the House of Lords, and in the addresses and votes of the House of Commons, complaining of the bad behaviour of several subsequent Commanders, whence it may be easily conceived how great a loss the public had, by the untimely death of this brave and worthy officer.

(20) Burchet's Naval History, p. 593.

(21) Mercure Historique pour 1702.

(b) Taken from the Journal of that Voyage.

failed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha (b). On the nineteenth of August in the afternoon, he discovered ten sail near that place, steering westward along the shore under their top-sails, four of them were from sixty to seventy guns, one a great Dutch built ship of about thirty or forty, another full of soldiers, three small vessels, and a sloop. The Vice-Admiral coming up with them, about four the engagement began. He had disposed his line of battle in the following manner, viz. the Defiance, Pendennis, Windsor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth. But two of these ships, the Defiance and Windsor, did not stand above two or three broad-sides before they loosed out of gun-shot, so that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay on the Admiral, and gauled him very much, nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with the diligence they ought to have done (c). The fight lasted however till dark, and though the firing then ceased, the Vice-Admiral kept them company all night. The next morning at break of day he was near the French ships, but none of his Squadron except the Ruby was with him, the rest being three, four, or five miles a-stern.

(c) Burchet's Naval History, p. 594.

Notwithstanding which, the French did not fire a gun at the Vice-Admiral, though he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon the French drew into a line, though at the same time they made what sail they could without fighting. However the Vice-Admiral and the Ruby kept them company all night, plying their chase guns. Thus the Vice-Admiral continued pursuing, and at some times skirmishing with the enemy, for four days more, but was never duly seconded by several of the ships of his Squadron (p).

(p) Burchet's Naval History, p. 595, compared with the Journal beforementioned.

The twenty-third, about noon, the Admiral took from them a small English ship, called the Anne Galley, which they had taken off of Lisbon; and the Ruby being disabled, he ordered her to Port Royal. About eight at night the whole Squadron was up with the Vice-Admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a prospect of doing something, and the Vice-Admiral made the best of his way after them, but his whole Squadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-stern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the Vice-Admiral came up with the enemy's sternmost ship, and fired his broad-side, which was returned by the French ship very briskly, and about three the Vice-

(q) As before, from the several accounts compared.

Admiral's right-leg was broken to pieces by a chain-shot (q). In this condition he was carried down to be dressed, and while the surgeon was at work, one of his Lieutenants expressed great sorrow for the loss of his leg, upon which the Admiral said to him, *I am sorry for it too, but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do ye bear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men and fight it out (r).* As soon as it was practicable, he caused himself to be carried up, and placed, with his cradle, upon the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day.

(r) From the information of Mr Calton, confirmed by some on board his ship.

They then discovered the ruins of one of the enemy's ships, that carried seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides tore to pieces. The Admiral, soon after, discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broad-sides, passed her, and stood to the southward. Then came the Defiance, fired part of her broad-side, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and run away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran in to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle. The enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward, but when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the Admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though Captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ship's head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing things in this condition, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, remanned, and took her into tow (s).

(s) From the Journal before-mentioned.

The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the Admiral ordered the Captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle signal out all the while, and Captain Fogg, by the Admiral's orders, sent to the other Captains, to order them to keep the line and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirkby came on board the Admiral, and told him, *He had better desist, that the French were very strong, and that from what passed he might guess, he could make nothing of it.* The brave Admiral Benbow, more surprized at this language, than at all that had hitherto happened, said very calmly, that this was but one man's opinion, and therefore made a signal for the rest of the Captains to come on board, which they did in obedience to his orders, but when they came, they fell too easily into Captain Kirkby's sentiments, and, in conjunction with him, signed a paper, importing, *that, as he had before told the Admiral, there was nothing more to be done, though at this very time they had the fairest opportunity imaginable of taking or destroying the enemy's whole Squadron; for ours consisted then of one ship of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty, their yards, masts, and in general all their tackle in as good condition as could be expected, the Admiral's own ship excepted, in which their loss was considerable, but in the rest they had eight only*

killed and wounded, nor were they in any want of ammunition necessary to continue the fight. The enemy, on the other hand, had but four ships of between sixty and seventy guns, one of which was entirely disabled and in tow, and all the rest very roughly handled; so that even now if these officers had done their duty, it is morally certain they might have taken them all (t). But Vice-Admiral Benbow, seeing himself absolutely without support, (his own Captain having signed the paper beforementioned) determined to give over the fight, and to return to Jamaica, though he could not help declaring openly, that it was against his own sentiments, in prejudice to the publick service, and the greatest dishonour that had ever befallen the English navy (u). The French, glad of their escape, continued their course towards the Spanish coasts, and the English squadron soon arrived safe in Port-Royal harbour, where, as soon as the Vice-Admiral came on shore, he ordered the officers who had so scandalously misbehaved, to be brought out of their ships and confined, and immediately after directed a commission to Rear-Admiral Weston to hold a Court Martial for their trial, which was accordingly done, and upon the fullest and clearest evidence that could be desired, some of the most guilty were condemned, and suffered according to their deserts (w) [G]. Some of the French

(t) See the authorities beforementioned, and note [G].

(u) So he declared himself before the Court-Martial.

(w) Col. Kirkby and Capt. Wade, were shot April 16, 1703, at Plymouth.

[G] *The most guilty were condemned, and suffered according to their deserts.* The Vice-Admiral, upon his arrival at Jamaica, thought it a thing of the last importance to secure the ships under his command, by bringing those officers immediately to a trial whose fidelity he had so much reason to suspect; and therefore he issued a commission to Captain Whetstone, whom he had appointed Rear-Admiral of his squadron, to hold a Court-Martial for the trial of the offenders, which he accordingly did, and nobody made the least scruple of acting under that authority, though it has been doubted whether he had a power to grant such a commission; and Mr Secretary Burchet is very clear he could not, for he says expressly, that he had no authority to delegate his power to another; but the Admiral it seems thought otherwise, and believed it more agreeable to the rules of justice and common-sense, to delegate his power to another, than to act as judge, party, and witness himself; and I believe most people, who consider the case, will be rather of the Admiral's than of the Secretary's opinion, who, though he probably intended no more than to censure poor Vice-Admiral Benbow for preferring justice and humanity to form, yet, if his censure hath any force, it falls upon the Queen and the whole nation, by whom the proceedings of that Court-Martial were ratified, and the criminals put to death upon their sentence. But be that as it will, the Court-Martial thus appointed was held on board her Majesty's ship the Breda, in Port-Royal Harbour, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th days of October, 1702, wherein the following gentlemen sat.

P R E S I D E N T,

William Whetstone, Esq; Rear-Admiral for her Majesty's ships in the West-India squadron.

C A P T A I N S.

John Hartnoll,	Barrow Harris,
John Smith,	Hercules Mitchel,
John Redman,	Philip Boyce,
George Walton,	and
William Ruffel,	Charles Smith.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, Commander of the Defiance, was tried upon a complaint exhibited by Arnold Browne, Esq; Judge-Advocate, for cowardice, neglect of duty, breach of orders, and other crimes, committed by him in a fight at sea, commencing the 19th of August, 1702, between the honourable John Benbow, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the blue squadron, Admiral and Commander in chief, &c. and M. du Casse, with four French ships of war, which continued until the 24th of August inclusive. The witnesses sworn in the behalf of the Queen were the honourable John Benbow, Esq; Captain Samuel Vincent, Captain Christopher Hogg, eight Lieutenants, five Masters, and five inferior officers, in all twenty-one, who in general deposed, 'That the said Richard Kirkby led the van in the line of battle the 19th of August, about three in the afternoon, the signal of battle being out, the Admiral was forced to send his boat on board of Kirkby, and command his making more fail, and get a-breadth of the enemy's van, for he was resolved to fight them; but the said Kirkby did not

fire above three broadsides, then looped up out of the line, and out of gun-shot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French ships 'till dark, and the said Kirkby receiving no damage, that his behaviour caused great fear of his desertion. At night the said Kirkby fell a-stern, leaving the Admiral to pursue the enemy. That on the 20th, at day-light, the Admiral and Ruby were within shot of all the enemy's ships; but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four miles a-stern: The Admiral then made a new line of battle, and took the van himself, and sent to each ship, with a command to the said Kirkby to keep his line and station, which he promised to do, but did not, keeping two or three miles a-stern, though the signal for battle was out all night. The French making a running fight, the Admiral and Ruby plied the enemy with their chace-guns 'till night. That the 21st day, at light, the Admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's rear, and the Ruby on the broadside very near, who plied him warmly, and met the same return, by which he was so much disabled, though the Admiral came in to his assistance, that he was forced to be towed off, and this prevented the Admiral's design of cutting off the enemy's sternmost ship. This action lasted two hours, during which time the said Kirkby lay broadside of the sternmost ship, as did also the Windsor, John Constable, Commander. The Admiral then commanded the said Kirkby to ply his broadsides on him; but this having no effect, the second time he commanded the same, but he fired not one gun; nay his own boatwain and seamen repeated the Admiral's command to him, but were severely used, and threatened that he would run his sword through the boatwain; and had the said Kirkby done his duty, and Captain Constable done his, they must have taken or destroyed the French ships. The Admiral, though he received much damage in his sails, rigging, yards, &c. yet continued the chace all night. That the 22d in the morning, at day-light, the Greenwich was three leagues a-stern, and the Defiance, Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, three or four miles, the Falmouth excepted, whose station was in the rear. That the said Captain Samuel Vincent seeing the behaviour of him, and the rest, came up with the Admiral, and sent his Lieutenant on board, desiring leave to assist him, which was accepted, the said Kirkby never coming up, and by his example the rest did the same, as if they had a design to sacrifice the Admiral and Falmouth to the enemy, or desert. The enemy were now about a mile and a half a-head. Standing into the shore with a small breeze at west, fetched within Sambey, the Admiral firing at the sternmost 'till night, and continuing the pursuit, and a Flemish ship that was in M. Du Casse's company, on board of which were all the French and Spanish new Governors, and other officers, made her escape. That the 23d in the morning, at day-light, the enemy bore north-west, distant about four or five miles, the Admiral and Falmouth pursuing; but the said Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, being three or four miles a-stern (though there was not a ship both before and after the battle but failed better than the Admiral's). About seven in the evening, it having been some time calm, a gale of wind sprung up; the Admiral

writers (according to their usual custom) have given quite another turn to this transaction, and

and Falmouth were about two miles from the enemy, and at eight the said Kirkby and his separate squadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this day the Admiral sent away the disabled Ruby, George Walton, Commander, to Port-Royal, and under his convoy the Anne-Galley, retaken from the French. That the 24th in the morning, about two o'clock, the Admiral came up, with the sternmost of the enemy, within call, and the Falmouth pretty near, but the said Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, according to custom, were three or four miles a-stern. The Admiral and Falmouth engaged the said ship, and at three the Admiral was wounded, his right leg being broke, but commanded the fight to be vigorously maintained; and at day-light the enemy's ship appeared like a wreck, her mizen-mast shot by the board, her main yard in three or four pieces, her foretop-mast-yard the same, her stays and rigging all shot to pieces. Soon after day the said Kirkby, with the rest of his ships, being to windward of the said disabled ships, he the said Kirkby, with the rest of his separate squadron, fired about twelve guns at the said ship, and fearing a smart return from her, he lowering his mizen-yard, his top-sails on the caps, set his sprit-sail top-sail, and fore-top-sail stay-sail, and having waired his ship, set his sail, and ran away before the wind from the poor disabled ship, the rest following his said example, tho' they had but eight men killed on board them all (except the Admiral). The other three French men of war were at this time of action about four miles distant from their maimed ship; whereupon the enemy seeing the cowardice of the said Colonel Kirkby, and the rest of the English ships, in a squall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay close by the disabled ship, and having got in their sprit-sail-yard, gave him all their fire, and running between him and the disabled ship, remanned her, and took her in tow. The Admiral's rigging being very much shattered, was obliged to lie and rest 'till ten o'clock, and then continued the pursuit, and the rest of the Fleet following in the greatest disorder imaginable. The Admiral commanded Captain Fogg to stand a-breast of the enemy's van, and then to attack him; and having then a fine steady gale, the like not happening during the whole engagement, and further ordered that he should send to all the rest of the Captains to keep the Line of battle, and behave themselves like Englishmen: And this message was sent by Captain Wade, then on board the Breda. That the said Colonel Kirkby on the receipt of this message, and seeing the Admiral's resolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a cradle, and without common respect of enquiring after his health, he the said Kirkby expressed these words following, *viz.* That he wondered the Admiral should offer to engage the French again, it being not necessary, safe, nor convenient, having had six days trial of their strength, and then magnified that of the French, and lessened that of the English. But the Admiral, being surprized at his speech, said, It was but one man's opinion, and that he would have the rest of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the signal to be made for all the Captains to come on board, and at this time the Admiral and the rest of the ships were to windward, and within shot of the enemy, and had the fairest opportunity that in six days presented to chase, engage, and destroy the enemy. That the said Colonel Kirkby had endeavoured to poison the rest of the Captains, forming a writing under his own hand, which was cowardly and erroneous; the substance of which was, not to engage the enemy any more. He the said Colonel Kirkby brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, saying, It would be the ruin of them all; upon which he the said Colonel Kirkby went away and writ another in the following words.

It is the opinion of us whose names are under-written,

I. Of the great want of men in number, quality, and the weakness of those they have.

II. The general want of ammunition of most forts.

III. Each ship, masts, sails, and rigging, being all in a great measure disabled.

IV. The winds are so small and variable, that the ships cannot be governed by any.

V. Having experienced the strength of the enemy, in six days battle, following the squadron, consisting of five men of war, and a fireship under the command of M. Du Casse, their equipage consisting in guns from sixty to eighty, and having a great number of seamen and soldiers on board for the service of Spain.

For which reasons above-mentioned we think it not fit to engage the enemy at this time, but to keep them company this night and observe their motion, and if a fair opportunity shall happen of wind and weather, once more to try our strength with them.

Richard Kirkby,
Samuel Vincent,
John Constable,

Christopher Fogg,
Cooper Wade, and
Thomas Hudfon.

That during the six days engagement he never encouraged his men, but by his own example of dodging behind the mizen-mast, and falling down on the deck on the noise of shot, and denying them the provisions of the ship, the said men were under great discouragement. That he amended the master of the ship's journal of the transactions of the fight according to his own inclination.

All which being proved as aforesaid,

The said Col. Richard Kirkby denying the whole, excepting the pretended written consultation, which being shewed to him, he owned his own hand and name thereto. He brought several of his men to give an account of his behaviour during the fight, but their testimonies were insignificant, and his behaviour to the Court and witnesses most unbecoming a gentleman; and being particularly asked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the enemy's sternmost ship, which lay point-blank with him the 21st of August? He replied, Because they did not fire at him, for they had a respect for him; which words, upon several occasions during the trial, he repeated three several times.

Whereupon due consideration of the premises, of the great advantages the English had in number, being seven to four, of guns two hundred and twenty-two more than the other, with his acts and behaviour as aforesaid, and more particularly his ill-timed paper or consultation as afore recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the preservation of her Majesty's fleet, to give over the chase and fight, to the irreparable dishonour of the Queen, her crown and dignity, and come to Port-Royal, in Jamaica. For which reasons the Court was of opinion, that he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth articles of war, and adjudged accordingly, That he should be shot to death; but further decreed, that the execution of Col. Kirkby be deferred till her Majesty's pleasure be known therein; but he to be continued a close prisoner 'till that time (22). Captain Constable, who commanded the Windsor, was next tried; and it fully appeared that he followed the example of Col. Kirkby in every respect, except personal cowardice, for he remained upon the quarter-deck, encouraged the men, gave them rum, and took so much of it himself, that he was drunk most part of the action. He acknowledged his hand to the paper, but said he signed it at the request of Colonel Kirkby. The sentence passed upon him was, That he should be cashiered, rendered incapable, and sent home a prisoner. Captain Cooper Wade, Commander of the Greenwich, came next to his trial, and against him it was proved, by sixteen witnesses, that he never kept the Line of battle, fired all his shot away, as never being within reach of the enemy. That being told so by his Lieutenants, he said, *It must be so, that if they did not fire, the Admiral would not believe they fought.* It also appeared, that he censured the Admiral's conduct during the engagement, and that best part of the time he was in drink. He behaved very well upon his trial, said he had been misunderstood with respect to the Admiral's conduct, for that he did not believe any

(22) Taken from the Minutes of the Court-Martial, printed at London, fol. 1703.

and have endeavoured to make the world believe, that the bravery of his men, and the conduct of Commodore Du Casse, enabled him to beat an English squadron of superior force, and that if he had been apprised of the shattered condition to which he had reduced them, he might have pursued and taken several, if not all the ships of which it consisted (x). But Du Casse himself, who was both a brave officer and an able sea-man, was far enough from treating things in this way, and candidly acknowledged, that he had a very lucky and unlooked-for escape [H]. As for Vice-Admiral Benbow, though he so far recovered from the fever induced by his broken leg, as to be able to attend the trials of the Captains who deserted him, and thereby vindicated his own honour, and that of the nation: Yet he still continued in a declining way, occasioned partly by the heat of the climate, but chiefly from that grief which this miscarriage occasioned, as appeared by his letters to his lady, in which he expressed much more concern for the condition in which he was like to leave the publick affairs in the West-Indies, than for his own (z). During all the time of his illness, he behaved with great calmness and presence of mind, having never flattered himself, from the time his leg was cut off, with any hopes of recovery, but shewed an earnest desire, to be as useful as he could while he was yet living, giving the necessary directions for stationing the ships of his squadron, for protecting the commerce and incommoding the enemy. He continued thus discharging his duty to the last moment, for dying of a sort of consumption, his spirits did not fail him till very near his end, and his senses were very found to the day he expired, which was the fourth of November, 1702. His royal Mistress spoke of his loss, when she heard of it, with great tenderness and concern; and it may be truly said, that no man of his rank was more sincerely regretted by the bulk of the nation; so that one cannot help wondering at the singular method taken by a certain historian, to sink the names of those offenders, who so justly suffered for betraying so brave a man; and at the same time, treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of disrespect (f) [I]. The Vice-Admiral's
sister

(x) Histoire de S. Doming. Vol. IV. p. 203.

(z) From the information of the late Mr Calton, who saw those Letters.

(f) Naval History, p. 597, 598.

man living could act better, or more for the honour of his Queen and nation, than Admiral Benbow did, and therefore he put himself upon the mercy of the Court, who adjudged him, as well as Colonel Kirkby, to be shot. Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg were tried for signing the paper, which the reader has seen. They said, that seeing themselves deserted by the Captains Kirkby, Constable, Wade, and Hudson, they were afraid of being made prisoners; as also that those Captains would have gone over to the enemy, and that by signing the paper they hoped to hinder them from becoming desperate. Vice-Admiral Benbow coming into Court, said, That during the six days fight, Captain Fogg behaved like a true Englishman: That Captain Vincent also came in to his assistance when deserted by all the other ships; and that, if it had not been for his coming to his relief, he had fallen into the hands of M. Du Casse. The Court thought, however, that by signing this paper these Gentlemen fell under the twentieth article of war, and therefore directed they should be suspended, but that the suspension should not take place till the Lord High-Admiral's pleasure was known; and immediately after their coming home the suspension was taken off. As for Captain Thomas Hudson, he died on board his ship in Port-Royal harbour before he could be brought to a trial (23). The true design of Colonel Kirkby, who was the ring-leader of this business, was to have let the Admiral fall into the hands of the French, and then have thrown the blame of all that happened upon his rashness and ill conduct; and the reason of his bearing this ill-will to that gentleman, and meeting with such concurrence in other officers, was the strictness of the Admiral's discipline, who thought that men would never behave well, if not encouraged to it by the example of their officers. There was great intercession made to the Queen, in favour both of Kirkby and Wade, but to no effect, for warrants for their execution were lodged in all the ports, and they were shot the same day they came into Plymouth; both of them, behaving in their last moments with much decency and courage (24).

[H] *He had a very lucky and unlooked-for escape.* The French never had a braver officer or better seaman in their service than this M. Du Casse, who was too much a man of honour to lessen another officer's merit. Admiral Benbow boarded his ship thrice, in which he received a shot in the arm, and a wound in the face; and, if he had been well seconded, would infallibly have carried that ship. This M. Du Casse was so sensible of, that soon after his arrival at Carthagena, he wrote the Admiral a letter, the original of which is still in the hands of the family, and the translation follows (25).

S I R,

I Had little hopes on Monday last but to have supped in your Cabin, it pleased God to order it otherwife; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly Captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by — they deserve it.

Your's,

DU CASSE.

It is very remarkable, that the day mentioned in this letter was Monday, August 24, the very day that the pretended consultation was signed, in which the strength of the enemy was so much magnified, and therefore we need not wonder, that all impartial writers have treated this affair with respect to Colonel Kirkby, and of his associates, as one of the basest and most dishonourable that ever happened in our Navy. The author of the History of our Colonies, speaking of this matter, says (26), 'This sentence was certainly very just, for during the whole course of the wars between England and France, never did two Englishmen bring such dishonour upon their country as Kirkby and Wade, through their cowardice and treachery; besides the great profit that they hindered the nation from receiving by the destruction of M. Du Casse and his squadron, which perhaps would have prevented the French in all their designs on the West-Indies, and forwarded the reduction of the Spanish dominions there: But this fair opportunity was lost, and, without the gift of Prophecy, we can foresee, we shall not soon have such another.'

(26) The British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 339.

[I] *Treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of disrespect.* In order to state this matter fairly, it will be necessary first of all to give the passage from Mr Burchet's History at large, that the reader may be the better able to judge of our remarks (27). 'The twentieth of September the York and Norwich arrived at Jamaica, bringing a necessary supply of stores and provisions; and as soon as the Vice-Admiral could have matters got in readiness for trying at a Court-Martial the Captains who had so scandalously failed in the performance of their duty, he ordered Rear-Admiral Whetstone to examine thoroughly thereinto, chusing rather so to do (though the Admiral had not authority to delegate his power to another), than to sit as President of the Court himself; and after several days were spent in examining witnesses, and hearing what the prisoners could alledge in their own justification, the Captains of
the

(27) Burchet's Naval History, p. 597, 598.

(23) See the Minutes above-mentioned; and Appendix to the History of Europe for the year 1702.

(24) This the author received from eye-witnesses.

(25) Communicated by Paul Calton, Esq;

sister made a present of his picture to the corporation of Shrewsbury, who caused it to be hung up in their town-hall, where it remains as a testimony of the regard his countrymen have, for the memory of so worthy a man, so gallant an officer, and so true a patriot, who manifested his love to his country, not by fair professions and fine speeches, but by spending his whole life in her service. The Vice-Admiral left behind him a widow and several children of both sexes, but his sons dying without issue, his two surviving daughters became coheiresses, of whom the eldest married Paul Calton, Esq; of Milton near Abingdon in Berks, the gentleman so often mentioned in the course of this article, and who deceased very lately at his seat beforementioned. He was a person of great reading and general knowledge, very communicative, and had a great desire that the memory of his worthy father-in-law, should be transmitted to posterity with due honour, and with a just regard to truth. It is certain, that but for his attention in this respect, the Publick had been deprived of the most curious circumstances relative to the actions of this great man, and known nothing more of him, than had been preserved in the traditional recitals of sailors, who are remarkably fond of claiming Benbow as their own, and are sure to mention him upon every dispute, where the virtue of the Tars is called into question. Benbow and Shovell are their favourites, they were sailors, rose by being sailors, and were proud of being sailors much more than of their Flags. Men, who by a long course of obedience learned how to command, and who directed such as served under them, as much by example as orders. In fine, men distinguished in and by their profession, and who, after many years employment, left behind them, small fortunes and great reputations.

‘ the Defiance and Greenwich received sentence of death, which was not put in execution until they arrived in the Bristol at Plymouth, aboard which ship they were shot, for the orders sent from hence did not come time enough to Jamaica. The Captain of the Windsor was cashiered, and sentenced to be imprisoned during her Majesty’s pleasure. He who commanded the *Pendennis* died before the trial, otherwise he would in all probability have received the same sentence as those of the *Defiance* and *Greenwich*; and the Vice-Admiral’s own Captain, with the Commander of the *Falmouth*, were suspended for signing to the paper drawn up and delivered by the others; wherein they gave their reasons for not renewing the engagement: but he having represented that those two gentlemen had behaved themselves very well in the action, the Lord High-Admiral was pleased to send orders for their being employed again. As I have forbore mentioning the names of those two unhappy gentlemen, who suffered (one of whom on other occasions had distinguished himself) more for the sake of their relations than any other consideration; so thus much may be observed as to Vice-Admiral Benbow’s conduct, that although he was a good seaman and a gallant man, and that he was qualified in most respects to command a squadron, especially in the West-Indies, in which parts of the world he had had long experience; yet when he found his Captains so very remiss in their performance of their duty, I think he ought, in point of discretion, to have flogged them (and even that at first) on board his own ship, and there confined them, and placed their first Lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no other reason than the hopes of being continued in their commands had they survived.’ It has been shewn in the former note, on what motives Vice-Admiral Benbow acted in granting a Commission for trying these officers, and how little reason there was for insinuating the illegality of a proceeding justified by the whole nation, and which could only serve to help other bad men to a means of taking shelter under the *Law* against *Justice*. But it is still more extraordinary, that the author of such a History should think himself under any obligation to suppress the names of criminals out of regard to their families. Were they better men than

the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Sir John Fenwick, or any other, whose names are mentioned by all writers? Is there any instance of tenderness of this kind? or is it reasonable there should be any? Was there any doubt of their being guilty, or that their punishments were greater than they deserved? Why then should this gentleman desire that their names should be concealed, at the same time that he bears so hard upon the memory of the brave Admiral Benbow? Let us see next what ground there is for the reflection he makes, which at the bottom amounts to this, that if the Admiral had understood his duty, and performed it, the engagement had ended otherwise than it did. But what probability is there of this? the reader has seen that Colonel Kirkby had such an influence over all the rest of the Captains, as to prevail upon them to sign his paper, which was as stupid and foolish, as it was base and cowardly. It was natural therefore for him to provide for his own safety, and the safety of the Queen’s ships, since after such behaviour he might very well apprehend, as he really did, they would retire, and leave the *Breda* disabled, as she was to fall into the hands of the French, which if they had done, there was no doubt those officers would have escaped the hands of justice; as it was, there were great endeavours used to save them, as appears by the following account taken from an author who wrote at this very time, and set down things just as they occurred, and who had not, it seems, any scruples about inserting the names of men, who, by shewing so little concern for, were so indifferently intitled to the pity of their country. ‘ On the 14th of April, says he (29), came in the Bristol man of war from Jamaica, which brought prisoners from thence, Captain Kirkby, Captain Wade, and Captain Constable, of whom the two former were shot to death on the 16th on board the said ship, in pursuance of the sentence given against them by the Court Martial held at Jamaica in October, 1702, for their cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty, in the fight between the brave Admiral Benbow and M. Du Caffé. We were for some months strangely amused, as if after all the guilt of these Commanders, they would at last be pardoned; but the event made it plainly appear to the contrary, much to the reputation of the Government.’ E

(29) History of Europe, for 1703, p. 183.

BENBOW (JOHN) son to the Vice-Admiral beforementioned. He was intended by his father for a sea-man, and educated accordingly. His misfortunes began very early, viz. in the same year his father died in the West-Indies; by being shipwrecked on the coast of Madagascar, where, after many dismal and dangerous adventures, he was reduced to live with, and in the manner of, the natives, for many years, and at last, when he least expected it, he was taken on board by a Dutch Captain, out of respect to the memory of his father, and brought safe to England, when his relations thought him long since dead (a). He was a young gentleman naturally of a very brisk and lively temper,

(a) This from the information of Mr Calton and others acquainted with Mr Benbow, junior.

but by a long series of untoward events, came to alter his disposition entirely, so as to appear, after his return, very serious, or rather melancholy, and did not much affect speaking, except amongst a few intimate friends. But the noise of his remaining so long, and in such a condition, upon the island of Madagascar, induced many to visit him, and to enquire into the circumstances of the life he led there, whom he civilly received, and readily satisfied their curiosity, though otherwise distinguished (as has been said) by his taciturnity, but he always looked upon his preservation there, and his escape from thence, as such signal instances of the favour of providence, that he did not judge himself at liberty to conceal them. But notwithstanding his freedom in communicating this part of his history, very few particulars relating to it can now be recovered [A]. It is very probable, the world might receive full satisfaction in this, as well as many other respects, if a large work he composed on the subject, intitled, *A complete Description of the south Part of the Island of Madagascar, in reference to the Soil, Climate, Produce, Animals, and Inhabitants, with Remarks on the Coasts, Harbours, and Commerce of that Island, and the Improvements of which they are capable*, could be met with. This was a large and very comprehensive book, containing a multitude of very curious circumstances, which occasioned it's being often borrowed by some or other of his acquaintance, in whose custody (if yet remaining) it is to be found; for notwithstanding the strictest search made immediately after his decease, and the closest enquiries by the family since, they have been able to obtain no account of it whatever. But if, upon this notice, any gentleman should be able to discover it, there is no question than even now the publication of it would be very acceptable to the world, for though the facts are of an old date, they are still so extraordinary as to deserve memory, and the description of the country, and it's natural and civil history, would not only afford much entertainment, but be highly useful, as the learned world has not at present any accurate account of this island, or that can be depended on. Our author lived several years after his return to England, but passed his days in privacy, and died without issue.

[A] *Very few particulars are to be recovered*] All we know with any certainty, as to his affairs, amounts only to this. He failed in quality of fourth mate on board the *Degrave East-Indiaman*, which lay in the Downs when his father proceeded on his last expedition. She passed through February 19, 1701, bound for Fort St George, and thence to Bengal. She was a very fine vessel of 700 tons and 52 guns, and performed this voyage happily; but at Bengal the Captain died, the first mate soon followed him, by which the command devolved on the Captain's son, who was second mate, and Mr Benbow succeeded in his place. From Bengal they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but in going out of the river the ship ran a-ground and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage as they then imagined, but they soon after found her so leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they sailed two months before they reached the island of St Maurice, inhabited by the Dutch, who received them very kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladen the ship in order to search for the leak, which however they could not find. After about a month's stay at the island of St Maurice, and taking about 50 Lascars or Moorish seamen, they sailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about 170 hands on board, and though the Lascars could not do much in point of navigation, yet they were of great use, as they eased the English seamen of the labour of pumping; yet after all, it was fatal for them that this rash resolution was taken of putting to sea before they had stopped, or even discovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained so much upon them, that notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do to keep the vessel above water, tho' they were still 600 leagues from their intended port. The crew thereupon acquainted Captain Young, that for the common safety it would be best to run the ship ashore on the nearest land, which was that of Madagascar, which he accordingly did; but, in spite of all the care he could take, the ship was wrecked and broke to pieces, and he, who was the last man in her, obliged to throw himself into the sea, in order to swim on shore as well as he could, which with difficulty he performed. They were quickly made prisoners by the King of that part of the island, who carried them 50 miles up into the country, where they found one Captain Drummond and one Captain Stewart, with a few

of their ship's crew, and who soon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by assuring them that the King intended to make them serve in his wars, and never permit them to return to Europe, which struck them with the utmost consternation. In this distress the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a consultation, in conjunction with Mr Prat and Mr Benbow, in which Captain Drummond proposed as the only expedient by which they could only recover their liberty, to seize the Black King, and march off with him prisoner into some other province of the island where ships frequently came. Mr Benbow warmly espoused this proposal, and assisted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more ease than was expected; and the King, his son, and the Queen, were made prisoners, but the Queen was released by Capt. Young out of mere pity. It is not very easy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, where between 50 and 60 white people, and not above half of these armed, carried off a Black Prince out of the midst of his capital, and in the sight of some hundreds, nay some thousands of his subjects better armed than themselves; who were notwithstanding restrained from firing by Captain Young's threatening to kill their King if they did. Afterwards, however, they managed the thing strangely, for, upon a proposal by the Negroes to give six guns for their King, it was agreed to upon a supposition that they would then follow them no further, and this notwithstanding Mr Benbow opposed it, and shewed them the consequences with which it must be attended. The King set free, they still continued to follow them; at last it was agreed to give up the Prince too, in hopes that would put an end to the pursuit, taking three people, whom the Blacks told them were their principal men, as hostages, two of whom made their escape, and then the Blacks not only pursued, but began to fire, which hitherto they had not done. The weakness of their own conduct, and the wisdom of Mr Benbow's advice, was now visible; and as it appeared that they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to dispose their little army in order of battle, their 36 armed men were formed into four bodies under the three Captains and Mr Benbow; but after an engagement, lasting from noon 'till evening, it was agreed to treat. The Negroes demanded their arms, promising to let them go. This proposition was vigorously opposed by Mr Benbow; and when it came to be put in execution, the Captains Drummond and Stewart, and some of their crew, refused to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the dark, accompanied by Mr Benbow, and got safe to Port Dauphine, while all the rest were cruelly murdered, except one boy, whom they preserved and made a slave.

E

BENDLOWES (EDWARD), author of some poetical pieces [A], was son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Esq; [B], and born in the year 1613 (a). This gentleman was carefully educated in grammar-learning, and, at sixteen years of age, admitted a Fellow-Commoner of St John's-college in Cambridge, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. From thence he went with a tutor to travel, and having gone through several countries, and visited seven Courts of Princes, he returned home a most accomplished gentleman both in behaviour and conversation, but a little tinged with the principles of Popery. Being very imprudent in the management of his worldly concerns, he made a shift, (tho' he was never married) to squander away his estate (which amounted to seven hundred, or a thousand pounds a year) on poets, musicians, buffoons, and flatterers, and in buying curiosities. He gave a handsome fortune with a niece named Philippa, who was married to — Blount, of Maple-Durham in Oxfordshire, Esq; [C], and having besides engaged himself for the payment of other mens debts, which he was not able to discharge, he was put into prison at Oxford: but, being soon after released, he spent the remainder of his life, which was eight years, in that city. He was esteemed in his younger days a great patron of the poets, especially Quarles, Davenant, Payne, Fisher, &c. who either dedicated books to him, or wrote epigrams and poems on him. His flatterers used to style him *Benevolus*, by way of anagram on his name, in return for his generosity towards them. Towards the latter end of his life, he was drawn off from his inclination to Popery, and would often take occasion to dispute against the Papists and their opinions, and particularly disliked the favourers of Arminius and Socinus. This gentleman, reduced, through his own indiscretion, to great want, died at Oxford, the eighteenth of December 1686, aged seventy-three years. He was buried in the north isle of St Mary's church; and the expences of his funeral were defrayed by a contribution of several scholars, to whom he had been particularly known. His picture hangs in the gallery belonging to the publick library of Oxford.

[A] He was author of some poetical pieces.] Anthony Wood mentions the following (1). I. *Sphinx Theologica, seu Musica Templi, ubi discordia concors*. Camb. 1626, in octavo. II. *Honorifica armorum cessatio, sive Pacis et Fidei Associatio*. Febr. 11, ann. 1643, in octavo. III. *Theophila; or, Love-Sacrifice*; a divine poem. Lond. 1652, in folio, with the author's picture before it. Several parts of this poem were set to Music by Mr John Jenkyns, an eminent Musician, whom Mr Bendlowes patronized; and a whole canto of it, consisting of above 300 verses, was turned into elegant Latin verse, in the space of one day, by the ingenious Mr John Hall of Durham. IV. *A Summary of Divine Wisdom*. Lond. 1657, in quarto. V. *A Glance at the Glories of sacred friendship*. Lond. 1657, printed on one side of a large sheet of paper. VI. *De Sacra Amicitia*; printed with the former in Latin verse and prose. VII. *Threnobriambenticon; or, Latin Poems on King Charles the Second's Restoration*. Lond. 1660; printed on a side of a large sheet of paper. A few were printed on white satin; one copy of which, in a frame suitable to it, he gave to the Public Library at Oxford. VIII. *Oxonii Encomium*. Oxon. 1672, in four sheets in folio. It is mostly in Latin verse. IX. *Oxonii Elegia*. Oxon. 1673; printed on one side of a large sheet of paper. It consists of twelve stanzas, and is followed by 1. *Oxonii Elegia*. 2. *Academicis Serenitas*. 3. *Academicis Temperantia*. 4. *Studiofis Cantela*, and some other pieces. X. *Magia Caelestis*. Oxon. 1673. It is a Latin poem, printed on one side of a large sheet of paper. The three last-mentioned pieces were composed at Oxford. XI. *Echo veridica joco-seria*. Oxon. 1673, printed one one side of a large sheet of paper. It is a Latin

poem, chiefly against the Pope, the Papists, Jesuits, &c. XII. *Truth's Touch-stone*, consisting of an hundred distichs, printed on one side of a long sheet of paper, and dedicated to his niece Mrs Philippa Blount. XIII. *Annotations for the better confirming the several truths in the said poem*; uncertain, when printed. XIV. Mr Bendlowes wrote a *Maniffa* to Richard Fenn's *Panegyricon Inaugurale*, intided, *De celeberrima et florentiss. Trinobantidos Augusta Civ. Praetori, reg. senatui populoque*. Lond. 1673, in quarto; in the title of which piece he styles himself, *Turmæ Equestris in Com. Essex. Praefectus*. These writings (our Antiquarian informs us) acquired Mr Bendlowes the name of a *Divine Author*.

[B] Son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Esq;] Andrew Bendlowes, Esq; was son of William Bendlowes, Esq; son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Serjeant at law, &c. all Lords of the manor of Brent-hall, and other lands in Essex; but descended from the family of the Bendlowes in Yorkshire (2).

[C] He gave a handsome fortune with his niece Philippa, who was married to — Blount of Maple-Durham in Oxfordshire, Esq;] Mr Wood seems to charge this gentleman and his wife with ingratitude towards Mr Bendlowes, in not assisting him in his necessities: For he tells us, this gentleman portioned his niece out of his estate of Brent-hall, *supposing thereby that so long as they lived he should not want; but the case being otherwise, he lived afterwards in a mean condition* (3). Unless we are to conclude from these words, that one or both of them were dead, or that they were themselves so reduced in their circumstances, that they were not able to relieve the wants of their uncle. T

(2) Wood, ubi supra.

(3) Ibid.

BENEDICT BISCOP (a) or EPISCOPUS (b), a famous Abbot in the VIIth century, was born of a noble family among the English Saxons, and flourished under Oswi and Egfrid Kings of Northumberland. In the twenty-fifth year of his age, he abandoned all temporal views and possessions, to devote himself wholly to religion [A].

To

[A] He abandoned all temporal views and possessions, to devote himself wholly to religion.] Let us hear Venerable Bede: 'Cum esset minister Osui regis et possessionem terræ suo gradui competentem illo donante perciperet, annos natus circiter viginti et quinque, fastidivit possessionem caducam, ut acquirere posset æternam; despexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terrestrem, ut vero regi militaret, regnum in superna civitate mereretur habere perpetuum; reliquit domum, cognatos, et patriam propter Christum et propter Evangelium, ut centuplum acciperet et vitam æternam possideret; respuit nuptiis servire carnalibus,

ut sequi valeret agnum virginittatis gloria candidum in regnis caelestibus; abnuitt liberos carne procreare mortales, praedestinatus a Christo ad educandos ei spiritali doctrina filios caelesti in vita perennes (1). — About the twenty fifth year of his age, being then in the service of King Oswy, who had given him lands sufficient to maintain him according to his rank, he despised the fleeting possession, that he might obtain an eternal one: he set light by a terrestrial warfare, with it's corruptible recompence, that he might serve under the true King, and merit an everlasting kingdom in the heavenly city; he left his family, relations, and

(1) Vit. Abbat. Wiremuthen. & Gyrwenf. apud Hist. Eccles. p. 293.

(a) Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuthen. & Gyrwenf. apud Hist. Eccles. Cantab. 1722, p. 293, &c.

(b) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

(1) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

To this purpose he travelled to Rome in the year 653, where he acquired an exact knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline, which, upon his return home, he laboured to establish in Britain. In 665, he took a second journey to Rome [B]; and after some months stay in that city, he received the tonsure in the monastery of Lerins, where he continued about two years in a strict observance of the monastick discipline. He was sent back by Pope Vitalian, in company with Theodore of Tarsus, lately consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury [C], and an Abbot called Adrian. Upon his return, he took upon himself the government of the monastery of Canterbury, to which he had been elected in his absence. Two years after, he resigned the abbey to Adrian, and went a third time to Rome, and returned with a very large collection of the most valuable books. Then he went to the court of Egfrid King of Northumberland, who had succeeded Oswy. That Prince, with whom he was highly in favour, gave him a tract of land on the east side of the mouth of the river *Were*; where he built a large monastery, called, from it's situation, *Wermouth* (c); in which, it is said, he placed three hundred Benedictine Monks (d). The church of this convent was built of stone after the Roman architecture, and the windows glazed, by artificers fetched from France, in the year of Christ 674, and the fourth of King Egfrid; and both the monastery and the church were dedicated to St Peter. In 678, Benedict took a fourth journey to Rome, and was kindly received by Pope Agatho. From this expedition he returned laden with books, relics of the Apostles and Martyrs, images, and pictures [D]; and, with the Pope's consent, he brought over with him John, Arch-Chanter of St Peter's, and Abbot of St Martin's, who introduced the Roman manner of singing mass. In 682, King Egfrid gave him another piece of ground (e), on the banks of the Tyne, four miles from Newcastle (f); where he built another monastery called *Girwy* or *Jarrow* [E], dedicated to St Paul, and placed therein seventeen Monks

(c) Bede, ubi supra.

(d) Leland, ubi supra.

(e) Bede, ubi supra.

(f) Leland, ubi supra.

‘and country, for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, that he might receive an hundred fold, and enjoy eternal life: he refused to marry, that he might follow the spotless and virgin lamb in the kingdom of heaven; neither would he beget mortal children after the flesh, being predestinated by Christ to bring up everlasting sons, through the doctrine of the Spirit, who should inherit the celestial life.’ Bede acquaints us here, that Benedict, at the time when he renounced the world, was in the service of King Oswy; *cum esset minister Oswii regis*: but he does not expressly tell us what that service was. Leland pretends he served that Prince in his army, and gave extraordinary proofs of his valour, often returning home laden with the spoils of the enemy. *Juvenis audacissimi animi sub Oswio Transbrinæ provincie rege militavit; unde non raro ad inimicis gloriam et spolia optima reportavit* (2). It is remarkable, that Bale, Pits, and other authors, make no mention of this circumstance, for which there seems to be no better foundation than these words of Bede just now cited; *despexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terrestrem, ut vero regi militaret*. But whoever considers the whole passage, will have reason to think that it is no other than a figurative expression, the more strongly to paint his great self-denial, in renouncing all worldly advantages for the mortified state of religion. So that we may venture to say, our judicious antiquary is mistaken in supposing Benedict to have been a soldier in his youth.

(2) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxviii.

[B] He took a second journey to Rome. Bede informs us, that Alcfrid, one of the sons of King Oswy, designing to take a journey to Rome out of devotion, had made choice of Benedict to accompany him; but though the King thought fit to forbid the young Prince's journey, and obliged him to continue at home, Benedict would not be disappointed, and therefore prosecuted the intended voyage with the utmost expedition (3).

(3) Bede, ibid.

[C] Theodore of Tarsus, lately created Archbishop of Canterbury. Ecbert, King of Kent, had sent Uighard, a person sufficiently instructed in ecclesiastical matters by the disciples of St Gregory, to Rome, to be ordained a Bishop; rightly judging, that himself and his subjects would be more perfectly instructed in the Christian Faith and mysteries, by a Prelate of their own nation and language, than by a foreigner with the help of an interpreter. Uighard being come to Rome, before he could receive the episcopal character, was seized with a mortal distemper, of which he died. Hereupon Pope Vitalian made choice of Theodore of Tarsus, an Ecclesiastic of great learning and abilities, whom he consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into Britain, together with an Abbot named Adrian, as his colleague and adviser. At the same time he prevailed with Benedict, who was then at Rome, to accompany the new Prelate in his journey, both as his conductor and his interpreter (4).

(4) Bede, ubi supra, 294.

[D] — and pictures] He brought over those of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles; and pictures of several events in the Gospel History, and of the visions of St John in the Apocalypse; all which he hung up in his new church dedicated to St Peter. He had a farther and a better view, than that of mere ornament, in this; intending hereby to affect the minds of the spectators with an awful sense of religion, by presenting to their eyes lively representations of the amiable aspect of our Saviour and his Saints, the glories of his Incarnation, and the terrors of the last judgment. *Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaquaersum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi Sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplerentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gloriam vigilantiori mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent* (5). If the Church of Rome had always restrained the use of pictures and images, in places of divine worship, to the same pious ends, there would not have been such reason to object the idolatrous abuse of them to that Church.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 295.

[E] He built another monastery, called *Girwy*, or *Jarrow*. Camden tells us (6), there is still to be seen the following inscription, which is fairly legible on the church-wall of the town of Jarrow.

(6) Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, in F. edit. Vol. II. col. 956.

DEDICATIO BASILICÆ
SCI PAULI VIII KL: MAI
ANNO XVI ECFRIDI REG.

CEOLFRIDI ABB: EJUſDEM
Q' ECCLES: DO: AUCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO III.

i. e. The dedication of the church of St Paul, the ninth of the Calends of May, in the sixteenth year of King Egfrid, and the fourth year of Ceolfrid Abbot, and (with the divine assistance) founder of the said church. In this inscription (the right reverend editor tells us) the XVI should be XV. For King Egfrid reigned no more than fifteen years; and so Sir James Ware has given it in his notes upon Bede's History of the Abbots of Weremuth. But it ought not to be inferred from the inscription, that Ceolfrid was the founder of this monastery, since it appears from Bede's account, that he was only constituted first Abbot of the place by *Benedictus Bishopus*, who sent him thither, with a colony of about seventeen Monks, from Weremuth (7). William of Malmesbury mistook the situation of this second monastery, when he wrote thus concerning Benedict. *Hic Wiræ annis utraque ripas (qui apud Northumbros non incelebris fama habetur) monasterii prætexuit, sub apostolorum Petri et Pauli nomine charitatis et regulæ unione non discrepantibus* (8); i. e. ‘This Abbot covered both the

(7) *ibid.*

(8) *Apud Scriptor. post Bedam. edit. Francos. 1521, p. 294.*

Monks under an Abbot named Ceolfrid. About the same time, he appointed a Presbyter named *Easterwinus* to be Joint-Abbot with himself of the monastery of Weremouth [F]: soon after which, he took his fifth and last journey to Rome, and, as before, came back enriched with a farther supply of ecclesiastical ornaments [G]. He had not been long at home before he was seized with a dead palsy, which put an end to his life on the twelfth of January 690. His behaviour during his sickness was truly Christian and exemplary [H]. He was buried in his own monastery of Weremouth (g). Leland will tell us the fate of Benedict's two monasteries [I]. He wrote some pieces mentioned below [K]. The famous historian Bede, who wrote the *Lives of four of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow* (h), was one of the Monks in those convents, and pronounced an homily on the death of Benedict, which is still extant among that author's Homilies (i). This historian gives us a character of our Abbot in the words of St Gregory [L]. His body was purchased

(g) Bede, *ibid.*

(h) *Namely, Benedict, Ceolfrid, Easterwinus, and Huzbertus.*

(i) Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Scriptor. an. 703.

' the banks of the famous river Wye in Northumberland with monasteries, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, united by the ties of brotherly love, and ' profession of the same rule.' This Historian supposes both Benedict's monasteries to have been built on the opposite banks of the same river; whereas that of Girwy or Jarrow was at the mouth of the Tyne, some miles distant from that of Weremouth. The harmony and union which, William of Malmesbury tells us, subsisted between the two convents, was what the pious founder had chiefly in view, as we learn from Bede. ' Monasterium Beati Pauli Apostoli construxit, ea duntaxat ratione, ut una utriusque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetua familiaritas conservaretur et gratia; ut sicut, verbi gratia, corpus a capite per quod spirat non potest avelli, caput corporis sine quo non vivit nequit oblivisci, ita nullus hæc monasteria primorum apostolorum fraterna societate conjuncta aliquo ab invicem temptaret disturbare conatu

(g) Bede, ubi supra, p. 296.

(9). — He built the monastery of St Paul with this view only, that union and agreement, and the same friendly intercourse, might perpetually subsist between the two societies; that, in like manner as the body cannot be torn away from the head by which it breathes, nor the head forget the body by which it lives; so no one might endeavour to separate from each other, or disturb the union which subsisted between these monasteries dedicated to the two chief Apostles, and joined together in brotherly society.'

[F] He appointed *Easterwinus* to be Joint-Abbot with himself of the monastery of Weremouth. His frequent journeys into foreign countries, and the uncertainty of the time of his return, made it necessary that he should have an associate in the government of his monastery. And in this, Bede assures us (10), he followed the example of St Peter himself, who (as histories inform us) appointed two subordinate Popes at Rome, for the better government of the Church. *Nam et beatissimum Petrum Apostolum Romæ Pontifices sub se duos per ordinem ad regendam ecclesiam constituisse causa instante necessaria tradunt historici.* He instances likewise in the famous St Benedict, who, as St Gregory writes concerning him, set twelve Abbots at one time over his disciples.

(10) *Ibid.*

[G] He came back enriched with a farther supply of ecclesiastical ornaments. These chiefly consisted of books and pictures. Among the latter were some which represented the connexion between the Old and New Testament; such as, Isaac bearing the wood with which himself was to be sacrificed, and Jesus Christ bearing the cross on which himself was to suffer; also the serpent erected by Moses in the wilderness, and the Son of Man hanging on the cross. He brought over likewise two silken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of King Alfrid, who succeeded Eadfrid, a piece of land on the fourth-side of the mouth of the Wye (11).

(11) Bede, *ibid.* p. 297.

[H] His behaviour during his sickness was truly christian and exemplary. Bede is very copious in describing the circumstances of Benedict's sickness and death; but we shall abridge his narrative. Though his distemper lasted full three years, he bore it with a most wonderful patience and resignation. Those nights, in which he could not sleep through the violence of his disease, he spent in hearing the book of Job, or some other parts of Scripture, read to him, and in singing of psalms with two of the Monks. He was particularly careful to provide for the future welfare of his monasteries. And to this purpose he exhorted the Monks to a strict observance of the rule he had taught them; which was not, he said, the offspring of his own thought and judgment, but com-

posed of the best institutions he had met with in seventeen monasteries that he had visited in his frequent travels. ' *Neque enim putare habetis, inquit, quod ex me hæc quæ vobis statui decreta indoctus corde protulerim. Ex decem quippe et septem monasteriis, quæ inter longos meæ crebræ peregrinationis discursus optima comperi, hæc universa didici, et vobis salubriter observanda contradidi.*' He advised them carefully to preserve the library he had collected for the instruction of the Church, and not suffer it to be dissipated. But what he most earnestly recommended to them was, that, in the choice of his successor, they would regard the moral character and abilities of the candidate, and not his birth and family; wishing that the place whereon the monastery stood might rather become a desert, than be governed by an unworthy person. ' *Et vere, inquit, dico vobis, quia in comparatione duorum malorum tolerabilius mihi multo est totum hunc locum in quo monasterium feci, si sic judicaverit Deus, in solitudinem sempiternam redigere, quam ut frater meus carnalis, quem novimus viam veritatis non ingredi, in eo regendo post me abbatis nomine succedat.*' On the night, in which the good Abbot died, the Monks assembled in the church of the monastery, and continued praying and singing of psalms 'till he expired. 'And thus (says his Historian) this holy soul, long tried and purified in the fire of a happy affliction, escaped from the earthly prison of the body, and took it's flight to the glories of everlasting felicity.' *Et sic anima illa sancta longis flagellorum felicitum excoccta atque examinata flammis; luteam carnis fornacem deserit, et supernæ beatitudinis libera pervolat ad gloriam* (12).

(12) *Ibid.* p. 297, 298, 299.

[I] Leland will tell us the fate of his two monasteries. They were plundered and set on fire by the Danes, about the time of Egbert or Oswulph King of Northumberland; and what these barbarous invaders left of them was afterwards destroyed by the Normans, who came in with William the Conqueror. But not long after, three Monks of Evesham, the chief of whom was Aldwinus, going into Northumberland, in order to restore there the monastic life, among others repaired the convents of Weremouth and Jarrow, though in a very slight manner. And but lately (says Leland, who lived about the latter end of Henry VII) they were inhabited by three or four Monks from the monastery of Durham. The greatness and magnificence of these buildings may be inferred from the vast heaps of ruins, which our Antiquary himself saw, not without admiration, and a melancholy reflection on the transitory condition of the greatest things on earth. *Ingentes tamen utrinque ruinae maximorum olim ædificiorum manifesta indicia etiam nunc extant, quas ego nuper non sine admiratione aspexi, rerum vicissitudines tantarum deplorans* (13).

(13) Leland, ubi supra.

[K] He wrote some pieces. Leland ascribes to him only a treatise, intitled, *De Consonantia Regule Monasticæ Vitæ*; i. e. 'Of the Agreement of the rule of the Monastic Life.' Bale and Pits give this book the title of *Concordia Regularum*; i. e. 'The Harmony of the Rules.' And the last-mentioned author informs us, that the design of this book was to prove, that the Rules of all the Holy Fathers tallied exactly with that of St Benedict, Founder of the Benedictines. He wrote likewise *Exhortationes ad Monachos*; i. e. 'Advice to the Monks.' *De suo Privilegio*; i. e. 'Concerning his own Privilege.' And *De celebratione Festorum totius anni*; i. e. 'Of the celebration of the Festivals throughout the year.'

[L] Bede commends him in the words of St Gregory. ' *Qui, ut beati Papæ Gregorii verbis, quibus cognominis*

(k) W. Malmsh. de gest. Pontif. Anglor. p. 94. ap. Scriptor. post. Bedam. Francof. 1601.

purchased at a great price by Adelwold (k) or Ethelwold, Bishop of Norwich, about the time of King Edgar, and deposited in the monastery of Thorney in Cambridgeshire (l).

(l) Leland, ubi supra.

(14) Bede, ubi supra, p. 293.

minis ejus abbatis vitam glorificat, utar; sicut vir vite venerabilis, Gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab ipso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile, aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli animum voluptati dedit (14).
 ——— To use the words of the holy Pope Gregory, in which he celebrates an Abbot of the same name; he was a man venerable for his conduct, a Saint both in name and life; from his very infancy as wise as the aged, and addicted to no sort of worldly pleasure. This character, to be sure, did not appear a just one to the Bishop of Ossory, who censures him severely for being the first who imported Glaziers, Painters, Architects, and other Artificers, subservient to the pleasures of mankind; from whence one may see (says he); how delicate and luxurious these Holy Fathers were from the very beginning. Vitriarios, Piiores, Ar-

chitestos, et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices, in Angliam omnium primus ex transmarinis provinciis advevit. Quibus videre licet, quam curiosi, molles ac petulantibus fuerint hi sancti Patres, a prima statim origine (15). Fuller is not behind in the severity of his judgment on our Abbot. 'He left religion in England (says that author) braver, but not better than he found it. Indeed, what Tully said of the Roman Lady, that she danced better than became a modest woman, was true of God's service, as by him adorned; the gaudiness prejudicing the gravity thereof. He made all thing according (not to the pattern in the Mount with Moses, but) the Precedent of Rome; and his convent, being but the Romish Transcript, became the English Original, to which all the monasteries in the land were suddenly conformed (16).'

(15) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 1. c. lxxviii.

(16) Fuller's Worthies of England, Yorkshires, p. 192.

BENEDICT, Abbot of Peterborough in the XIIth century, was originally a Benedictine Monk in the monastery of Canterbury, afterwards Prior of that house (a), and from thence, in the year 1177, advanced by King Henry II to the abbacy of Peterborough, in the room of William Watervill, who had been deposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (b). Benedict had studied at Oxford, and taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and became intimately acquainted with the famous Archbishop Becket. After that Prelate's death, he wrote an *History* of his *Life* and *Miracles* [A]. He has the general character of a very learned man (c); though the Bishop of Ossory bestows very hard words upon him, and can afford him no better an appellation than that of a *wild impostor*, for no other reason, as appears, but because he wrote the *Life* of Becket (d). Bishop Nicholson tells us (e), he died in the year 1200.

(a) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. liii.

(b) Chronic. Jo. Brompt. apud X. Scriptor. col. 1120.

(c) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix. & Pits, de Illustr. Angl. Script. 47. 1200.

(d) See the remark [A].

(e) English Historical Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

[A] He wrote an *History of the Life and Miracles of Archbishop Becket*. Bale and Pits speak of two pieces, which probably are but one and the same; the first, intitled, *Vita Thomae Cantuariensis*; i. e. 'The Life of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury;' the other, *Miracula Thomae Martyris*; i. e. 'The Miracles of Thomas the Martyr.' Leland, who mentions only *The Life of Becket* as written by our author, gives it the character of an elegant performance (1). But Bale treats it as a mere heap of lies and forgeries, in order to palm Becket on the multitude for a first rate Saint, and intercessor with God. *Ut pro magno ecclesiae Martyre Becketus coleretur, et ut sanctissimus ad Deum patronus vulgo haberetur, accessit hic quintus vel sextus, sed non ultimus, fucatae ejus sanctimoniae testis, confictis mille mendaciorum signis, miraculorum loco* (2). Nor is this author's spleen confined to Benedict, but extends itself to the Monks of those times in general, whom he represents as a set of meer debauchees and impostors, concealing their vices under a mask of piety, and cheating the people with the most diabolical illu-

sions. *His diebus pessimis, ventri indulgentes monachi et hypocritae, praestigiiis plusquam diabolicis mundum illudebant* (3). Dr Cave tells us (4), that the author of the *Quadrilogus* transcribed a great part of Benedict's *Life* of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work. This *Quadrilogus*, or *De Vita et Processu S. Thomae Cantuariensis et Martyris super Libertate ecclesiastica* (Bishop Nicholson tells us), is collected out of four Historians, who were contemporary and conversant with Becket, in his height of glory, and lowest depression; namely, *Herbert de Hostians*, *Johannes Carnotensis*, *William of Canterbury*, and *Alan of Teufsbury*; who are brought in as so many several relaters of matters of fact, interchangeably (5). Here is no mention of our Benedict in this list; so that either the Doctor is mistaken in his assertion, or the Bishop is not exact in his account of the authors, from whence the *Quadrilogus* was compiled. The reader will find a long catalogue of authors, who have recorded the *Life* and *Actions* of that Arch-Saint in the article **BECKET** (THOMAS). T

(3) Ibid.

(4) Historia Literaria, Sec. Waldens, an. 1177.

(5) English Historical Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

(1) Leland, de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix.

(2) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. liii.

BENEFIELD (SEBASTIAN), an eminent Divine of the XVIIth century, was born, August the 12th, 1559, at Prestonbury in Gloucestershire. He was educated at Oxford, being admitted, at seventeen years of age, a Scholar of *Corpus Christi* college, August the 5th, 1586; and Probationer-Fellow of the same house, April the 16th, 1590. After he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, he went into holy orders, and distinguished himself as a preacher. In 1599, he was appointed Rhetorick-Reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the Sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and five years after was chosen Margaret-Professor in that university. He filled the Divinity-Chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years resigned it. He had been presented, several years before, to the rectory of Meysley-Hampton near Fairford in Gloucestershire, upon the ejection of his predecessor for Simony; and now he retired to that benefice, and spent there the short remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world. Dr Benefield was so eminent a Scholar, Disputant, and Divine, and particularly so well versed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the university. He was strongly attached to the opinions of Calvin, especially that of Predestination; inasmuch that Humphry Leach (a) calls him a *downright and doctrinal Calvinist*. He has been branded likewise with the character of a Schismatic: but Dr Ravis, Bishop of London, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from Schism and much abounding in Science*. He was remarkable for strictness of life and sincerity; of a retired and sedentary disposition, and consequently less easy and affable in conversation. We shall mention his Works in the remark [A]. This worthy Divine died in the parsonage house of Meysley-Hampton,

(a) In his *Triumph of Truth*, Part II, chap. iii. p. 2.

[A] His works.] They are, I. *Doctrinae Christianae sex Capita totidem Praelectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniensi pro forma habitis discussa et disceptata*; i. e. 'Six Points of Christian Doctrine discussed and examined'

logica Oxoniensi pro forma habitis discussa et disceptata; i. e. 'Six Points of Christian Doctrine discussed and examined'

(b) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 547, 548; and *Hist. An-tiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 239. Hampton, August the 24th, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of his parish-church, the 29th of the same month (b).

‘ examined in as many Lectures read in the Divinity-School of Oxford.’ *Oxon.* 1610, 4to. II. *Appendix ad Caput secundum de Conflis Evangelicis, &c. adversus Humbredum Leach*; i. e. ‘ An Appendix to the second Point concerning the Councils of the Gospel, &c. in answer to Humphrey Leach.’ This is printed with the foregoing treatise. III. *Eight Sermons publickly preached in the University of Oxford, the second at St Peter’s in the East, the rest at St Mary’s church.* Began Dec. 14, 1595. Oxford, 1614, 4to. IV. *The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered, and other Christian Doctrines delivered, in twelve Sermons upon part of the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews,* Oxford, 1615, 4to. V. *A Commentary or Exposition upon the first chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the parish-church of Meyesey-Hampton in the diocese of Gloucester.* Oxford, 1613, 4to. This work was translated into Latin by Henry Jackson of Corpus-Christi-College, and printed at Oppenheim in 1615, 8vo. VI. Several Sermons, as *The Christian*

Liberty, &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Oxford, 1613, 8vo. This sermon was preached at Wootton Under-edge before the Clergy at an Episcopal Visitation, and was printed with his Commentary on Amos. *A Sermon at St Mary’s in Oxford,* on Plal. xxi. 6. preached March the 24th, 1610, being King James’s Inauguration-day. Oxford, 1611, 4to. *The Haven of the Afflicted,* preached at the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, August the 10th, 1613, on Amos iii. 6. London, 1620, 4to. VII. *A Commentary, or Exposition upon the second chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the parish-church of Meyesey-Hampton, &c.* London, 1620, 4to. VIII. *Prælectiones de Perseverantia Sanctorum*; i. e. ‘ Lectures on the Perseverance of the ‘ Saints.’ *Francfort,* 1618, 8vo. IX. *A Commentary, or Exposition, on the third chapter of Amos, &c.* London, 1629, 4to. X. There is extant likewise a Latin Sermon of Dr Benefield’s on *Revelations* v. 10. Printed in 1616, 4to (1).

(1) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 547, 548. T

BENIGNUS (St) Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, was the immediate successor of St Patrick in that See, Anno 455; though it must be confessed, this is a point that has afforded some controversy [A]. Writers differ as to his name, some call him Stephen (a), some Beneneus (b), others Beona (c), and by an Irish termination of the word Benin, in Latin Benignus. It is probable St Patrick baptized him by the name of Stephen, and that he obtained the nick-name of Benin from his incomparable sweet disposition, and his great affection to St Patrick, the word *Bin*, in the Irish language, signifying *sweet*; and that from thence the other names flowed. He was the son of Sefgnen, a man of wealth and power in Meath, who in the war in 433, hospitably entertained St Patrick in his journey from the port of Colp [B], where he landed, to the Court of King Leogair at Tarah, and, with his whole family, embraced Christianity and received baptism. The youth grew so fond of his father’s guest, that he could not be separated from his company; St Patrick took him away with him at his departure, and taught him his first rudiments of learning and religion: Benin profited greatly under such a master, and became afterwards a man eminent for piety and virtue, whom St Patrick thought worthy to fill the See of Armagh, which he resigned to him in 455. Benin died in 468, on the ninth of November, having also resigned his See three years before his death. The writers of the dark ages, however different they are to one another in other particulars, yet in the main agree as to the succession of St Benin in the government of the See of Armagh [C]. However

[A] A point that has afforded some controversy] The greatest successor (1) of St Patrick that ever sat in the See of Armagh, has taken some pains to state this controversy in it’s full extent, and with such learning and judgment, that his arguments can admit of no reply. He shews, that what has misled Campian (2) and other writers (3), in placing St Senan in the succession to the See of Armagh immediately after St Patrick, was a misconstruction of a prophecy of St Patrick in a Poetical life of St Senan, published by John Colgan (4) out of an antient MS. of the Franciscan Fryers of Kilkenny. The Prophecy runs thus:

Nascetur vobis parvulus,
Futurus Dei famulus,
Qui et Senanus nomine;
In meo stabit ordine,
Mihi, Deo propitio,
Succedens Episcopio.

To you an infant shall be born,
A future minister of God;
Who call’d Senanus shall adorn
This place of my abode;
And by the grace of God shall be
Succeeding Bishop after me.

Usher shews from several authorities, but more particularly from a MS. Life of St Brigid, that St Senan governed the See of Inis-Catty in the river Shannon, and not that of Armagh; and that the Prophecy related to his succession in the former of these Sees, and not in the other: For St Patrick made it his constant practice where he established an episcopal See, to govern it himself for some time, and then to appoint a successor,

who from his example might know the nature of the government he was desirous should be exercised; and this was what he did at Inis-Catty, and the same he pursued at Armagh, which he resigned to Benignus thirty-eight years before his death. By comparing the Ulster Annals with those of Munster, which Usher (5) has done with great exactness, it is impossible that St Senan should have been Archbishop of Armagh immediately after St Patrick; but to enter into Usher’s Chronology and reasons upon this occasion, would swell this note to too great length, which would fatigue the reader, whom therefore I shall refer to him for full satisfaction, and only observe, that the most correct writers (6) of the Life of St Patrick have made Benignus the immediate successor of St Patrick in the See of Armagh. The same reasons serve to clear the point, not only as to St Senan, but as to Secundin or Sechnal (who was Bishop of Dunshaghlin in Meath), and to Sen-Patrick, who are by the Pfalter of Cashel both placed in the See of Armagh before St Benignus, the first of whom died in 448, when, past question, St Patrick himself governed that See, and the other in 458, three years after the advancement of Benignus.

[B] From the port of Colp.] Colp, antiently called Portus-Colbdi, is a little port at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, which, according to the Irish Historians (7), took it’s name from Colptha, the brother of Heremon, King of Ireland, who was drowned here about the year of the world 3500. At the hill of Tarah was the palace of the supreme Monarchs of Ireland.

[C] The writers of the dark ages agree in the succession of Benin to the See of Armagh.] So say Probus, Tirechan, and Jocelin, as quoted above in the text; the latter of which writers is very express and full in that particular: Having first given an account of the father, he proceeds, ‘ Habebat vir ille filium quem

(7) Flaherty’s *Ogygia*, p. 122.

(a) Probus Vita Patricii, cap. i. lib. ii.

(b) Ibid. lib. i. chap. xiv.

(c) William of Malmsbury. Usher, Primord. p. 877.

(1) Archbishop Usher, Primord. 4to edit. p. 873, & seq.

(2) Hist. Hib. l. i. c. xiv.

(3) Colgan. Act. Sanct. p. 542.

(4) Ibid. ad 8 Martii.

(5) Ibid. p. 874.

(6) Probus, l. i. c. i. Jocelin, c. xxxix. Tirechan. MS.

there is some discordance among them as to the place of his death and burial, which will be shewn in the remarks [D]. William of Malmesbury has given us this barbarous epitaph, which he says was inscribed on his monument at Ferlingmore, near Glastonbury, in England.

Hoc Patris in lapide Beonæ St ossa locata ;
 Qui Pater extiterat Monachorum hic tempore prisco.
 Hunc fore Patricii dudum fortasse ministrum
 Fantur Hiberniginae, & Beonam de nomine dicunt.

*Father Beonna's bones in this tomb lie ;
 Of old the Father of the Monks hereby ;
 Disciple to St Patrick so much fam'd,
 The Irish say he was a Beon nam'd.*

(d) Primord. p. 377. But Usher is of opinion (d), that Beonna mentioned in this epitaph was a different person from our Benignus ; especially if what the Tripartite writer of the Life of St Patrick says be true, viz. that his remains were deposited with great honour at Armagh ; which passage, I must observe, is not to be found in the printed Tripartite Life, said to be written by St Evin. Some writings are ascribed to him, of which an account may be seen in the notes [E].

quem sanctus undâ salutari abluens ac nomen ei ex re adaptans nominavit Benignum ; et verè sicut vocabulo, sic et vitâ et moribus erat Benignus, dilectus Deo et hominibus in terrâ et cælo gloria et honore dignus. Hic S. Præfatus lateri firmiter adhæsit, nec ab illo avelli ullatenus potuit. Cum enim Sanctus quieti membra daturus, lecto se recipisset, ille purissimus puer a patre et matre fugiens, ad pedes Sancti se projecit, ipsosque ad pectus suum suis manibus constringens, crebròque deofculans ibidem paufavit. In crastinum cum Sanctus procinctus ad iter uno pede in sandalibus, altero in terrâ posito, vehiculum ascenderet, puer pedem illius strictis manibus apprehendit, obsecrans et adjurans ne se relinqueret. Et cum illum amovere a sancti vestigiis, et secum retinere vellet uterque parens, puer cum magno fletu et ejulatu clamavit, dicens, recedite, quæso, recedite, dimitte me ut pergam cum meo spirituali patre. Sanctus vero in tenello corde et corpore devotionem tantam intuens in nomine Domini illum benedixit, secum illum levari in vehiculum jubens ; ipsum successorem ministerii sui, sicut et fuit, fore prædixit. Idem namque Benignus in Regimine Pontificatus primatusque totius Hiberniæ successit S. Patricio, virtutibus et miraculis clarus quiescit in Domino. — Sefgen had a son, whom St Patrick baptized, and, adapting his name to his disposition, called him Benignus ; and, in truth, his life and temper made good the name ; for he was gentle and good natured, beloved by God and men, and worthy of glory and honour both in this world and the next. This youth stuck close to the side of the Prelate, and could by no means be kept asunder from him : For when the holy man was going to take his rest, this most pure child running from his father and mother, cast himself at his feet, and pressing them with his hands to his breast, and imprinting many kisses thereon, rested with him. On the morrow, when St Patrick was prepared for his journey, and ready to get into his chariot, the boy laid hold of his foot, beseeching and adjuring him not to leave him behind ; and when both his parents would have separated him from their guest, and retained him with them, the lad, with tears and lamentations, begged them to let him go with his spiritual father. The Saint, seeing such great devotion in so tender a heart and body, blessed him in the name of the

Lord ; and, taking him up in his chariot, prophesied, That he should be the successor of his ministry, as indeed he was : For this same Benignus succeeded St Patrick in the Government of his Bishoprick and Primacy of all Ireland ; and, at length, being celebrated for his great virtues and miracles, he rested in the Lord.

[D] Some discordance among them as to his burial, which will be shewn in the remarks.] The Annals of Inisfall say he died at Rome in 467 or 468, November the 9th. Others say at Ferlingmore near Glastonbury ; concerning which may be seen this passage in a catalogue of the reliques of the Abbey of Glastonbury in the Cotton library (8). In the coffin of St Benignus, an Irish Bishop and Disciple of St Patrick, are contained his reliques entire, except his head and teeth, which are wanting. He took a journey to this place for the love he bore to St Patrick. The Lord hath often manifested, by the many discoveries of the virtues of St Benignus, in what a high degree of favour he stood with God ; his miracles wrought at Ferlingmore bear witness to this truth. His prayers produced a large river, and from his sapless staff sprung an huge tree, green and bearing leaves. He led an eremitical life in an island near Glastonbury, called Ferlingmore, and there made a good end ; and after a revolution of many years was honourably translated to Glastonbury. (viz.) in the year 1091, as appears in John of Tinmouth (9) ; but Usher (10) observes, that if what the author of the Tripartite Life of St Patrick expressly affirms, that he was buried at Armagh, be true, that then the Benignus of Glastonbury, and the Benignus of Armagh, must be two different persons, as is observed in the text.

[E] Some writings ascribed to him, of which an account may be seen in the notes.] These are,

I. A Book partly in Latin, and partly in Irish, on the virtues and miracles of St Patrick ; to which Jocelin (11) confesses he was indebted.

II. An Irish Poem, wrote on the Conversion of the people of Dublin to the Christian Faith.

III. The Munster Book of Reigns, called by some Leabhar Bening, or Bening's Book, and by others Leabhar na Geart, qu. d. the book of Genealogy, which is ascribed to him by Dr Nicholson (12), Bishop of Derry.

(8) MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

(9) Sanctilogium

(10) Primord. p. 377.

(11) Vit. Patr. cap. clxxxvi.

(12) Irish Hist. Libr. p. 51.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.